

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS
OF BENGAL

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[PRE-MUHAMMADAN EPOCHS]

BY

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
MY FATHER

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INTRODUCTION

The bulk of this work, consisting of Parts I and II, represents the author's thesis approved by London University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History in 1932. Substantial additions are constituted by the two chapters on Administration (Part III)—reproduced from the quarterly journal, *Indian Culture*—which were originally written in connexion with the third and fourth sessions of the Indian History Congress held in 1939 and 1940 respectively.

The MS. of the thesis was submitted to the Press and Publication Committee of Calcutta University, more than seven years ago. It is my first duty to apologise to my readers for the unusual delay in its publication, which I regard as a personal misfortune, due to circumstances over which I had no control whatsoever. Much though I wished it to appear in print earlier, the time gained was, however, profitably used in introducing such additional matter as was deemed indispensable in the light of new material brought to our knowledge during the progress of the book through the Press.

Although the thesis presented here embodies the results of my research, conducted mainly in Europe from October 1930 to December 1932, my interest in the subject practically began from 1926 when the University of Calcutta appointed me a lecturer in the Post-Graduate department of History where I was called upon to teach Epigraphy and Palaeography with special reference to the inscriptions of Pre-Muhammadan Bengal. As a reminiscence fondly cherished by me, I also recall the several occasions, on the threshold of my teaching career, when my father, the late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, discussed with me the vast possibilities of research in the domain of the history and culture of the Bengali people the unearthing

of which was a task that could hardly be completed within the life-time of a single scholar. The sincerity and enthusiasm with which these conversations used to be carried on left on my mind a deep and abiding impression. The object of the present work with all its obvious limitations is to prepare the foundations of further researches that may be undertaken by the author on a larger and more comprehensive scale in future in consonance with a scheme formed in his early youth.

As the title shows, I have used inscriptional data as my principal source. For the purpose of ascertaining the accuracy of the relevant epigraphic records, I had to undertake a minute study of the different readings, frequently comparing them with the help of plates wherever available, particular attention having been given to those portions of such texts, which contain the historical material used by me and from which pertinent extracts have been supplied in the book. Although it is inscriptions that have determined the lines of investigation followed, no possible source accessible to me has been left out of consideration; sources such as literature, Indian and foreign, travel-accounts, geographical tracts, old maps, charts and MSS., coins, etc., have been drawn upon with a view to the proper appreciation and interpretation of the data contained in inscriptions.

In order that a definite idea may be formed at the outset regarding the extent of the scope represented by the inscriptions of Bengal, a list of such records is furnished here with short descriptive notes. The list given below will be found to comprise inscriptions of various kinds, engraved on copper-plates, images, seals, plaques, etc., those discovered in Bengal as well as outside,—all, however, sharing one common characteristic, which accounts for their inclusion in the same category, *viz.*, that they belong to reigns known to have been definitely connected with Bengal. In respect of those rulers from outside, who happened to conquer Bengal and annex it to their respective dominions in the different periods of its history, such as the Imperial Guptas, Mahipāla—the Gurjara-Pratihāra king of

the ninth century, Karna—the Chedi king of the 11th century, only those of their records which were found in Bengal have been treated as inscriptions of Bengal. It should be added here that the inscriptions bearing the name of Mahipāla (most probably to be identified with the Gurjara-Pratihāra king of that name) found in Bihār, have also been given a place in this classified list, for they constitute essential links in the chain of evidence testifying to the progress of his arms in the east and the corresponding decline in the political power of the Pālas, so intimately connected with the history of Bengal. Stray inscriptions in which no prince's name is contained, generally found engraved on images, have been excluded on the ground that their importance is of a nature which is beyond the scope of the present work to investigate.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

I. 3rd Century B.C.

THE MAURYA PERIOD

1. Brāhmī plaque inscription (in Prākṛit) from Mahasthan. [Discovered at Mahasthan in the district of Bogra, North Bengal, in 1931. Preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta].

Records provision for the supply of paddy, etc., during certain emergencies, from Puṇḍranagara.

II. c. 350 A.D.—508 A.D.

THE IMPERIAL GUPTA PERIOD

- [INSCRIPTIONS OF CHANDRAVARMAN, KUMARAGUPTA I,
BUDDHAGUPTA, VAINYAGUPTA]

2. The Susunia Rock-inscription of Chandravarman (c. 350 A.D.).

[Engraved on the Susunia Hill in the Bankura district.]

Records grant of Doshagrāma (?) in honour of Chakrasvāmin.

3. Dhanāidaha copper-plate inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta (name lost), dated in the (Gupta) year 113 (=433 A.D.).

[Recovered from Dhanāidaha, a village in the Natore subdivision of the Rajshahi district, North Bengal. Preserved in the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi.]

Records purchase of some land by an *Āyuktaka* and gift to a Brahmin named Varāhasvāmin of the Sāmavedin School.*

4. Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta I, dated in the (Gupta) year 124 (=444 A.D.)

[From Dāmodarpur, a village near Railway and Police Station Phulbari in the district of Dinajpur, North Bengal. Preserved in the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi.]

Records purchase of land by Karppatika, a Brahmin by caste, to be utilised in connection with the performance of his *Agnihotra* rites.

5. Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta, dated in the (Gupta) year 128 (=448 A.D.).

[Preserved in the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi.]

* I am very grateful to Mr. N. B. Sanyal, M.A., B.L., Curator, Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, for supplying me with the following note on an unpublished inscription of the Imperial Gupta Period, which he received for decipherment some years ago :—
“The Copper-plate bearing the inscription had originally been preserved for a very long time as heirloom in a Muhammadan family originally settled in the village of Kalsikuri in the district of Bogra, about 8 miles from Naogaon town in the Rajshahi district. The plate is now deposited in the Varendra Research Museum. This is a single plate inscribed on both sides. The seal which appears to have originally been attached to the top, is now lost. The inscription consists of 34 lines of which 16 are engraved on the obverse and 19 on the reverse. The inscription is dated in *Samvat* 121 on the 1st day of *Vaishākha*. The year evidently belongs to the Gupta era. The document is issued from the village Pūrṇakaulika. It records the purchase of 9 *kulyavāpas* of land at the rate of 2 *dināras* for each *kulyavāpa*, distributed in the villages of Hastīśreṣa, Vibhītaka, Gubhyagandhika and Dhānyapāṭalikā, for being granted, free of revenue, under the terms of perpetual endowment, to the Brāhmaṇas Devabhaṭṭa, Amaradatta and Mahāsenadatta, for the purpose of enabling them to perform their five daily sacrifices.”

Records purchase of land. Buyer's name lost. His object was to conduct the *five daily sacrifices*.

6. Baigram copper-plate inscription of the (Gupta) year 128 (=448 A.D.).

[From Baigram, a village (Post Office Hili) in North Bengal. Discovered in 1930. Reported to be in the custody of the Gauda Research Society, Howrah.]

Records purchase of lands by the two brothers Bhoyila and Bhāskara, to meet the cost of occasional repairs to the temple of Govindasvāmin, founded by their father Śivanandin, and also for the daily worship of the deity with perfumery, incense, lamp and flowers.

7. Pāhādpur (Pahārpur) copper-plate inscription of the (Gupta) year 159 (=479 A.D.).

Discovered in 1927 at Pāhādpur (25°2'N. Lat., 89°3'E. Long.), 'a village three miles to the west of the Jamalganj Railway Station on the main line of E. B. Railway running from Calcutta to Darjeeling,' in the course of the excavation of the local temple.

Records purchase of lands by the Brahmin Nāthaśarman and his wife Rāmī for the conduct of the worship, with perfumery, incense, flowers and lamp, of the *Arhats* in the monastery (*Vihāra*), established by the disciples and the disciples' disciples of the Jaina Guhanandin (*Nirgrantha-Śramaṇ* = *ācāryya-Guhanandi-śiṣhya-praśiṣhy* 'ādhiśṭhita-vihāre—l. 6).

8. Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription of the reign of Budhagupta, dated in the (Gupta) year 163 (?) (=483 A.D.).

[Preserved in the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi.]

Records purchase of land near Vāyigrāma by the *Grāmika* Nābhaka whose object was to provide some Brahmins with a dwelling place (*Katichid-Brahmaṇ* = *āryyān-praticāsayitum*—l. 4).

9 Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription of the reign of Budhagupta. Date practically lost.

[Preserved in the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi.]

Records purchase of lands by the *Śreshṭhī* Ribhupāla whose object was to build temples of Kokānukhasvānī and Śvetavarāhasvānī with store-rooms (*devakuladvyam-etat-koshṭhikādvyañ-cha*) in *Doṅgā-grāma*. Reading 'na' is preferable to 'kaṁ' in 'mekam' in the passage : *Kokāmukhascāmi-Śvetavarāhasvāminor-nāmaliṅgamekaṁ deva-kula-dvayam*, as read by the editor; the passage probably gives the name of the architect of the temples, mentioned, or an agent engaged in supervising the building operations.

10. Nandapur inscription of the (Gupta) year 169 (=489 A.D.) with a probably inscribed seal attached to it.

[From Nandapur or Nandpur on the southern bank of the Ganges, a village above 2 miles north-east of Surajgarhā in the Munger district, Bihār. The plate is reported to be in the possession of Mr. Ganapati Sarkar of Beliāgbātā, Calcutta.]

Records purchase of land in the village Jāngoyikā by the *Vishayapati* Chhatramaha, presented to a Brahmin of the *Sāmavedin* School, belonging to the *Kāśyapa gotra*, an inhabitant of the *agrahāra* of *Khaṭpūrāṇa* comprised in the *Nanda-Vithī*, to enable him to perform the the *five daily sacrifices*.

11. Gunaighar copper-plate of the reign of *Vainyagupta*, dated in the (Gupta) year 188 (=508 A.D.).

[From Gunaighar, a village in the district of Tippera, about 18 miles north-west of Comilla town. Discovered about 1925, with a seal bearing the figure of a bull and a legend : *Mahārāja Śrī-Vaiṇyaguptah*). Preserved in the Dacca Museum.]

Records the gift of some land to a congregation of Buddhist monks of the *Vaivarttika* sect of the *Mahāyāna* School, founded by *Āchārya Śāntideva*, a Buddhist monk (*Śākyabhikṣu*) and occupying a monastery associated with the name of *Avalokiteśvara*, the construction of which is attributed to *Mahārāja Rudradatta*.

III. 544 A.D.—c. 700 A.D.

THE POST-GUPTA PERIOD

[INSCRIPTIONS OF DĀMODARAGUPTA, DHARMĀDITYA, GOPA-
CHANDRA, SAMĀCHĀRA-DEVA, JAYANĀGA AND ŚAŚAṆKA]

12. Dāmodarpur copper-plate of the reign of Dāmodaragupta (?), dated in the [Gupta] year 224 (= 544 A.D.).

[Preserved in the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi.]

Records purchase of land by the *Kulaputra* Amṛitadeva of Ayodhyā to provide the cost of repairs to a temple of Śvetavarāhasvāmī, as well as the supply of *bali*, *charu*, *satra*, the cow's milk, incense and flowers, *madhuparka*, lamp, etc., required for the worship of the deity.

13. Faridpur copper-plate of the reign of Dharmāditya, dated in the year 3.

(Discovered in 1892. Preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta. With a circular seal inscribed with the legend which probably reads *Vāraka-maṇḍala-vishay-ādhipikarāṇasya*.)

Records gift of some land situated in Dhruvilāṭī to a Brahmin named Chandrasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, belonging to the *Vājasaneyā* School by *Sādhanika* Vātabhoga.

14. Undated Faridpur copper-plate of the reign of Dharmāditya.

(For seal and present whereabouts, see 13, above.)

Records gift of some land to a Brahmin named Somasvāmin of the *Lauhittya gotra*, belonging to the *Vājasaneyā* School, by Vāsudevasvāmin.

15. Mallāsarul copper-plate of the reign of Mahārāja Gopa [-Chandra], dated in the year 3.

[Discovered from Mallāsarul, a village near the northern bank of the Dāmodar river in the district of Burdwan, in 1929. Preserved in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta. With a circular seal containing the inscription: (*Mahā*)rāja-Vijaya-

[*se*] *nasya* and the figure of a male with two arms (identified with Lokanātha by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar, see Ep. Ind., XXIII, p. 157, fn. 1) set within a *chakra*. Invocation to Lokanātha, to Dharma Saints (*santah*), i.e. the Buddhist *Saṅgha*.]

Records purchase of land by *Mahārāja* Vijayasena and gift to Vatsasvāmin of the Ṛigvedic School, enabling him to conduct the *five daily sacrifices*.

16. Faridpur copper-plate of the reign of Gopachandra, dated in the year 18 (Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver J. Com., Vol. III, p. 485; R. G. Basak, History of North-Eastern India, p. 191).

(Found in Faridpur. Preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. With a circular seal containing the legend: *Vāraka-maṇḍala-vishay = ādhikaraṇasya*.)

Records purchase of land by Vatsapālasvāmin and gift to Bhaṭṭa Gomidattasvāmin for the increase of the merits of the former's parents and himself.

17. Nālandā Seal of Samāchāra-deva. Not yet published.

18. Ghugrābāṭi copper-plate of the reign of Samāchāra-deva, dated in the year 14.

[Preserved in the Dacca Museum.]

Records transfer of some land to the Brahmin Supratika-svāmin.

19. Kurapālā inscription of the reign of Samāchāradeva.

(From Kurapālā about 2 miles north of Ghugrābāṭi.) Not yet edited. Details not known.

20. Vappaghoshavāṭa (or Mallia) copper-plate of the reign of Jayanāga.

[Reported to have been found in the Indigo Estate at Mallia. Presented by Mr. J. Greig of Calcutta to the Museum of Perth. With a seal bearing 'traces of an upright female figure, apparently Lakshṃī, with either one or two elephants performing the *kumbhābhisheka* over her,' and an 'illegible inscription.']

Records gift of the village Vappaghoshavāṭa to a Sāmavedin Brahmin named Brahmagīrasvāmī.

21. Rohtāsgaḍh stone seal-matrix of the Mahāsāmanta Śaśāṅkadeva.

(In the upper part, there is a 'somewhat damaged representation of a bull.' Discovered by Mr. Beglar. 'Cut in the rock at the hill-fort of Rohtāsgaḍh...twenty-four miles south by west of Sabasārām' in Bihār.)

22. Ganjām Plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja, dated in the year 300 (= 620 A.D.) of the Gupta Era.

Find-place unknown. These plates were originally noticed in the office of the Collector of Ganjām. Preserved in the Madras Museum. With an 'elliptical seal' bearing the figure of a couchant bull in relief, and the legend: *Śrī-Sainyabhitas[y]a*.

Record grant of the village Cbhalakhaya in the Kṛṣṇagiri-Vishaya to Cbharampasvāmī on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

23-24. Two Ashrafpur copper-plate grants of Devakhaḍga (Plates A and B), dated in the year 13.

Both recovered, together with a small *chaitya* of bronze, at Ashrafpur, in the Police Station of Raipurā in the Dacca district, about 30 miles north-east of Dacca town, East Bengal, in 1884 or 1885. Preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Each plate with a seal containing in relief the figure of a couchant bull, and the legend *Śrīmad-Devakhaḍga*, distinct on Plate B, but not so on the other plate.

Plate A. Very much damaged by corrosion. Records grant of some pieces of land to *Āchārya* Saṅghamitra, Head of several Buddhist monastic establishments. Invocation to Buddha. Dated in the year 13.

Plate B. Invocation to Buddha. Records grant of some pieces of land to the monastery of Saṅghamitra, the *Āchārya* (preceptor) of Śālivardaka.

Messenger—Yajñavarman. Dated in the year 13.

25. Deulbāḍī Śarvvāṇī image-inscription of Mahādevī Prabhāvatī, the queen of Devakhaḍga.

Inscribed on an eight-handed image of the goddess Śarvvāṇī, seated on a couchant lion, found at the site of an old building

on plot No. 447 of the Settlement Map of Jāmmura, a *mauza* in which the small village of Deulbādī is included. Reported to be missing.

Records the covering with gold of an image of Sarvvaṇī (*hemaliptām*) by Prabhāvatī, the queen (*mahishī*) of Devakhaḍga, son of Jātakhaḍga, son of Khaḍgodyama.

IV. c. 750 A.D.—c. 1205 A.D.

[THE PĀLA PERIOD AND THE PERIOD OF SENA ASCENDANCY]

(a) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PĀLAS, THEIR ASSOCIATES AND RIVALS (b, c, d, e)

26. Keśava-*Prasāsti* of the reign of Dharmapāla, dated in the year 26.

(Discovered in 1879 A. D. Inscribed on a stone-slab, found near the Mahābodhi temple at Gayā. Preserved in the Indian Museum.)

Records the establishment of a four-faced (*chaturmukha*) image of Mahādeva and the gift of a tank by Keśava, son of Ujjvala.

27. Khālimpur copper-plate of the reign of Dharmapāla, dated in the year 32.

(From Khālimpur, a village in the district of Malda, North Bengal. Purchased from a peasant in 1893. Preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. With a seal containing a representation of the Buddhist *chakra*,—a wheel flanked by antelopes on two sides, symbolising the preaching of the first sermon by Buddha at the Deer Park, and the legend *Śrīmān Dharmapāladevaḥ*).

Records, with an invocation to Buddha, the grant of four villages to a *Lāṭa* Brahmin together with other subordinate priests, attached to the temple of Nanna-Nārāyaṇa at Subhasthali by Dharmapāla at the request of the *Mahāsāmantādhipati*

Nārāyaṇa-Varman. Envoy—Crown-Prince (*yuvārāja*) Tribhuvanapāla. Engraved by Tātata, son of Śubhata and grandson of Bhogaṭa.

28. Nālanda copper-plate of the reign of Dharmapāla.

(Discovered in the course of excavations at Nālandā in 1927-28 by Mr. J. A. Page at the site of the burnt debris in the north Verandah of Monastery No. 1. Inscription, partly damaged. Preserved in the Indian Museum).

Seal with the emblem of the *dharma-chakra* and the legend : *Śrīmān Dharmapāladevaḥ*.

Gift of the village Uttarāma, near the village Niguha, belonging to the Jambūnadi-*vīthī*, situated in the Gayā-*viśaya* of the Nagara-*bhukti*. Details as to the object of the grant not available [See P. N. Bhattacharyya, Ep. Ind., XXIII, pp. 290 ff.].

29. A and B. Pāhārpur Seals of Dharmapāla (See Memoirs, ASI, No. 55, p. 90).

From Pāhārpur in the Rajshahi district.

Each a terra-cotta sealing with the *dharma-chakra* symbol in the upper part, flanked by two antelopes, and the legend : 1. 1 *Śrī-Somapura*, 1. 2 *Śrī-Dharmapāla-deva*-1. 3 *mahā-rihāry-ārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya* (i.e. issued by the community of monks belonging to the *rihāra* at Somapura founded by Dharmapāla.).

29. C—F. Four other pieces of clay sealings of the Dharmapāla-*vihāra* type.

30. Kurkihar bronze image inscription of the reign of Devapāla, dated in the 9th year.

(From Kurkihar, Pargana Narhat, in the district of Gayā, Bihār. Preserved in the Patna Museum.)

31. Munger copper-plate of the reign of Devapāla, dated in the year 33.

Discovered in 1780 A. D. at Monghyr (Munger) in Bhagalpur, Bihār. First noticed in 1788 A.D. "About that time the plate disappeared...Recently, while repairs were being made in Kenwood House, a dirty and discoloured metal plate inscribed

with Indian characters was found hidden away between a beam and the roof. It was brought to me for identification, and I at once recognised it as the long-lost charter of Devapāladeva"—L. D. Barnett (Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 304). With a seal containing a representation of the *dharma-chakra* with two antelopes at the sides and the legend *Śrī-Devapāladevasya*.

Records, with an invocation to Buddha, gift of a village to *Bhaṭṭa-pravara*, Vihekarāta-Miśra, a scholar (*pāda-vākya-pramāṇa-vidyā-pāraṅgatāya*—l. 43), son of Bhaṭṭa Varaharāta, grandson of Bhaṭṭa Viśvarāta, a Vedic scholar. Envoy—Crown-Prince Rājyapāla.

32. Hilsa statue-inscription of the reign of Devapāla, dated in the year 35.

[From Hilsa in the Patna district, Bihār.]

33. Nālandā copper-plate of the reign of Devapāla, dated in the 39th year.

Unearthed at Nālandā (in Bihār) during excavations in 1921. With a seal containing the emblem of the *dharma-chakra* placed between two antelopes, and the legend *Śrī-Devapāladevasya*. Preserved in the Nālandā Museum.

Records, with an invocation to Buddha, the gift of five villages by the king for the use of a monastery built at Nālandā by Bālaputradeva, the ruler of Suvarṇadvīpa. Envoy—Balavarman, the ruler of Vyāghrataṭī-maṇḍala.

The first 15 verses of this grant are the same, except for slight differences (cf. *Kāntās-chira-prīṇitāḥ* in the Nālandā grant in place of *kāntās-chira-vikṣitāḥ* in the Munger grant), as those of the Munger grant. Also lines 21-26 (from *so khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha-pravarttamāna...to kuśalī*) of this grant are identical with lines 24-29 of the Munger grant.

34. Ghoshrawa stone-slab inscription of the reign of Devapāla.

(Recovered from Ghoshrawa, a village, 7 miles to the South-East of Bihār city, in 1848 A.D. Preserved in the Indian Museum).

Contains, with an invocation to Buddha, a panegyrical account of Viradeva, son of Indragupta, belonging to a noble Brahmin family of Nagarahāra, and his wife Rajjekā, who, having completed his education at the Kanishka-vihāra under the guidance of Āchārya Sarvajñaśānti, visited Mahābodhi and resided at the Buddhist Vihāra at Yaśovarṇapūra. He received the homage of Devapāla, got a responsible post at the Nālandā monastery and built two chaityas on the top of the Indrāśilā hill.

35. Nālandā statue-inscription of the reign of Devapāla.

36-37. Two Bihār Buddha image-inscriptions of the reign of Śūrapāladeva (= Śūrapāla I or Vighrapāla I, according to R. D. Banerji, MASB, Vol. V, p. 57; = Śūrapāla II, according to Nilmani Chakravartti, JPASB, N.S., Vol. IV, p. 107, Pl. vii), dated in the year 2 (D. R. Bhandarkar suggests year 3 to be the correct reading.)

Inscriptions on pedestals of images noticed by Mr. Nilmani Chakravartti in the Indian Museum where they are preserved. Identical inscriptions recording consecration of images of Buddha at 'the monastery in Uddandapura' by a Buddhist monk named Pūrṇadāsa belonging to the Pāṇḍikramaṇa Vihāra.

38. Gayā stone inscription of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla, dated in the year 7.

Now in the courtyard of the Viṣṇupāda temple at Gayā.

Records the erection of a monastery (*āśrama*) for Brāhmins practising austerities, by Bhāṇḍadeva (at Gayā), son of Vappadeva and Vallabhadevī, grandson of Sihadeva and great-grandson of Vāmadeva (R. D. Banerji in a genealogical table shows Vāmadeva to be the husband of Vallabhadevī, MASB, V, p. 61). The inscription contains invocation to Viṣṇu in his Narasiṃha aspect (*Purushottama*).

39. Indian Museum inscription of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla.

Incised on a piece of stone lying in the Indian Museum, first noticed by Pandit Vinoda Vihārī Vidyāvinoda.

Records gift of an image by Dharmmamitra, a Buddhist elder (*Sākya-bhikṣu-sthāvira*), belonging to the *Andhra-vishaya*.

40. Bhāgalpur copper-plate of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla, dated in the 17th year.

With the usual *dharmachakra-mudrā* seal containing the legend *Śrī-Nārāyaṇapāladevasya*. Invocation to Buddha.

Records gift of a village for the worship of an image of Siva, set up by the king himself, managed by a committee of *Pāsupata Āchāryas* (*yāthārham pūjā-bali-charu-satra-nava-karm-ādy = artham śayan-āsana-glāna-pratyāya-bhaishajya-parishkār-ādy = artham*). Envoy—Gurava Bhaṭṭa. Engraved by Maṅkhadāsa, son of Śubhadāsa, who was born in Samatāṭa.

41. Badal Pillar-inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla.

Incised on a pillar standing at a distance of about three miles from Badal in the district of Dinajpur, North Bengal. The inscription is also known as the Mangalbāri stone inscription as the pillar is situated in the vicinity of Mangalbāri in the same district.

Records the setting up of a pillar, surmounted by a figure of Garuḍa, and contains a panegyric account of Gurava Miśra and his ancestors. Among the Pāla kings mentioned, the last is Nārāyaṇapāla. Engraved by the *Sūtradhāra*, Viśṇubhadra.

42. Uddanḍapura brass image inscription of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla, dated in the year 54.

Preserved in the Museum of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta.

Records the gift of an image of Pārvatī by *Rāṇaka* Uchha-putra Thāruka, an inhabitant of *Śrī-Uddanḍapura*.

43. Bargaon pillar-inscription of the reign of Rājyapāla, dated in the year 24.

Bargaon, at the site of ancient Nālandā, near Bihār in the Patna district. The pillar on which the inscription is incised is now preserved in a Jaina temple at Bargaon.

Records that a certain person named Vaid[y]anātha belonging to the mercantile community (*vaṇik-kula*), son of Manoratha,

paid a visit to a temple in the month of *Mārga*-[*śr̥ṣha*] in the above year of the reign of Rājyapāla.

44-45. Kurkihar bronze image inscriptions, dated respectively in the years 31 and 32 of the reign of Rājyapāla.

Preserved in the Patna Museum.

46. Nālandā stone image inscription of the reign of Gopāla (II), dated in the year 1.

Incised on the pedestal of an image of Vāgīśvarī. Discovered at Nālandā in 1862 A.D. Now preserved in the Indian Museum.

Records the covering with gold (*suvarṇa-r̥r̥hi-saktā*) of an image of Vāgīśvarī at Nālandā.

47. Bodh-Gayā Buddha image inscription of the reign of Gopāla (II).

The stone image bearing the inscription was unearthed at Bodh-Gayā by Cunningham in 1879 A.D. Now preserved in the Indian Museum.

Contains an invocation to Buddha. Records gift of the image by Dhārmabbhīma who describes himself as *Sindhūdbhava*, and seems to have been known also by the name Sakrasena.

48. Jājilpādā copper-plate of the reign of Gopāla, dated in the year 6.

Originally found in the possession of a peasant belonging to the village Jājilpādā in the Police Station Gājol in the Malda district, North Bengal. Preserved in the Malda Museum.

Gift of two villages in the name of Buddha from the victorious camp at Vaṭaparvvatikā, viz., Kāsthagriha and Mahārājapallikā within the jurisdiction of the *agrahāra* of Ānandapura in the Kuddālakhāta-*vishaya* of the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* to Sridhara-Sarman, an immigrant from Muktāvastu, a resident of Sihagrāma, belonging to the *Mādhyandina* branch of the *Vajrasineya* School, son of Bhaṭṭaputra Śrigarbha, and grandson of Bhaṭṭaputra Nāga. See *Bharatavarsha*, 1344 B.S., *Śrāvana*, pp. 264-74.

49. Bāghāurā Nārāyaṇa image inscription of the reign of Mahīpāla (II), dated in the year 3.

From Bāghāurā, a village near the sub-divisional town of Brāhmanbāriā in the Tippera district. The inscribed image of Viṣṇu is reported (see Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 353) to be in the possession of a certain resident of Vidyākūṭa, a neighbouring village.

Records the installation of an image of Nārāyaṇa in Samataṭa, comprised in the dominion of Mahīpāla, by the merchant (*vaṇik*) Lokadatta, a devout Vaishṇava, son of Vasudatta, belonging to Vilakīndaka.

50. Bāngarh copper-plate of the reign of Mahīpāla (I, dated in the 9th (?) year.

From Bāngarh in the district of Dinajpur, North Bengal. Discovered sometime in the latter part of the last century. R. D. Banerji reports that the plate is in the possession of Mr. N. N. Vasu (since deceased),—see Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 324. The plate is surmounted by a seal, which is 'a highly wrought ornament, 'pointed at the top,' having in the centre a beaded circle 'with raised rim, supported and surrounded by arabesque work,' and also a conch (*śaṅkha*) on the top of this circle. The circle itself is divided into two parts, the upper part containing a representation of the Buddhist *dharma-chakra* with an umbrella surmounting it and antelopes at the sides (the usual Pāla device). The other half bears the legend—*Sri-Mahīpāla-devasya*—inscribed in raised letters, and 'supported by arabesque work.'

Invocation to Buddha in the same words as in the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla. Records gift of a village to the Brāhmin, Kṛishṇāditya-Sarman, son of Bhaṭṭaputra Madhusūdana and grandson of Bhaṭṭaputra Hṛishīkeśa, an immigrant from the village Hastipada and a resident of the village Chāvaṭi. Envoy—Bhaṭṭa Vāmana Mantri. Engraver—Mahīdhara Śilpi, son of Vijayāditya (?), an immigrant from the village Poshali. The first two verses of the grant are the same as those of the

Bhāgalpur grant, and the next two verses of the former are identical with verses 4 and 5 respectively of the latter. The sixth verse of the Bhāgalpur grant reappears in a slightly altered form in the Bāngarh grant also as its sixth verse.

51. Nālandā stone inscription of the reign of Mahīpāla (I), dated in the year 11.

Discovered at Nālandā in 1864 by Captain Marshall in the course of the unearthing of the temple of Bālāditya. The stone gateway bearing the inscription is preserved in the Indian Museum.

Records a gift (the inscribed gateway) by Bālādityā, son of Gurudatta, grandson of Haradatta, a Buddhist of the *Mahāyāna* School, residing in Tailāḍhaka, and an immigrant from Kauśambī, after the restoration of a temple (most probably the Bālāditya temple), destroyed by fire (*agni-dāh-oddhāre*).

52. Bodh-Gayā stone image inscription of the reign of Mahīpāla (I), dated in the year 11.

Incised on the pedestal of an image of Buddha in the *Bhūmiśparśa-mudrā*, now worshipped as that of a Pāṇḍava, 'in a small shrine' in front of the great temple at Bodh-Gayā.'

Records in the first three lines the gift of two *gandhakuṭis* and the image itself.

53. Kurkihar bronze image inscription of the reign of Mahīpāla, dated in the year 31.

Preserved in the Patna Museum.

54. Tetrawan stone inscription of Mahīpāla (I).

The 'colossal image of Buddha,' on the pedestal of which the inscription is incised, stands at Tetrawan (Titarawa), six miles from the town of Bihār in the Patna district. The inscription is practically illegible (Cunningham, ASR, III. p. 123).

55. Imadpur inscribed images of the reign of Mahīpāla (I), dated in the year 48.

Several brass figures, found at Imadpur in the district of Muzaffarpur, Bihār, all having the same inscription

which mentions the name of Mahīpāla and the year 48 of his reign.

56. Sārṇāth image inscription of the year [*Vikrama*] 1083, mentioning the name of Mahīpāla (I).

Incised on the pedestal of an image of Buddha, discovered in 1794 A.D. Preserved in the Lucknow Museum.

Records the repair of the *Dharmarājikā*, the *Dharmachakra* with its different parts and the *Gandhakuṭi* by Sthirapālā and Vasantapālā, and also the erection of various monuments by Mahīpāla, the king of Gauḍa.

57. Gayā Kṛishṇadvārikā temple inscription of the reign of Nayapāla, dated in the year 15.

The slab on which the inscription is incised is to be found attached to the Kṛishṇadvārikā temple at Gayā, a comparatively new building.

Contains an invocation to Vāsudeva and records the erection of a temple of Janārdana, built by Viśvāditya, son of Śūdraka, grandson of Paritoshā (*mahādēva-rāja-rāmā*—l. 4). The inscription, also furnishing a panegyrical account of Viśvāditya's family, was composed by the veterinary surgeon (*rājivaidya*) Sahadeva. Engraved by the *Śilpi* Saṅgasoma, son of Adhupāsoma.

58. Narasimha temple inscription of the reign of Nayapāla, dated in the year 15 (*bhartṛuh Śrī-Nayapāladeva-nripate rā*).

Discovered inside the Narasimha temple in the Vishṇupāda compound at Gayā in 1884. Contains an invocation to the goddess Līkshmi and a panegyrical account of the ancestors of Viśvarūpa, son of Śūdraka, grandson of Paritoshā, and further records the erection of the Gadādhara and a few other temples at Gayāpurī. Composed by *Vaidya* Vajrapāṇi. Engraved by Sarvānanda (?)

59-60. Kurkihar bronze image inscriptions of the reign of Vighrahapāla III, dated in the years 3 and 19 respectively. Preserved in the Patna Museum.

61. Akshayaṇa inscription of the reign of Vīrabhāpāla III, dated in the year 5 (*bhartur-Vīrabhāpāladeva-nṛpate rājyaśrīyaṁ vibhṛataḥ samprāpte tarasaiva pañchagaṇite rājyasya samvatsare*).

The stone bearing the inscription is to be found attached to the base of the *Akshayaṇa* at Gayā. Contains an invocation to Śiva, and with a panegyrical account of the family of Viśvarūpa records the erection of two *lingas*, one of Vāteśa and the other of Prapitāmaheśvara in the *Gayā-maṇḍala*. *Praśasti* composed by *Vaidya* Dharmapāṇi.

62. Terracotta plaque of the reign of Vīrabhāpāla III, dated in the year 8. Provenance not known. Preserved in the Nālandā Museum.

63. Bihār inscription of the reign of Vīrabhāpāladeva (III), dated in the year 12 (See Cunningham, ASR, III, p. 121).

Incised on the pedestal of an image of Buddha brought to the Indian Museum in 1895 A.D., but reported to be not traceable now.

64. Indian Museum inscription of the reign of Vīrabhāpāla (III), dated in the year 13.

Noticed by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in the collection of the Indian Museum (MASB, V, p. 112). Find-place unknown. This is identified by him as the Bihār stone-image inscription of Vīrabhāpāla III, mentioned by Cunningham as dated in the year 12, reported to be missing (see 63).

Incised on the pedestal of an image of Buddha.

Records gift on the 14th day of *Mārgaśīrsa*, in the year 13 of Vīrabhāpāla's reign by the goldsmith (*Suvarṇnakāra*) Deheka, son of Sāhe.

65. Gayā stone inscription of the reign of Vīrabhāpāla (III).

Incised on the stone on which the image of Gadādhara at Gayā stands.

Contains invocation to the Sun (*Māritāṇḍa*) and a reference to Paritoshā.

66. Āmgāchhi copper-plate of the reign of *Vigrahapāla* III, dated in the year 12.

Discovered in 1806 A.D. at Āmgāchhi, a village in the district of Dinajpur, North Bengal.

Preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The royal seal is attached to the upper part of the plate, consisting 'of a circle with raised rim and beaded border, resting on a mass of arabesque foliage.' On the top of the circle is a *chhatra*, surmounted by an umbrella. The circle, divided into two parts, contains in the upper portion a representation of the *dharmachakra* with couchant antelopes at the sides, the wheel being a convex one with eight spokes and having an umbrella on its top. Below the wheel is the legend *Śrī = Vigrahapāladevaḥ*, in raised letters.

Records the grant of a village on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (*Soma-grāhe*, l. 40) to Khoduladeva-Śarman, son of Arkkadeva, grandson of Padmavāna, a *Sāmavedin* Brahmin belonging to the *Kaushīya* School, an immigrant from Kroḍāñchi (Kroḍāñcha) and also Matsyāvāsa, and an inhabitant of Chhatrāgrāma (Chhatraprāgrāma?), who was versed in *Mīmāṃsā*, *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar) and *Tarka-vidyā* (logic).

Envoy—Sahasija or Sahasirāja (see Ep. Ind., XV. p. 298, n. 3), the *mantri*. Engraved by Śasīdeva, son of Mahādharma, an immigrant from Poshālī-grāma.

The first ten verses are identical with those of the Bāngarh grant. Verses 11 and 14 of this grant are the same as the 12th and 11th verses respectively of the Bāngarh grant.

67. Tetrawan inscription of the reign of Rāmapāla, dated in the year 2.

Preserved in the Indian Museum.

Records gift of an image of Tārā by Bhaṭṭa Ichchhara, (Īśvara?). A. M. Broadly reads 'Rāmapati' in place of 'Rāmapāla' (JASB, 1872, Pt. I, p. 282).

68. *Chandimau Bodhisattva Padmapāpi image inscription of the reign of Rāmapāla, dated in the year 42 (for the date read by Cunningham as the year 12, see MASB, V, p. 93).*

From Chandimau, a village in the Bibār subdivision of the Patna district. Discovered by Cunningham in 1877 or 1878. Subsequently removed to the Indian Museum.

Records erection of the image by an inhabitant of Rājagriha, *Vanik Sādhu Saharana*, son of *Sādhu Bhādulva*. Contains the Buddhist formula—*Ye dharmmā hetu prabhavā hetuṃ teshāṃ*, etc.

69. *Nindighi or Māndā stone inscription mentioning Gopāla (III). See IHQ., 1941, pp. 207-216.*

The inscription was discovered in 1911 A.D. by the late Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitreya from 'Māndā, locally known as Thakur Māndā, about 30 miles direct north of the town of Rajshahi.' According to Mr. Sarat Kumar Roy, however, the inscribed stone was discovered at Nindighi, ten miles to the west of Māndā. Preserved in the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi.

70. *Rājibpur (Bāngarb) Sadāsivā image inscription of the reign of Gopāla (III), dated in the year 14 or 1.*

The image, 'reported to have been dug up by some Santals at Rājibpur' in the Dinajpur district, was first noticed by Dr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali in the Dinajpur Collectorate Records Room. See IHQ., 1941, 217-218.

Records erection of the image by Purushottoma.

71. *Bibār Hill image-inscription of the reign of Madanapāladeva, dated in the year 3.*

Inscribed on the pedestal of an image of the goddess *Shashthī*.

Records erection of the image (See Cunningham, ASR, III, p. 124, No. 16).

72. *Manabali copper-plate of the reign of Madanapala, dated in the year 8 (?).*

Discovered in 1875 A.D. in excavating a tank within a park at Manabali, a village in the district of Dinajpur, North

Bengal. Preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Seal with the usual Pāla symbol, viz., the Buddhist *dharmachakra* with antelopes at the sides, and the name of the ruler—*Śrī-Madana-pāla*.

Records in the name of Buddha the grant of some land to Vateśvarasvāmī Śarman, son of Śaunakasvāmī, grandson of Prajāpatīsvāmī and great-grandson of Vatsasvāmī, as fee for the reciting of the Mahābhārata to the chief queen (*Paṭṭa-mahādevī*) Chitramatikā. The donee, a resident of Champāhiṭṭī, belonged to the Kauthuma School of the Sāmaveda. Envoy—*Sāndhivigrahika* Bhīmadeva. Engraved by the *Śilpī* Tathāgata-sara.

The first eight verses of the grant are the same as those of the Āṃgachhī grant. Verses 9 and 12 are identical with verses 11 and 13 respectively of the Āṃgachhī grant, and its eleventh verse occurs in an altered form as the twelfth of the latter inscription.

73. Jaynagar image inscription of the reign of Madana-pāla, dated in the year 19.

From Jaynagar, near Luckeesarai in Biḥār Province.

Records erection of a Buddhist statue (See Cunningham, ASR, III, p. 125, No. 17).

(b) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHANDRAS

c. 950-1050 A.D.

74. Rāmpāl copper-plate of the reign of Śrīchandra.

Reported to have been found a little more than a century ago at Rāmpāl, a village about one mile and a half from Pañchasār in the Munshiganj subdivision of the Dacca district. Preserved in the Varendra Research Museum.

With a *dharmachakra mudrā* seal (cf. the emblem used by the Pālas of Bengal), which has, in its upper part, the

emblem of the Buddhist "Wheel of Law," the *Dharmma-[cha]kra* (l. 31) with two deer in the couchant posture on both sides of it. Just below the wheel and above the legend *Śrī-Śrīchandra[de]vaḥ*, something like the emblem of a small conch-shell is seen. Beneath the legend may be observed the representation of a digit of the moon, with floral decorations on the three other sides of it. This crescent, it seems, represents the Moon from whom the donor (*Śrīchandra*) and his ancestors are said to have descended. Regarding the representation of the Moon on the Buddhist seal, it may be interesting to compare verse 3 of the text: *Buddhasya yaḥ śaśaka-jātakam=aṅka-saṁsthām bhaktyā vibhīrati.....*

Invocations to Buddha, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha*. Records grant of land to Pitāvāsa-Guptaśarman, the *Sāntivārika* (priest in charge of propitiatory ceremonies), son of Sumaṅgala-Gupta, grandson of Varāha-Gupta and great-grandson of Makkaḍa-Gupta, on the occasion of the *Koṭihoma* ceremony

75. Kedārpur copper-plate of the reign of Śrīchandra.

Discovered in 1919 A.D. at Kedarpur in the Madaripur subdivision of the district of Faridpur. Preserved in the Dacca Museum.

The usual *dharmachakra-mudrā* seal. Invocation to Buddha, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha* in verse 1, same as in the Rāmpāl copper-plate grant.

Incomplete. Contains only the genealogy of the Chandras, ending with Śrīchandra.

76. Dhulla copper-plate of the reign of Śrīchandra.

Discovered by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali in 1925. Preserved in the Dacca Museum.

With a *Dharmachakra-mudrā* seal.

Grant of land to the *Sāntivārika* (priest in charge of propitiatory rites) Vyāsaṅga-Sarman, son of Vibhugaṅga, grandson of Nandagaṅga, great-grandson of Jayagaṅga, as a fee for conducting the *Adbhutaśānti* ceremony, on the occasion of the performance of the *Homachatusṭaya* or the Four *Homas*.

77. Idilpur copper-plate of the reign of Srichandra.

Found at Edilpur in the district of Faridpur. (A note on this inscription, prepared by the late Mr. Gangamohan Laskar, was published in the Dacca Review for October 1912. Extract from this note was published by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali in the Ep. Ind., XVII, pp. 189-90. See also N. G. Majumdar, 'Inscriptions of Bengal,' pp. 166-67). "The plate is reported to exist still; but it is in the custody of people who are unwilling to show it to anybody again."

"From a comparison of the abstract of the Idilpur plate of Śrī-Chandra published in the Dacca Review, referred to above, with the contents of the present plate (Kedārpur plate), it is evident that the two plates are copies of the same draft. The Idilpur plate seems to have an extra *śloka* towards the end, borrowed from Śrī-Chandra's Rāmpāl plate, which is otherwise the copy of a draft differing from that of the Idilpur and the Kedārpur plates.....the opening invocatory *śloka* is identical in all the three plates" (Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 189).

Grant of land.

78. Sandwip inscription on an image of the Sun-god of the reign of Govindachandra, dated in the year 12.

Discovered on the Sandwip island. Preserved in the Dacca Museum.

79. Paikpādā Vāsudeva image inscription of the reign of Govindachandra, dated in the year 23 (?).

Engraved on the pedestal of an image of Vāsudeva, recently found at Paikpādā, a village in Vikrampur, in the Munshiganj subdivision of the Dacca district. Preserved in the Palli Kalyāṇa Āśrama at Autshahi.

Records gift of the image by 'Gaṅgādāsa, son of Pāradāsa' (See D. C. Sircar, Bhāratavarsha, 1348 B.S., *Jyāishṭha*, pp. 768-775; Ind. Cult., Vol. VII, No. 4, pp. 405-416).

80. Bhārellā Nartteśvara image inscription of the reign of Layahachandra, dated in the year 18.

Engraved on the pedestal of 'a huge image of Naṭeśa-Siva dug out of a tank in a village called Bhārellā, Police Station Baḍkāmtā, in the district of Tipperah.' Preserved in the Dacca Sāhitya Parishat.

Gift of the image by Bhāvu-deva, son of Kusuma-deva, governor of Karmmānta (*Karmmānta-pāla*). Engraved by Rātoka and Madhusūdana.

(c) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KĀMBOJAS

c. 950-1025 A.D.

81. Dinajpur pillar inscription of a Kāmboja King.

The pillar originally found amidst the ruins of Bāngarh in the district of Dinajpur is now located in the garden in front of the house of the Dinajpur Raj.

Records the dedication of a temple of Siva by a king of Gauda belonging to the Kāmboja family (*Kāmboj-ānvayaja-Gaṇḍapati*).

82. Irdā copper-plate of the reign of the Kāmboja king Nayapāla-deva, dated in the year 13.

Find-spot unknown. Was in the possession of a landlord of Irdā in the Balasore District, Orissa. With a circular seal containing the well-known *dharma-chakra* device, and in bold relief the legend : *Śrī-Nayapāla-devasya*.

Salutation to Siva. Grant of a village to a *Paṇḍita* (scholar) named Aśvartthaśarman, born at Droṇa, hailing from Kuṇṭhira, an adherent of the *Chhāndogya-charaṇa* and the *Kauthuma* school of the Sāmaveda, great-grandson of Bhaṭṭa Divākaraśarman, grandson of the *Upādhyāya* Prabhākaraśarman and son of the *Upādhyāya* Anukulamiśra.

(d) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE VARMAṆS

c. 1050-1150 A.D.

83. Belava copper-plate of the reign of Bhojavarman, dated in the year 5.

From Belava, a village under the Police Station Rupganj, in the Narayanganj subdivision of the district of Dacca, Eastern Bengal. Preserved in the Dacca Museum.

With a seal which seems to have originally borne the emblem of a wheel (*cf. Śrīmad-Vishṇuchakra-mudrā-tāmrāsāsāṇī-kṛitya pradatt-āsmābhiḥ*—ll. 48-49 of the text). Grant, in the name of Vāsudeva, of land to Rāmadeva-Śarman, the priest in charge of propitiatory rites (*śāntyāgār-ādhiḥkṛitāya*—, *cf. the designation Śāntyāgārika*, to be met with in grant No. 97, also *Śāntivārika* in grants Nos. 74 and 76 of this list), of the *Yajurvedin* School, son of Viśvarūpa-devaśarman, grandson of Jagannātha-devaśarman, great-grandson of Pītāmbara-devaśarman, an immigrant from the Middle country (*Madhyadeśa-vinirgatasya*), a settler in Siddhala-grāma in *uttara-Rāḍhā*.

84. Vajrayogini inscription of Sāmalavarman—Incomplete. Broken fragment of a copper-plate which had probably a *Vishṇuchakra* seal attached to it—(*cf. l. 11. Vishṇuchakra-mudrayā...*) is available.

Noticed at Somapārā in the village Vajrayogini, situated in the district of Dacca. Reported to have been originally found by some children in the ruined site of an old temple in the locality. Preserved in the Dacca Museum.

Gift of land in favour of a Buddhist temple of *Prajñāpāramitā* built by Bhīmadeva. Date lost. Details of the grant also lost. See N. K. Bhattasali, *Modern Review*, 1932, Nov., pp. 529-32; Bhāratavarsha, *Kārttika*, 1340 B. S., pp. 674-81.

85. Sāmantaśār copper-plate grant of the reign of Hari-varmadeva.

Reported by the late Mr. N. N. Vasu to have been originally in the possession of a certain resident of Sāmantaśār, a village in

the Idilpur Pargana of the Faridpur district. Preserved in the Dacca Museum. The name 'Vejanīsāra grant,' given by him to this inscription, is not appropriate (See Bhāratavarsha, Māgha, 1344 B.S., pp. 169-74; Vaṅger Jātiya Itihās, Vol. II, pp. 215-17).

The *Vishnuchakra* seal, which was attached to the plate, is referred to in l. 16.

Gift of land in the village Varaparvata in the Mayūrāvidjariśhaya, comprised in the Pañchavāsa-maṇḍala in the Pauṇḍrabhukti to the priest in charge of propitiatory rites, son of Padmanābha-śarman, grandson of Bhaṭṭaputra Vedagarbha-śarman, the donee belonging to the *Āśvalāyana śākhā* of the R̥g-vedic School (dated in the year 42?).

(e) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SENAS

c. 1050-1220 A.D.

86. Barrackpur copper-plate of Vijayasena, dated in the year 62.

Discovered in a village, near Barrackpur Cantonment in the district of 24-Parganas, was taken to England, where it is probably in the possession of Mr. Schumacher, the discoverer of the plate.

With an uninscribed seal bearing in relief a representation of a 'ten-armed figure of Śiva called Sadāśiva in the Idilpur grant of Keśavasena'.

Invocation to Śiva. Grant of land to a R̥gvedin Brahmin, Udayakara-devaśarman, son of Bhāskara-devaśarman, grandson of Rahaskara-devaśarman and great-grandson of Ratnākara-devaśarman of Kāntijongī, an immigrant from the *Madhyadeśa*, (Middle country) on the occasion of the Golden *Tulā puruṣa* gift ceremony, performed by the *Mahādevī* Vilāsadevī during a lunar eclipse. Envoy—Śālādḍanāga. (For the date, see H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, p. 364, n. 1.)

87. Deopara stone inscription of the reign of Vijayasena. Discovered in 1865 A.D. near Deopara in the Police Station Godagari in the Rajshahi district, North Bengal. The inscribed stone slab is preserved in the Indian Museum.

Invocation to Śiva. Building of a temple of Pradyumneśvara by the king. Composed by Umāpatidhara (*pāda pad-ārtha-vichāra-suddha-buddher...*). Engraved by Rāṇaka Śūlapāṇi, a prominent member of the guild of craftsmen of Varendra (*Vārendraka-śilpigoshthi-chūdāmaṇi*), son of Bṛihaspati, grandson of Mānadāsa and great-grandson of Dharma.

88. Paikore pillar inscription of the reign of Vijayasena.

Discovered at Nārāyaṇa-chatvara, Paikore, a village in the district of Birbhūm, three miles to the east of the Murarai Station on the Loop Line of the E. I. Railway.

Inscription consisting of a single line, engraved on a stone pillar exhibiting the headless figure of Manasā, the snake-goddess, 'contains mention of Vijayasena (...rājena Śrī-Vijaya-se[nena]). See Birbhūm-Vivarāṇa, vol. II, p. 10; Annual Report, ASRI, 1921-22, pp. 78-80, plate xxviii b).

89. Naibāṭi copper-plate of the reign of Vallālasena, dated in the year 11.

Discovered in 1911 A.D. at Naibāṭi in the Katwa subdivision of the Burdwan district, within the estate of the Zamin-dar of Sitābāṭi, a village near Naibāṭi. Preserved in the Indian Museum.

Seal with the usual Sena representation of Sadāśiva.

Invocation to Śiva in the *Ardhanarīśvara* form. Grant of village Vāllabhiṭṭā (*cf.* the Saktipur grant) to the *Āchārya* Ovāsu-devaśarman of the *Kouthuma* school of the *Sāmaveda*, son of Lakshmiḍhara-devaśarman, grandson of Bhadrēśvara-devaśarman and great-grandson of Varāha-devaśarman, on the occasion of the *Hemāśvadāna* ceremony, performed by the king's mother Vilāsadevī during a solar eclipse.

90. Govindapur copper-plate of the reign of Lakshmapasena, dated in the year 2 or 3.

From Govindapur, a village in the district of 24-Parganas, near the Baruipur Station of the Diamond Harbour Branch of the Eastern Bengal Railway.

Seal with a figure of Sadāśiva. Obeisance (*namaskāra*) to Nārāyaṇa. Invocation to Śiva and the Moon.

Grant of a village to Vyāsa-devaśarman of the *Kauthuma* school of the *Sāmaveda*, son of Śrīnivāsa-devaśarman, grandson of Chahala-devaśarman and great-grandson of Gosvāmi-devaśarman, on the occasion of the coronation ceremony of the king (*rājy-ābhishika-samaye*). Envoy—*Sāndhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇadatta.

91. Tarpandighi copper-plate of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena, dated in the year 2.

Discovered in 1873-74 A.D. in the course of the re-excavation of Tarpandighi, an old tank in the district of Dinajpur, North Bengal, about 6 miles to the south of Gangarampur Police Station in the Balurghat subdivision. Preserved in the Museum of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta.

Sadāśiva Seal. *Namaskāra* and invocation as in the Govindapur grant.

Grant of a village to the Tsvāra-devaśarman of the *Kauthuma* School of the *Sāmaveda*, son of Lakshmīdhara-devaśarman, grandson of Mārkaṇḍeya-devaśarman, and great-grandson of Hutāsana-devaśarman, on the occasion of the *Hemāstra-mahādāna* ceremony. Envoy—Nārāyaṇadatta, minister of peace and war.

92. Ānuliā copper-plate of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena, dated in the year 3.

Discovered in 1898 A.D. at Ānuliā, a village, near Ranaghat in the district of Nadia. Preserved in the Vārendra Research Museum, Rajshahi.

Sadāśiva Seal. *Namaskāra* and invocation as in the Govindapur and Tarpandighi grants.

Grant of land to Paṇḍita Raghu-devaśarman of the *Kāṇva* branch of the *Yajurveda* School, son of Devadāsa-devaśarman, grandson of Śaṅkara-devaśarman and great-grandson of Vipra-

dāsa-devaśarman. Envoy—*Sāndhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇadatta (same as in the Ānuliā and Govindapur grants).

93. Dacca image inscription of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena, dated in the year 3.

Engraved on the pedestal of an image of Chaṇḍī. Discovered by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in the ruins of Rāmpal, in the Pargana of that name in the Dacca district.

The image is described as that of a four-armed goddess, waited upon by a female on each side, and standing under a niche or porch, on the top of which there are two elephants 'with vases on their upraised trunks' as if pouring water on the principal figure. The goddess who stands on a lotus over a lion couchant carries in three hands a water-vessel, a lotus, an elephant-goad or a battle-axe, and the lower left hand is in the *Varada* pose. The image is now worshipped in a small temple at Dālbāzār on the Farāshganj Road near the Northbrook Hall in the town of Dacca.

Records installation of the image of Chaṇḍidevī by Nārāyaṇa, begun by *Adhikṛita* Dāmodara in the third year of Lakshmaṇasena's reign (for reference to the fourth year, in which installation took place, see Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 360. The existence of this additional date is very doubtful).

94. Śaktipur copper-plate of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena, dated in the year 6.

This copper-plate was for a long time in the custody of the family of the late Mr. Sivachandra Chatterjee of Śaktipur in the Sadar subdivision of the Murshidabad district. Find-place unknown. Preserved in the library of the Vāṅṡīya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta.

Sadāśiva Seal. *Namaskāra* and invocation as in the Ānuliā grant, of which the first seven verses are the same as those of this grant.

Grant of land (including a *pāṭaka* called Vallihitā) to a Brahmin named Kuvera on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Envoy—Tripurārīnātha, the *Sāndhivigrahika*.

95. The Bhowal copper-plate of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena, dated in the year 27 (?).

Once believed to be lost; now identified with the plate discovered by Mr. H. N. Randle in the archives of the India Office Library, London. Preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Sadāśiva Seal. First 13 verses, same as in the Mādhāinagar grant of Lakshmaṇasena (see 96 below).

Grant of land to Padmanābhadeva-Sarman of the *Kauthuma* branch of the Sāmaveda, son of Mahādeva-Sarman, grandson of Jayadeva-Sarman and great-grandson of Buddhadeva (?)—Sarman, by Lakshmaṇasena, on whom the epithet Parama-Nārasiniha is bestowed. Envoy—Saṅkaradhara, the Chief Minister of Peace and War of Gauda (*Gauda-mahāsāndhigrahika*).

96. Mādhāinagar copper-plate of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena.

Discovered sometime about the year 1874 at Mādhāinagar in the Police Station Raiganj in the Seraiganj subdivision of the Pabna district. Preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Sadāśiva Seal. Obeisance to Nārāyaṇa and invocation to the five-faced god Śiva and the Moon.

Grant of a village to the *Sāntyāgārika* Govinda-devaśarman of the *Paippalāda* branch of the Atharvaveda, son of Kumāra-devaśarman, grandson of Rāma-devaśarman, great-grandson of Dāmodara-devaśarman in connexion with the *Aindrī Mahāsānti* ceremony on the occasion of the *Mūlabhishcka*. The year of the grant is lost.

Marked resemblance between verses 4 and 6 of this inscription and verses 5 and 16 respectively of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena's reign, as well as the close correspondence between v. 2. of this grant and a verse ascribed to Umapatidhara in the *Saduktikarpāmṛita* (Bib. Ind. ed., p. 92, v. 4.) suggests that this inscription was probably the composition of the same poet.

97. Sundarban copper-plate of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena,

Discovered in the Sundarbans within the jurisdiction of the district of 24-Parganas in 1868. Lost.

Grant of land to the *Śantyāgārika* Kṛṣṇadhara-devaśarman, son of Narasimha-devaśarman, grandson of Nārāyaṇadhara-devaśarman and great-grandson of Jagaddhara-devaśarman, who was a student of the *Āśvalāyana śākhā* of the Rīgveda.

98. Madanapādā copper-plate of the reign of Viśvarūpasena, dated in the year 14.

Acquired by the late Mr. N. N. Vasu in 1892. Discovered at Madanapādā, P.O. Pinjari, in the Koṭālipādā *parṇa* of the Faridpur district. It was in the Library of the [Royal] Asiatic Society of Bengal, but is now missing.

Namaskāra to Nārāyaṇa. Invocation to the Sun and the Moon. Sadāśiva Seal (which is also mentioned by name in line 56 of the inscription).

Grant of a village to Viśvarūpa-devaśarman (*Nītipāṭhaka* ?), son of Vanamāli-devaśarman, grandson of Garbhēśvara-devaśarman and great-grandson of Parāśara-devaśarman. Envoy-Kopivishṇu, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* of Gauḍa.

99. Calcutta (Vaṅgiya) Sāhitya Parishat copper-plate of the reign of Viśvarūpa-Sena.

Discovered in 1925 in the Dacca district (exact locality not known), acquired by the Zamindar family of Susang in the district of Mymensingh. Later presented to the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat. Sadāśiva Seal missing. *Namaskāra* and invocation as in the previous grant.

Grant of several plots of land to Halāyudha-devaśarman belonging to the *Kāṇva* branch of the Yajurveda. Grants made in the 13th regnal year, on the occasion of the birth-day anniversary (*varshavṛiddhau*) of Kumāra Sūryyasena, and also in the 14th year. Envoy's name lost.

100. Idilpur copper-plate of the reign of Keśavasena, dated in the year 3.

Discovered about 1838 A.D. in Idilpur, a *pargana* of the district of Faridpur. Was in the Library of the [Royal] Asiatic Society of Bengal. Now missing.

Sādāśiva Seal. Gift of land to the *Nītipāṭhaka* (i.e. reciter of moral texts) Īśvara-devaśarman, son of Vanamāli-devaśarman, grandson of Garbheśvara-devaśarman, great-grandson of Parāśara-devaśarman in the auspicious year (*śubha-varsha-riddhau dīrghāyusha-kāmanayā*), i.e. probably on the occasion of the king's birth-day anniversary.

V. MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

c. 650-1200 A.D.

101. Nidhanpur copper-plates of the reign of Bhāskaravarman, King of Kāmarūpa.

Discovered in 1319 B.S. at Nidhanpur, a village in the Pañchakhaṇḍa *pargana* of the district of Sylhet in the Province of Assam. Different plates obtained and noticed on different occasions. Still incomplete. Seal with traces of an elephant. Preserved in the collection of the Kāmrup Anusandhān Samity, Assam.

Re-issue of a grant by Bhāskaravarman from Karpasuvārṇa, originally issued by Bhūti-varman, his great-great-grandfather. The plates so far available give names of 205 Brahmin donees, belonging to 56 different *gotras*, together with a specification of 166 $\frac{1}{4}$ shares including those seven, ear-marked for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *satra*, etc. See Ep. Ind., XII, No. 13; XIX, No. 19, p. 116, No. 40.; Padmanath Bhattacharyya, *Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvalī*, p. 3, n. 2.

102. Tippera copper-plate of Lokanātha, dated in the year 44.

Discovered from the district of Tippera, about 36 or 37 years ago. Exact find-place not known. Partly damaged. Preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Invocation to Śaṅkara (v. 1.).

With a heavy seal bearing a figure of Lakshmī standing on a lotus with elephants on both sides, each pouring water on her from a jar lifted by its trunk, and also accompanied with two attendants seated cross-legged at the two sides of the goddess, pouring out some thing liquid from two round pots. Legend—*Kumārāmāty-ādihikarāṣya* (in characters of the time of the Early Imperial Guptas), also a second legend—*Lokanāthasya* on the smaller seal impressed on the right side of the figure of Lakshmī, in characters resembling those used in the inscription on the plate.

Gift of land to *mahāsāmanta* Pradosha-Śarman in the *Suvvṇga-vishaya* with a view to the maintenance of *aṣṭapushpikā, bali, charu, satra* for *Bhagavān* Ananta-Nārāyaṇa in the temple (*maṭha*), built by him, and for providing the residence of more than one hundred Brahmins whose names together with shares, received jointly or individually, are supplied. Genealogy of Prodoshā-Śarman, himself a Brahmin : father—Brahmin Tosha-Śarman ; mother, Suvachanā daughter of Bṛhaspativāmin ; grandfather—Jayaśarma-Svāmin ; great grandfather—Brahmin Devaśarman. Envoy—*Rājaputra* Lakshminātha. Recorded by Praśāntadeva.

103. Chittagong copper-plate of the reign of Kāntideva.

Found deposited in a Vaishṇava temple of Chittagong called *Bara Akhra*. With a seal supported by two serpents with hoods raised, containing in relief the legend *Śrī-Kāntideva*, and in its upper part the design of a trifolio arch with the figure of a seated lion.

Grant issued from the camp of victory at Vardhamānapura by *Mahārājadhirāja* Kāntideva of *Harikelā-maṇḍala*, a Buddhist by religion, son of Dhanadatta, versed in the *Purāṇas* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and his wife, a princess named Vindurati, a devotee of Siva. Dhanadatta was the son of Bhadradatta, a devotee of Jina (*i.e.*, Buddha), to whom an invocation is addressed. Incomplete, without the formal part of the grant.

104. Patkore Pillar inscription of Karṇa (Lakṣmī-Karṇa, the Chedi king).

The pillar must have been surmounted by an image of the goddess, which, this inscription consisting of six lines mentions as having been made at the order of Karṇadeva of Chedi [*Samṛiddha-rājya-śrī-Chedi-r(ājya)śrī-Karṇadeva(sya)*].

(For details regarding find-place, and references, see No. 88, above.)

105. Raṃgaya Stone Inscription of the reign of Mahendra-pāla (= Mahendrapāla, the Pratihāra King of Kanauj, son and successor of Mihira-Bhoja), dated in the year 8.

Incised on a pedestal illustrating the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, found at Raṃgayā, 'on the other side of the river Phalgu, just opposite the temple of Gadādhara at Gayā'. Preserved in a modern temple of Śiva at Gayā.

Gift of Sahadeva, son of the Rishi (*Rishiputra*) Saṇḍi. See MASB., Vol. V, pp. 63-64.

106. Guneriya stone inscription of the reign of Mahendrapāla, dated in the year 9.

Incised on a Buddhist image, found at Guneriya, a village near the Grand Trunk Road, in the Gayā district.

Buddhist formula. Gift in the reign of *Guṇacharita* Mahindrapāla.

107. British Museum votive inscription of the reign of Mahendrapāla, dated in the year 9.

Erection of an image by a Buddhist monk named Kusuma. See *Nachrichten der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1904, pp. 210-11.

108. British Museum votive inscription of the reign of Mahendrapāla, dated in the year 2.

This is suggested by R. D. Banerji to be identical with the inscription, now missing, which Major Kintoe originally found somewhere in Bihār, the date of which he read to be the year 19, recording the fact of a 'party having apostatized, and again

returned to the worship of the Śākya'. Find-place of neither of these two inscriptions is definitely known.

109. Itkhorī image-inscription of the reign of Mahendrapāla.

Incised on an image of Tārā, found at Itkhorī in the district of Hazaribagh (see ASR., 1920-21, p. 35).

110. Pāhārpur stone inscription of the reign of Mahendrapāla, dated in the year 5.

Engraved on a stone-pillar found in the northern *Maṇḍapa* of the *Vihāra* at Pāhārpur in the Rajshahi district. Preserved in the Indian Museum. See Annual Report, ASI. 1925-26, p. 141; MASI., No. 55, p. 75.

Setting up of a pillar by *bhikṣu* Ajayagarbha in honour of Buddha.

111. Bhuvaneśvar stone inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (II).

The stone bearing the inscription was brought in 1810 A.D. to the [Royal] Asiatic Society of Bengal. On the priests of Bhuvaneśvar (in Orissa) making a representation, it was sent to that place, where it is now to be found attached to the western wall of the courtyard of the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva. According to Mr. P. Acharya, the inscription originally belonged to the temple of Nārāyaṇa or Ananta-Nārāyaṇa, erected at the village Siddhala in Rāḍha or *Uttara-Rāḍha* from where it was brought to the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (see Indian History Congress, Proceedings, Third Session, Calcutta, 1939, p. 313).

Namaskāra to Vāsudeva and invocations to Hari and Vāgdevatā (i.e. Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech).

A panegyrical account of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva II (*Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadevakula-praśasti-sūkt-ākṣarāṇi*, l. 2), and his ancestors, recording erection of an image of Nārāyaṇa, excavation of a tank, laying out of a garden and dedication of a hundred damsels to the service of the god. Genealogy of Bhavadeva (II) : Bhavadeva (I), his elder brother Mahādeva and younger brother Aṭṭabhāsa; Bhavadeva's eight sons, eldest being Rathāṅga;

Rathāṅga's son Atyaṅga ; his son Sphurita (also called Budha) ; his son Ādideva and wife Devakī ; their son Govardhana ; his wives Sarasvatī and Sāṅgokā, the latter being the daughter of a Vandyaghaṭīya Brahmin ; his son by this wife—Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (II). *Praśasti*, composed by Bhavadeva's friend Vāchaspati.

112. Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva, dated in the year 4. Three plates, recording this grant, were discovered in 1892 at Kamauli, a village near the junction of the Gangā and the Varuṇā at Benares. Preserved in the Lucknow Museum.

Invocation to Vāsudeva. Grant of land by Vaidyadeva, the ruler of Kāmarūpa to Somanātha, son of Śrīdhara, grandson of Yuddhiṣṭhira and great-grandson of Bharata who belonged to Bhavagrāma in Varendrī. *Praśasti*, composed by Manoratha, son of Rājaguru Murāri. Engraved by the *Śilpī* (artist) Karṇabhadra.

113. Jaynagar image-inscription of the reign of Palapāla, dated in the year 35.

Name of the find-place, same as that of the Jaynagar image-inscription of the reign of Madanapāla. See Cunningham, ASR., III, p. 125, No. 33, Plate XLV ; H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, p. 352, No. 1.

114. Sundarban copper-plate of the reign of Śrī-Maḍommanapāla, dated in the year 1118 of the Śaka era.

Discovered in the course of the "reclamation of land from the dense primitive forest in F. plot, West Sundarban, near the sea-coast of Bengal." Inscription plated with a thin lining of silver. On the reverse of the copper-plate there is an engraved drawing of a 'Vaishṇavite group,' consisting of an image of Viṣṇu in a sitting pose, 'with a beflowered standard and sun-shade at the back, and a kneeling devotee, probably Garuḍa in front.' Preserved in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University.

Grant of a village to Mahārāṇaka Vāsudeva Śarmaṇ, a student of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurveda.

As a preliminary step towards facilitating a systematic study of the diverse materials to be gathered from the various available sources, I have divided the book into three different parts. The first part is devoted to geography, the second to political or dynastic history, and the third to administration. The underlying unity in the treatment of the data, utilised in the work, is due to the fact that an intelligible account of the political transactions of the country from the earliest times demands a precise determination of the constituent geographical factors, as well as of the different parts of the machinery of government through which sovereign powers were exercised. So far as the geographical chapters are concerned, an endeavour has been made to ascertain the meaning of such terms as *Vaṅga*, *Samatāṭa*, *Harikēḷā*, *Suhma*, *Rāḍhā*, *Karṇasuvārṇa*, etc., to which references are to be found in the inscriptions selected, and also to present in a systematic form the detailed information contained in some of these records regarding certain towns, villages and hamlets, their boundaries and environs. I have tried to give relevant extracts from such inscriptions together with their English renderings, and also the identifications of the different places wherever these have been settled with more or less certainty. In the geographical chapters my attention has been mainly concentrated on the Province of Bengal as at present constituted under British Rule, and I have only incidentally referred to some of its neighbouring provinces while discussing the changing boundaries of territorial jurisdiction under the different princes and dynasties.

The political chapters (Part II), like the geographical ones, are also not based exclusively on the material furnished by the inscriptions of Bengal. The earliest of them, if it is a genuine one, is to be assigned to the third or second century B.C., but it is not impossible to trace Bengal's political history to a remoter antiquity although due reservation must be made for the fact that lack of reliable evidence must make the reconstruction of pre-Mauryan history not only incomplete but

suspect and defective. There are also serious gaps in the later history of the country; practically the whole narrative down to the advent of the Imperial Guptas consists in a series of inferences and probabilities. Bengal never stood isolated from the rest of India; its political happenings and developments were naturally interrelated to the general course of events outside its own frontiers. This is attested by the not inconsiderable evidence contained in the inscriptions of Bengal as well as a number of records discovered from various parts of India including remote places in the South. Even what may appear as purely local history cannot be properly understood unless a wider background is explored. I have, therefore, found it necessary to digress occasionally from the main narrative and discuss the salient features of contemporary history, wherever any direct proof, or even a reasonable indication of, contact with external Powers is available. This accounts for frequent pre-occupations with the history of the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas, the Kushāṇas, of Khāravela of Kāliṅga, the Imperial Guptas, the Later Guptas, the Gurjara-Pratihāras, Rāshtrakūṭas, Chālukyas of Kalyāṇ, the Cholas, etc. It should be added here that the dynastic history of Bengal, as reconstructed in this work, closes with an account of the Senas, the successors of the Pālas, and that the exclusion of any reference to the situation which followed the virtual collapse of that dynasty has been deliberately planned, accounting for the non-utilisation of the material contained in the Chittagong copper-plate of Dāmodara, the Tippera grant of Harikāladeva Raṇavankamalla or the newly discovered inscription from Mehar. As in the geographical chapters, I have in this part of the book also laid particular stress on the interpretation of epigraphic texts and attempted to explain their implications in regard to internal affairs or relations with neighbouring Powers. The genealogical tables and the list of principal invaders and conquerors, appended below, will show the variety of interests and the largeness of the scope covered in the chapters dealing with political history.

I. GENEALOGICAL TABLES

1. A. The Varmanas of Puskara (c. 300-350 A.D.)

Sindhavarman
|
Chandravarman

B. The Three Rulers of Vārka-Maṇḍala in East Bengal (Sixth century A.D.)

- i. Dharmāditya
- ii. Samāchāradeva
- iii. Gopachandra (whose dominion probably also comprised some portion of the district of Burdwan in West Bengal).

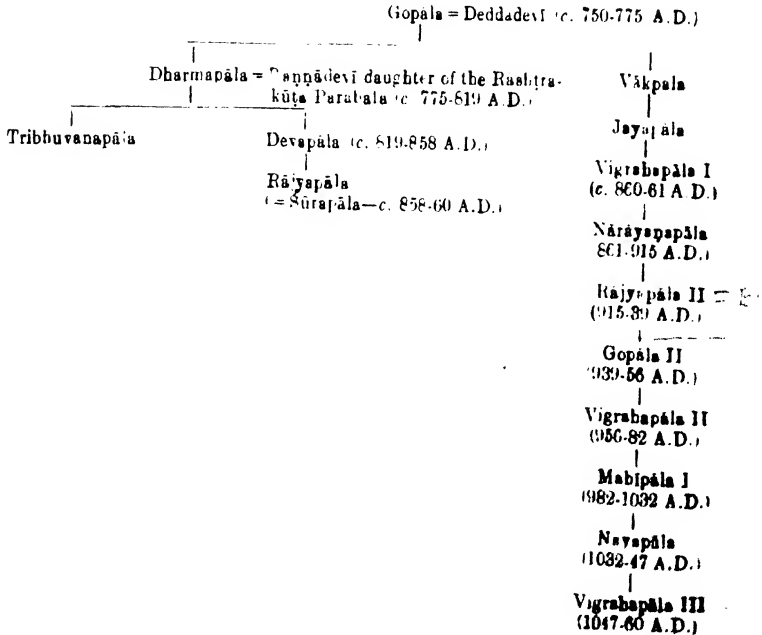
C. Rulers of Karnaśuvārṇa (Later sixth and early seventh centuries A.D.)

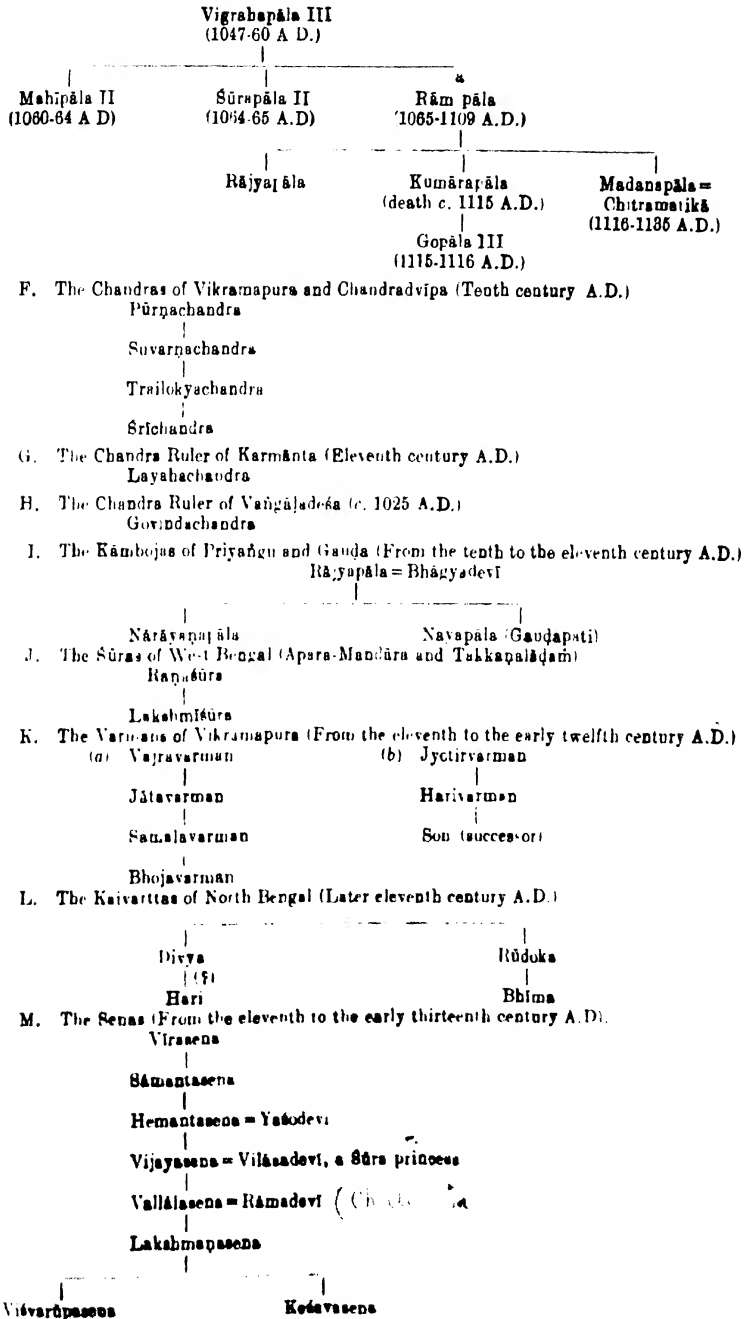
Jayanāga
Śaśāṅka *alias* Narendra-Gupta

D. 1. The Khaḍgas of Karmīna-Samatā (D. 2. Mahārājadhīrāja Kantiśeva of Harikela-maṇḍala (9th century A.D.)

Khaḍgodyma
|
Jātakhaḍga
|
Devakhaḍga = Prabhuvatī
|
Rājarāja (Rājarājabhaṭṭa)
|
Udirākhaḍga

E. The Pālas of Bengal (c. 750-1144 A.D.)





II. LIST OF RULERS FROM OUTSIDE WITH CLAIMS OF MILITARY VICTORY IN BENGAL

1. Samudragupta (died c. 375 A.D.), overlord of Samatāṭa.
2. Kumāragupta I (415-455 A.D.), Ruler of Puṇḍravardhana.
3. Budhagupta (476-96 A.D.), Ruler of Puṇḍravardhana.
4. Vainyagupta (507-08 A.D.) of East Bengal.
5. Dāmodaragupta of the family of the Later Guptas (544 A.D.).
6. Bhāskaravarman, the King of Kāmarūpa, Ruler of Karpasavarṇa.
7. Anonymous Śaila prince, conqueror of the lord of Puṇḍra (1st half of the 6th century).
8. Yaśovarman of Kanauj, conqueror of Gauḍa (1st half of the 6th century).
9. Śrī-Harsha of Kāmarūpa, conqueror of Gauḍa (before 759 A.D.).
10. Dhruva of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty (779-94 A.D.).
11. Govinda III of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty (794-814).
12. Vatsarāja, the Gurjara-Pratihāra king (783-84 A.D.).
13. Nāgabhaṭa II ,, ,, ,, (815-33 A.D.).
14. Bhoja ,, ,, ,, (before 876 A.D.).
15. Mahendrapāla ,, ,, ,, (c. 894 A.D.).
16. ~~Gaṇḍaditya~~ Gāṅgeyadeva (before 1019 A.D.).
17. Rājendra Chola I of the Chola dynasty (between 1021-25 A.D.).
18. Lakshmī-Karṇa, the Kalachurī king of Tripurī (c. 1141-70 A.D.).
19. Chālukya prince Vikramāditya VI (during the reign of his father Someśvara, c. 1044-68 A.D.).
20. Chodagaṅga of Kālīṅga (c. 1076-1147 A.D.).

Regarding the two chapters on administration (Part III), I should add that matters of a speculative character have been deliberately excluded, and facts collected and classified in such

a manner that the inscriptions have been made to tell their own story, leaving little room for guess-work. While discussing the meaning of the various terms of a technical nature which occur in these inscriptions, it has appeared to me that true guidance in this direction can be obtained from the texts themselves if only the passages in which they are to be found are detached from the surrounding mass of entanglements, and subjected to a close scrutiny. It is quite possible to lengthen out controversies by introducing uncertain elements. This I have tried to avoid, and the treatment of the subject is restricted to prescribed limits.

I take this opportunity to mention briefly some new theories and suggestions as well as fresh material, epigraphic or other, brought forward in recent years, which for obvious reasons could not be incorporated into the text of the book. In doing so I am, however, constrained to limit my choice to those publications only which appear to me more important than the rest, or may to a certain extent be regarded as representing the trend of recent researches in the field.

Not an inconsiderable amount of research aims at throwing new light on the identification of places, rivers, etc., mentioned in the different inscriptions. The identification of the river Kauśikā with the Kausiyārā in the district of Sylhet in Assam is supported in the *Indian Culture*, 1934, pp. 137 ff., and the theory that the land-grants, recorded in the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, were connected with the Pañchakhanda Pargana of that district is defended by some scholars (see D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.* LXI, p. 44; K. M. Gupta, *IHQ.*, VII, pp. 243-46; *Ind. Cult.*, II, No. 1, pp. 153-157; P. Bhattacharyya, *ibid.*, pp. 167-70; K. L. Barua, *ibid.*, p. 171; *Ind. Cult.*, I, 3, pp. 421-432). The Mayūra-Sālmāl-Āgrahāra of the Nidhanpur plates, resembling in name Mādhasālmālī (Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla), is suggested by another writer to have been situated in the neighbourhood of the territory of Gauḍa between the rivers Teestā and Karatoyā (N. Das Gupta, *Ind. Cult.*, II, No. 1, pp. 37-45). Chandradvīpa (Rāmpāl grant

of Śrīchandra) corresponded to Bakla Chandradvīpa (JASB., 1874, p. 206) which included 'the whole of the modern Zil'ah of Baqirganj (Backerganj) with the exception of Mahalla Salimabad' (N. Das Gupta, Ind. Cult., 1935, pp. 150-51), but the argument that the place is mentioned by Chandragomin is far from convincing. Notice may be taken here of the various identifications proposed, *viz.*, of Nāgiraṭṭa (-maṇḍala) with Nāgaṭpāra, and Jambubeva-praveśa (circle), comprised in the former, with Jambuvana near Pañchabibi 12 miles north of Pāhārpur, both mentioned in the Pāhārpur grant of Budhagupta (Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Mem. ASI., No. 55, 1938); of Viḍḍaraśāsana (Govindapur grant of Lakshmanasena) with Śāsana, a village 3 miles to the south of Govindapur, and of Dharmanagara (same grant) with village Dhamnagar to the north of Śāsana (Kalidas Datta, Pañchapushpa, a Bengali journal, V.S. 1339, pp. 240-41; Ind. Cult., III, No. 1, p. 188); of Priyaṅgu (Irdā grant of the Kāmbojas) with village Pingbani in Thānā Garbeta; of Kāṭṭi (same grant) with Contai in the Midnapore district (*cf.* Kantichak in Thānā Danton and Kanthi in Thānā Gopiballabhpur. See for these identifications, J. C. Ghosh, Ep. Ind., XXIV, pp. 43-47); of Ambilagrām-āgrahāra (Nandapur grant) with village Ambulia or Ambalia in Thānā Rajarāmpur in the district of Dinajpur and of Jaṅgoyika (same grant) with Jangai in Thānā Nawabganj of the same district (Ep. Ind., XXIV, pp. 126-129), of Kujavaṭi (of the Rāmacharita) with a place of that name, about 14 miles to the North of Nayādumkā, of Tailakampa (Rāmacharita) ruled by Rudraśikhara with Telkupi in the Mānbhūm district, Bihār (New edition of the Rāmacharita by R. G. Basak and R. C. Majumdar, p. xxvii; G. Mitra, Bīrbhūmer Itihās, p. 59); among the places mentioned in the Mallasārul inscription, of Godhagrāma with Gohagrām on the Dāmodar river, to the south-east of Mallasārul in the Burdwan district; Āmragarattikā (-sīmā) with Ambahulā (also called Sīmāsīmi), to the south of Mallasārul, and of Khāṇḍajojikā with Khāṇḍajulī between Mallasārul and

Gohagrām (N. G. Majumdar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 155-61).¹ Due attention should also be given to the location of the land of the Pulindas (*Pulinda-rāja-rāshṭra*) within the territory of the Parivrājaka family, in the region comprising the northern slopes of the Vindhya range, as suggested by the evidence of the Navagrāma grant of the Mahārāja Hastin, dated in the year 198 of the Gupta era (K. N. Dikshit, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 124 ff.); the suggestion that it is Varendra, not Rāmāvati, that is mentioned by the author of the *Rāmacharita* as situated between the Ganges and the Karatoyā, and that Rāmāvati corresponded to Ramauti, noted in the A'in-i-Akbarī (Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 131) as a fiscal unit comprised in the Sarkar of Lakhnauti (New edition of *Rāmacharita*, p. XXXI); the fact of the mention in an inscription from the Madras Presidency of *Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha* as comprised in the *Gauḍa-deśa* (*Ind. Cult.*, II, p. 350; Rangachariar, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 353), of *Vaṅgakuṭi* (apparently suggestive of some connexion with *Vaṅga*), village *Pechipātaka* in the *Varendri-maṇḍala*, village *Mamana* in *Tāḍisamā* included in *Varendri*, village *Jāḍa* in the *Khaṇḍa* situated in the *Rāḍha-maṇḍala*, village *Brahmaṇi* in *Varendra*, and of *Puṇḍravardhana* and *Gauḍa* in some inscriptions from Orissa (*JBORS.*, II, pp. 52-59; 168-71, 429-35; R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 165, 176, 195-96), *Vilvagavāsa* in the Southern *Rāḍha*, *Kulañcha* (proposed to be identified with *Kulanch* in the Bogra district, North Bengal—(*cf.* *IHQ.*, 1937, pp. 163-65), *Sāvathidesa* (or *Savathika*) identified with the region 'corresponding more or less to North Bogra and South Dinajpur,' *Dardurikā* and *Mitila-pātaka* identified respectively with *Dadra* in *Panchbibi Thānā*

¹ Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D. identifies *Ba(Va)kkattaka* with *Bāktā* (spelt as *Baktā* by the late Mr. Majumdar), *Ardhakaraka* with *Ādrā* (about two miles to the north of Gohagrām), *Kapisthavātaka* with *Kairāḍā* near *Ādrā*, *Madhuvātaka* with *Mabaḍā* or *Maoḍā*, and *Sālmaligrāma* with *Simulḍāḍgā* (*Cal. Rev.*, 1938, March, p. 364). *Mallaśarul*, which, according to N. G. Majumdar, may represent the last-named place, is marked as *Sārul* in *Survey of India Map No. 78 M : 11* (1 inch to a mile scale) of 1929-30, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 156, fn. 2).

and Mitail or Matialpārā in the Bogra district [K. N. Dikshit, Three copper-plate inscriptions from Gaonri, Ep. Ind., XXIII, pp. 101ff). The occurrence of the names Rāḍhā (*Rāḍhājani-darāḍha*, i.e. 'one who has caused lustre (prosperity) to the country named Rāḍhā'] and Harikelī (*-Keliāra*, i.e. 'provider of sports to Harikelī) in the *Karpūramañjarī* (Act I, pp. 5, 70, Text edited by Dr. Manomohan Ghosh, published by Calcutta University, 1939) and the proposed emendation of *jaccasuraṇṇa* to Kaṇṇasuvāṇṇa or Kaṇṇasuvārṇa (*ibid*) deserve special notice. The view that the *Rāmacarita* refers to a town named Damara, held by the late MM. H. P. Sāstrī, may have to be abandoned in the light of the new interpretation proposed.

It was not possible to utilise in Part I of the text the geographical or topographical material contained in the Nandapur grant of the year 169 (of the Gupta era), the Mallasārul copper-plate of Vijayasena, the Nālandā grant of Dharmapāla, the Jājilpādā copper-plate of Gopāla II and the Sāmantasār grant of Harivarma-deva. The Nandapur inscription refers to Ambilāgrām-āgrahāra, village Jaṅgoyika, Nanda-Vithī and Khaṭāpūraṇ-āgrahāra : *Srasty-Amvi(bi)lagraṃmāgrahārāt = sa-viśrāsam-adhikaraṇaṃ Jaṅgoyika-grame ; Nanda-Vaitheya-Khaṭāpūraṇāgrahārika.....1.3* (for identifications, see p. liv above). The donated land, as recorded in this inscription, was bounded on the south by the land granted to Gorakshita by means of a copper-plate (*Gorakshita-tāmrapaṭṭa-dakṣhiṇena...1.12*) and on the east by the Gopālibhoga. The Mallasārul copper-plate of Vijayasena records the grant of some land which was situated in the village of Vettragarattā comprised in the Vakkattaka-Vithī (*-sambaddha*) of the Vardhamāna-bhukti, which was bounded on the east and south by Godhagrāma (for identifications, see p. liv above), on the north by Vata-Vallak-āgrahāra and on the west by half of Āmragarattikā. The other localities referred to in the inscription, not yet definitely identified, are : (1) Arddhakaraka in the Vakkattaka-Vithī, (2) Nirvṛita-Vāṭaka, (3) Kapistha-Vāṭak-āgrahāra, (4) Koḍḍavir-āgrahāra, (5) Sālmali-Vāṭaka (= Mallasārul?),

(6) *Madhu-Vāṭaka*, (7) *Khaṇḍajotika*, (8) *Vindhyapura*. The Nālandā copper-plate of Dharmapāla, issued from a place, the name of which has been tentatively read as *Kapila* (-*vāsakāt*) records the grant of some land in the hamlet of Uttarāma (-*grāmake*) in the neighbourhood of village Niguha (-*grām-āsanna*-), comprised in the Jambūnādī-*Vithi* of the Gayā-*vishaya* (-*antahpāti*-) belonging to the Nagara-*bhukti* (-Patna division). The Jājilpādā copper-plate issued by Gopāla II from the victorious camp at Vaṭaparvvatikā, furnishes the names of two localities, Kāshṭhagṛīha, and Mahārajapallikā, comprised in the *āgrahāra* of Ānandapura which belonged to the *vishaya* of Kuddālakhāta of the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*.

It may be added here that though the geographical information noted above could not be used in that part of the Text, to which it properly belongs, most of the inscriptions recently discovered including those from which the above information has been collected became available for treatment in the chapters on political history and administration. Among the many historical sites in Bengal, promising but not yet fully explored, the Bāngarh area in the district of Dinājpur (North Bengal) has of late received some public attention, for which credit is due to the University of Calcutta, which, in co-operation with the Archaeological Department, Government of India, has been annually carrying out systematic excavations under the supervision of several eminent scholars and specialists including Messrs. Devaprasad Ghosh, M.A., P.R.S., Curator, Asutosh Museum, Sarasi Kumar Saraswati, M.A., and Kunjagovinda Goswami, M.A. The stock of antiquities, already collected from this site, include a few punch-marked and cast coins together with a variety of objects, some of which inscribed, to be attributed to the Suṅga, Kushāṇa, Gupta and Pāla periods. The wealth of material discovered at Pāhārpur, forming the subject of an illuminating Memoir by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, has justly created a stir in a wide circle of oriental scholars, and it raises the expectation,

reasonably enough, that if similar attention is bestowed on some of the neglected spots of historical interest in Bengal, the result may be equally encouraging.

As the two names Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla occur separately in certain old texts, it is inferred that they could not have borne the same meaning. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri suggests that Vaṅgāla corresponds to the area round the city of Bengala mentioned in some foreign accounts of India, belonging to the 16th and 17th centuries [Studies in Indian Antiquities, 1932, Chapter XIV (in Bengali), pp. 184-192]. This investigation has been carried on to a further length by Messrs. R. C. Banerji (*loc.*, II, 4, pp. 755-60), P. L. Pal (Early History of Bengal, p. V.) and Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Lama Tāranātha : Account of Bengal, Geography—IHQ., XXVI, pp. 225ff.). Concluding that either Dianga, opposite Chittagong, or Chittagong itself or both represent the city of Bengala, Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests that the original kingdom of Vaṅgāla must be located in this region (*loc. cit.*, p. 232). It is stated in this connexion that Tāranāth refers to Chāṭigrāma (Chittagong) as the capital of a prince named Gopichandra in his work *Bkah-babs-bden* (JASB., 1898, p. 23) and to Govichandra of Bhangala in his History of Buddhism, whose kingdom later came into the possession of Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty. Support for the proposed identification of Vaṅgāla is also derived from the suggestion that the two above-mentioned kings are to be regarded as identical. Although it may be true that Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla did not always signify the same region, it is necessary to be cautious in using later sources for the purpose of ascertaining the meaning which these terms bore in a much earlier period such as the tenth or eleventh century A.D. It is not safe either to draw definite conclusion from the many legends with which Tāranāth's History is crudely mixed up. Marco Polo's reference (1291 A.D.) to Bangala is also later than the period on which light is sought to be thrown ; besides, its interpretation is controversial.

Of some special interest is the paper contributed by Mr. Krishnapada Goswami (IHQ., No. 1, March, 1939, pp. 157ff; JDL., XXXIII, 1940, pp. 1-70) in which an attempt is made to trace non-Aryan elements in the place-names of Bengal. Philological researches in regard to place-names do not, however, represent a new subject, as Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji long ago provided scientific analyses of many such names (see his *History of Bengali Language*) with valuable comments on their origin and formation. In view of the large mass of material that has accumulated in recent years, the scope of the subject has no doubt widened, involving questions of racial and cultural origins and fusions, a correct solution of which may have a far-reaching effect on our historical outlook. As this subject is not strictly speaking within the purview of the investigations undertaken in the present work, I can only refer to one or two points discussed by Mr. Goswami. His reference to place-names ending with *Jola*, *Joli*, *Joṭa*, *Joṭikā*, meaning a channel, water-course, river, water, etc., as providing "evidences of a non-Aryan substratum" is worthy of note as such names are not only quite abundant in modern Bengal, but are furnished by several early inscriptions, relevant material from which has been utilised in the geographical chapters of this book. Another affix—*vaḍa*, not infrequently found in connexion with place-names, is suggested to be of Dravidian origin.

Having given this brief survey of the additional geographical material that ought not to be allowed to pass unnoticed, I may now refer to some new publications which appear to me to be of similar importance from the standpoint of dynastic or political history.

Mr. John Allan (*Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, 1936; pp. xcv-xcviii) expresses the opinion that the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela does not mention the name *Bṛhaspatimitra* and that the *Bṛhaspatimitra* of the coins cannot be identified with Pushyamitra, the Sunga king. The coins bearing the name of *Bṛhaspatimitra* are not to be regarded as the issue of a single king, but of two kings, an earlier *Bṛhas-*

patimitra (third century or first half of the second century B.C.) and a later prince of the same name (late second century B.C.), the former to be identified with Brīhasvātimitra whose name occurs on inscribed bricks from Mora, near Mathura, and the latter with Bahasatimittra of the Pabbosā inscription dated in the 10th year of Ūdāka. In connexion with the Khāravela problem Dr. B. M. Barua refers to the old Oḍiyā MS. of the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, mentioned by the late Mr. K.P. Jayaswal in JBORS, 1917, p. 482, and reproduced by Prof. Sten Konow in the Acta Orientalia, Vol. I, on which he is not prepared to place any reliance in the interpretation of the Hāthigumpha inscription. He also differs from the current interpretation of Sugaṅgaya, occurring in that inscription, and attacks the theory of Pushyāmītra's identification with Khāravela's contemporary. Interest in the Meharauli inscription of Chandra has revived. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar suggests without adducing any argument, however, that this inscription should not be regarded as a posthumous one, and further holds that the Vāhlikas, mentioned in the record, are to be located not far from Viṣṇupada, a hill near the Vipāśā (Beas), 'from where Kāśmīra was not far distant' (Ind. Cult., III, No. 3, pp. 511-513). Dr. D. C. Sircar thinks that the account of military exploits attributed to Chandra in the Meharauli inscription follows more or less a conventional style, and is, therefore, unworthy of credence, a theory, which, I am sorry to say, side-tracks the real issue. His proposal to regard '*bhāvena*' in the text to be a mistake for '*devena*' is merely conjectural, and it is not clear how it can prove the correctness of the identification of Chandra with Chandra Gupta II, first suggested by Hoernle (JRASB., Letters, Vol. V, No. 3, 1939, pp. 407-415). Mr. A. Ghosh of the Archaeological Department, Govt. of India, discusses (Ep. Ind., XXIV, pp. 283-85, plates A and B) the evidence of two new Maukhari Seals from Nālandā, which proves beyond doubt that Avantivarman was the son of Sarvavarman, and incidentally refers to the difficulties involved in the identification of Sūryavarman, mentioned in the Haraha inscription

with a ruler of that name appearing in an inscription from Sirpur (Ep. Ind., XI, p. 190).

Seals from Nalandā, referred to by Dr. Hirananda Sāstri, include those mentioning Narasimhagupta, his son Kumāragupta, Budhagupta, Vainyagupta, [Bha]gavachchandra and Supratishṭhitavarman. Particular attention should be given to the seal representing Vainyadevī as the mother of Puragupta, not Vatsadevī as previously held on the doubtful evidence of the Basarh Seal of Kumaragupta (Ep. Ind., XXI, p. 72 ff.). While attempting to draw a picture of the political condition of Bengal after Śaśāṅka's death, one writer suggests that during Hiuen-tsang's visit in 637 A.D. Gauḍa and Northern Rāḍha were under Bhāskaravarman, the king of Kāmarūpa, and Vaṅga and Samatāṭa were ruled by the Khadga dynasty. The fact that Bhāskaravarman came to meet Śilāditya at Kajaṅgala is in his opinion sufficient to indicate that Gauḍa was under the possession of the former in 642 A.D., and it is held that there is no evidence to show that Harsha ever held sway over any part of Bengal (IHQ., XVI, No. I, pp. 122-124).

That the whole of Kāliṅga as described by Hiuen-tsang was conquered by the Chālukya Pulakesi II from Śaśāṅka and his feudatory Mādhavarāja II shortly before 616 A.D. is the view expressed in the IHQ., 1936, Vol. XII, pp. 456-68. The evidence of the Ganjām plates of 619-20 A.D. shows that Śaśāṅka's feudatory was in the enjoyment of his power up to that date at least. The other conclusions reached in the aforesaid article are : (1) Śaśāṅka conquered Orissa by defeating Sambhūya of the Patiakella grant of the year 283 (= 602 A.D., see Ep. Ind., IX, p. 285); (2) it was Buddharāja who killed the Maukhari Grahavarman and kept his widowed queen imprisoned in the fort at Kanauj (on this, see JBORS., XIX, pp. 405ff); (3) Pūrṇavarman became the king of Magadha after Śaśāṅka's death; (4) the 'noble Gupta', mentioned in the Harshacharita, is to be identified with the Devagupta of the Banskhera copper-plate of Harshavardhana.

The late Mr. N. G. Majumdar, while editing the Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavavarman of the year 50 (Ep. Ind., XXIV, part IV, pp. 148-153), observed that the record is from the standpoint of palaeography allied to the Ganjām plates of Mādhavarāja of A.D. 619-20. The internal data of the different inscriptions, *viz.*, the Khurda Plates of Mādhavarāja (JASB., LXIII, pt. I, pp. 282 ff.), the Parikud Plates of Madhyamarāja-deva (Ep. Ind., XI, pp. 234ff. and Plate), the Koṇḍēḍḍa grant of Dharmarājadeva (Ep. Ind., XIX, pp. 267ff.); the Puri Plates of Mādhavavarman-Sainyabhīta *alias* Śrinivāsa (Ep. Ind., XXIII, pp. 122 ff.; *Sāhitya*, 1319 B.S., pp. 859 ff.), the Tekkali plate of the time of Madhyamarāja (JBORS., IV, pp. 165ff.; on the last-named two Plates, also see Ep. Ind., XXI, p. 35, n. 2) as well as certain palaeographical incongruities have given rise to a controversy in which the question of the identification of Mādhavarāja and Mādhavavarman occupies an important place. The conclusions arrived at by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar are :—(1) the two princes named above are identical; (2) the year 50 is to be referred to the Harsha era; (3) Mādhavavarman's reign lasted for 33 years instead of 23 years as suggested by Dr. R. D. Basak (Ep. Ind., XXIII, p. 124).

That the Irdā copper-plate reads ' *Kamboja-Dhaṅgvatiparaḥ* ' is the suggestion made in the Ep. Ind., XXIV, pp. 43-47. This is interpreted as alluding to 'an inveterate foe of the Kamboja,' who is sought to be identified with the Pāla King Rājyapāla, son of Gopāla II, while Dhaṅgu, supposed to be referred to in the inscription, is identified with the famous Chandella King Dhaṅga. The proposed reading, however, has been rejected by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti who reads: *Kambo(mbo)javamśa-ti-(h)*, [*ibid.*, p. 43, n. 6]. Regarding the identification of Rājyapāla mentioned in the same copper-plate, it is held in the IHQ., XV, 1939 that he must be regarded as a chief of the Kamboja clan, as distinct from the Pālas, a theory which is in opposition to the one advanced in the Mod. Rev., 1937, pp. 440-41 and the *Kāyastha Patrikā*, *Śrātaṇa*, 1314, pp. 111-118.

An attempt has been made to prove that Mahīpāla I reigned from 981 to 1041 A.D. (Ind. Cult., I, No. 2, pp. 290-291) but the period is much in excess of the forty-eight years assigned to the king on the evidence of the Imadpur image-inscriptions.

In a short article in the IHQ., 1937, pp. 149-152, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Śāstrī reverts to the old question as to whether the Chōḷa army ever came into contact with Mahīpāla I of Bengal, already discussed by him elsewhere (see Cholas, Vol. I, pp. 247-54, 283-8; Journal of the Oriental Society, Vol. VII, pp. 199-218), whether the word *Mahīpāla* as used in the records of the Cholas is to be taken as a common noun meaning a king, applied in the present case to the ruler of the Oḍḍa country (Orissa). The view that a king of Orissa is meant is supported neither by the Sanskrit portion of the Tiruvāḷangāḍu plates, nor the Tirumalai inscription, the Oḍḍa country being already found mentioned once in the narrative of the Chōḷa expedition during Rājendra's reign. Moreover, on a closer examination of the Tirumalai rock-inscription, Prof. Śāstrī finds no basis for his former suggestion that a person named Śaṅgu was compelled to flee from the battle-field along with Mahīpāla. "What the passage in question means in fact is that Mahīpāla was frightened by the noise of the war-conches of the Chōḷa forces and fled from the field as a result."

Mr. R. C. Banerji contends that Gopīchandra and Govindachandra both mentioned by Tārānāth are identical and that the same prince appears as the ruler of Vaṅgāladeśa in the Tirumalai inscription. We sometimes unfortunately forget that it is no easy matter to deduce historical facts from legends. The next step taken is to identify this ruler with Govindachandra who constitutes the theme of a Nepalese drama preserved in the Cambridge University Library (G. C. Halder, Proceedings of the Sixth Oriental Conference, p. 273). In this work Govindachandra's kingdom is stated to have been attacked

by a ruler of Vaṅga, who has been identified with Mahīpāla I himself (on this, see J. C. Ghosh, *Ind. Cult.* II, 2, pp. 291-299). This identification also is a guess, pure and simple. The Vaṅgāla army which, according to the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra, burnt Karuṇāśrīmitra of Somapura to death at Nālandā, is supposed to have represented the forces led by Govindachandra for the purpose of making an attack on Magadha. Connected with this series of assumptions is the theory that the Vaṅgālas were identical with the Karṇāṭakas who are said to have been defeated by Mahīpāla.

In the new edition of the *Rāmacharita*, brought out jointly by Dr. R. G. Basak and Dr. R. C. Majumdar, certain suggestions and interpretations have been offered, of which the more important ones are mentioned below :—(1) The incomplete commentary is not by Sandhyākara Nandī himself, the author of the text; (2) Brihadvaṭu, taken as an adjective by the late MM. H. P. Sāstrī, is to be regarded as the name of a village near the city of Puṇḍravardhana; (3) the treaty concluded by Vīgrahapāla with the Chedi king Karṇa of Dhābala is given the technical name *Kapālasandhi*, the terms of which required payment of a large sum of money to the victor by the conquered enemy; (4) Rāmapāla was not Vīgrahapāla's son by his queen Yāuvanaśrī, as his maternal uncle was Mahāṇa; (5) *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Kānharadeva and Suvarṇadeva were the two sons of Mathana or Mahāṇa, and *Mahāprathāra* Śivarāja was his brother's son; (6) The Manahali copper-plate of Madanapāla contains a verse which bears a veiled allusion to the relations between Rāmapāla and Divya, meaning that "Rāmapāla, though provoked and shaken (in mind) by the excessive disturbances caused by the subjects of Divya, remained patient," from which the inference is to be drawn that ".....Divya not content with what he had already achieved by killing Mahīpāla carried on campaigns against Rāmapāla and was largely successful in his operations (Intro., xxiv); (7) Aṅga was conquered from Jāta-varman before the launching of the expedition against the

Kaivarta chief Bhīma and was ruled by Mahāna; (8) the statement in verse III, 24, which refers to the Pāla kingdom as preventing the 'accession of strength or power to *Madhyadeśa*' applies to the achievement connected with the defeat inflicted by Bhīmayaśas on Kānyakubja; (9) Bhīma, who after his defeat was imprisoned by Rāmapāla, was put in charge of his son Vittapāla by whom he was leniently treated, but as the prisoner was found carrying on intrigues with Hari, his elder brother's son (*arka-bhū*), he was ultimately put to a cruel death; (10) Rāmapāla conquered Kāmarūpa with the help of an ally, whose name was not Māyana, as suggested by H. P. Śāstrī; (11) the Varman king of Eastern India, who came into contact with Rāmapāla, was either Bhojavarman of the Belava inscription or Harivarman of the Bhuvaneshvar *Prasasti*; (12) verse IV, 12, of the text appears to hint at Gopāla III's 'premature and unnatural death' while encountering either an elephant or a crocodile [the verse to be translated as follows:—Even his (*i.e.* Kumārapāla's) son named Gopāla met with his death as the result of his efforts to exterminate enemies. The death of this ill-disciplined person who was the killer of the chief of the elephant force, occurred under the influence of time]; (13) Chandra, an ally of Madanapāla during a crisis confronting the latter's kingdom (IV, 23), is not to be identified with the Gāhaḍavāla king of that name, but to be regarded as the son of Suvarṇadeva and grandson of Mahāna; (14) Madanapāla destroyed a ruler named Govardhana; (15) A pitched battle took place on the banks of the river Kālindī in Madanapāla's reign. The two editors have also taken pains to expose the real character of the revolt of Divya, which was not a popular movement of unrest as suggested by several scholars. My views on the subject, which run on identical lines, will be found in the Text, and also in the presidential address delivered by me at the Divya Memorial Conference held at Bāngarh in the Dinajpur district in 1938. Attention is further drawn incidentally to a medical treatise

entitled *Sabdapradīpa* (Eggeling, India Office Library Catalogue, Part V, pp. 974 ff.), the author of which was the court physician of king Bhīmapāla of Pādi (a mistake for Pīṭhi ?), his father and grandfather having served in the same capacity under Rāmapāla and Govindachandra, respectively. The suggestion advanced is that Bhīmapāla may have belonged to the family of Pāla rulers in South Bengal, whose existence is shown by the Sundarban copper plate, dated in 1197 A.D. The name of the only ruler mentioned in this inscription, however, is given in the form Maḍommaṇapāla. The bearing of the evidence of the Ramganj inscription of the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Īśvaraghosha on the history of Bengal suggests a topic that should be separately treated. On this consideration, it should be added, this inscription has not been used as a document definitely proved to be connected with the affairs of this province under the Pālas of Bengal.

Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has rendered a valuable service to scholars by attempting to offer an accurate reading of the Nimdighi (Māndā) inscription,—a record which is in a very unsatisfactory state of preservation. None can deny that the new reading is a decided improvement upon those so far attempted, but some of the new explanations, interpretations of words, and conclusions deduced therefrom, are more or less of a debatable character. For instance, although it is admitted that the sign (line 5) which he reads as *tru* is very much like *kṛi* occurring distinctly in line 6, and again in line 10, yet that reading is upheld with the comment that it is 'formed in a very curious manner.' The expression in which it occurs, however, is taken to be one of the most vital in the whole text [*pūrasenas(ś)atauh*], from which serious inferences have been drawn, proving a deadly conflict between the Pālas and the Senas. The letter read as *jña* in *rajñā* (l. 6) 'is not as perfect' as *jña* appearing twice in its close neighbourhood, (l. 5) yet this reading has been insisted upon. The reading '*Vṛiddhāma*' gives a very peculiar result and the explanation

offered is somewhat laboured. The inscription seems to record the erection of some monument, attributed to Bhāvakadāsa in line 11, but the new editor, although accepting this as a fact in his English translation of the text, observes elsewhere that the 'tablet' containing the inscription was not 'fixed' by Bhāvakadāsa, but by Mijain, who, as his name shows, must 'have been a Mench or a Konch.' Definite conclusions which neither agree with nor are reasonably confirmed by the already known facts of history cannot be drawn from a text like the present one, which still remains unintelligible in many places. It has been suggested that military operations on a large scale took place at Nimdighi, in which the contending forces of the Pālas and the Senas were involved, leading to the death of Gopāla III and some of his prominent associates, justifying the editor's description of the find-place of the inscription as 'the glorious *mahāśmaśāna*, (i.e., the great crematorium) of Bengal' where the Pāla power practically collapsed. Though the result of the battle was highly favourable to the Senas, yet for no reason advanced, Vijayasena is supposed to have permitted the Pāla dynasty to continue in western Varendrī under Madanapāla and in Bihār under Govindapāla. It is only in the light of material yet to be discovered that a critical evaluation of such theories may be possible. It may be mentioned here that the hints thrown out in the *Rāmacharita* regarding the mysterious circumstances of Gopāla III's death, though not satisfactorily understood, cannot be taken as pointing to his death while engaged in action against the Senas, a fact which, if true, could have been stated without any ambiguity. Whatever the cause of his death might have been, even the new reading of the Nimdighi or Maṇḍā inscription shows that it cannot alter the fact that it is a posthumous record. Regarding the duration of Gopāla's reign, it has been suggested that the Kājibpur inscription shows that it must have lasted for at least 14 years. The *Rāmacharita* does not give the impression that he enjoyed a long reign, and Dr. R. C. Majumdar gives good ground in support of his

reading of the date in that inscription to be the year 1 instead of 14 (JRASB., Letters, Vol. VII, 1941, No. 2). This scholar has recently discussed the dates furnished by a few other inscriptions also, *viz.*, the Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla, the Jaynagar image-inscription of Madanapāla, the Barrackpur copper-plate of Vijayasena and the Imadpur image-inscriptions of Mahipāla I. As regards the first two inscriptions, Dr. Majumdar's proposal to read 35 in place of 39 or 38 in the Nālandā copper-plate, and 14 instead of 19 in the other inscription, is based mainly on a comparative study of the Kurkihar inscriptions of some Pāla rulers, but as these records are not yet available to us in a properly edited form, no final judgment can be hazarded on the merits of the new readings suggested. It may be noted, however, that the learned scholar himself admits that the figure 5 in the Nālandā copper-plate is different from 5 as shown in the Hilsa Tārā image-inscription, dated in the year 35 of the same reign (year 25 according to Dr. Majumdar; see JRASB., Letters, IV, p. 390). The missing Barrackpur plate is dated, according to the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, in the year 32, while the reading of the date as 62 is generally accepted, but among the grounds advanced for upholding the former reading is the one that 'Mr. R. D. Banerji had the advantage of examining the original plate which others had not.' The reading of the date of the Imadpur image-inscriptions, as given by the late Dr. Hoernle (Ind. Ant., XIV, p. 165, fn. 17), has, however, been objected to as 'it is extremely doubtful if any reliance can be placed on it since it was unchecked by anybody else.'

Among the new documents brought to light in recent years prominent mention must be made of the inscriptions of some Pāla rulers engraved on a number of bronze images recovered in 1930 at Kurkihar, Pargana Narhat, in the district of Gayā, and now preserved in the Patna Museum, which Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri has made available to us for the first time, though in a tentative form only. These inscribed images are said to belong to the reigns of Devapāla (year 9), Rājyapāla (years 31 and 32), Mahī-

pāla I (year 31) and Vīgrahapāla III (years 3 and 19). In this connexion notice should also be taken of a terracotta plaque of Vīgrahapāla-deva (III), dated in the year 8, now preserved in the Nālandā Museum, of which the exact provenance is not known (For the inscribed images, see JBORS., XXVI, pp. 236-251; pp. 299-308; for the plaque, see *ibid.*, pp. 35-39). It is expected that a suitable opportunity will be furnished in the near future for a palaeographical examination of these records, so that it may be possible for anybody to test for his own satisfaction the identification of the kings mentioned in them as well as the reading of the dates provided by these inscriptions, facilitating a further and closer scrutiny of the dates of all the contemporary inscriptions on a comparative basis. While on the question of dates, we may refer to some conclusions, arrived at by Dr. R. G. Basak (Indian History Congress, Third Session, Calcutta, 1939, p. 528 ff.) in regard to the later history of the Palas and the determination of Govindapāla's time. The year 1161 is to be taken, according to the scholar, as the last year of the latter's reign, and the 38th year (*Rājavalī-pūrvavat-Śrīmad-Govindapāladevānām vinashṭa-rājye aṣṭa-trimśat-samvatsare*), mentioned by the scribe Gayakara in the colophon of the Cambridge University MS. of the *Pañchākāra*, corresponds not to 1161 but to 1199 A.D., such expressions as *vinashṭa*, *atīta*, *gata*, used in the extant records associated with Govindapāla's name being taken in the sense that the reckoning followed must have started from the date of the cessation of his rule (on this, also see IHQ., XVII, No. 2, 1941, pp. 205-22; and on records associated similarly with Lakshmanasena's name, see Ind. Ant., 1923, p. 314 ff.). The assumptions that Govindapāla was a member of the Pala dynasty of Bengal, that he was a descendant of Madanapāla and that he ruled for some time in portions of North Bengal also, until driven away from Varendri by Vijayasena, enraged at the breach committed by the former of a contract which the latter had on a former occasion entered with the Palas for the settlement of

their mutual territorial limits, far transcend the reasonable implications of verse 19 of the Deopara *Prāṣasti* to which particular attention has been invited.

The new controversy regarding the identification of Mahipāla whose name is found in the Baghaura image-inscription (IHQ., 1910, p. 179 ff.; p. 631 ff.) is useful only in so far as it provides an opportunity, which has been ably utilised, for a critical consideration of certain probabilities. The view that this king was neither a local prince of Samatāṭa, nor a Gurjara-Pratihāra, but the same as Mahipāla I of the Pāla dynasty, is undoubtedly sound. Dr. H. C. Ray incidentally points out (*ibid.*, pp. 634-35) that the reading of *Rohitāgiri* in the Rāmpāl copper-plate of Śrī-chandra is not free from doubt; this is an admitted fact, however. As no alternative reading has been proposed, there is no new material before us for a more satisfactory solution of the problem relating to the original home of the Chandras. An attempt has been made to connect them with those mentioned in the Nagari inscription at the Shitthaung temple at Mrohaung in Arakan, and the suggestion offered that they may have entered Bengal via Chittagong coast, but more probably that they first came to the Bakarganj (Chandravīpa) area directly by the sea-route and after the third year of the reign of Mahipāla (Baghaura inscription), overthrew the Pāla Government in Samatāṭa.

The proof of the existence of a ruler of Vyāghrataṭi, named Kalyāṇavarman is believed to be contained in an India Office MS. of the *Sāravalī*, the earliest MS. of this work being dated in 1286 A.D. (S. C. Banerjee, Indian History Congress, Third Session, Proceedings, 1939, p. 577). Devagrāma with which this ruler is found to be connected in this text is suggested to be identical with a village of this name, situated in the Nadia district, and it is proposed to give him a place in the line of Varman chiefs associated with Vyāghrataṭi during the reigns of Dharmapāla and his son and successor, flourishing in the 8th or 9th century A.D. The Varman chiefs referred to in the Pāla inscriptions were feudatories. It is only a conjecture that they belonged to

the same family. Further particulars will be required to establish the correctness of the reading of the name of the prince as well as the date attributed to him.

A detailed consideration of the many points bearing on the history of the Pālas and the Chandras, suggested by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (IHQ., June, 1940) on the authority of Tārānāth, is out of place here. Some of his suggestions have been criticised and are held erroneous by Dr. S. C. Sarkar (JBORS., XXVI, pp. 341-370), observing that Schiefner's translation which is usually depended upon 'is sometimes free and uncritical, not to mention other serious defects from which it suffers.' This is a note of caution which should discourage the habit prominently in evidence of trying to solve intricate historical problems with the help of Tārānāth to whom a direct approach by many is not possible, apart from the question of his reliability as a strict recorder of history.

Before I conclude this additional note on political history, I should refer to two important papers on palaeography, one contributed by Mr. Charu Chandra Das Gupta, M.A., P.R.S., on the script used in the Mauryan Brāhmī inscription of Mahāsthān (Ind. Cult., III, No. 1, pp. 206-208), and the other by Mr. S. C. Chakravarti, embodying the results of an intensive study of the inscriptions of Bengal from the palaeographical standpoint (JRASB., Letters, 1938, pp. 351-391). The latter is a valuable supplement to the work done by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji on similar lines, although it is not free from certain omissions, and contains conclusions about which there must be differences of opinion.

So far as the administrative chapters are concerned, I have to note a few additions only. Reference may be made to two notes published by Dr. U. N. Ghosal (Ind. Cult., II, No. 4, p. 776; IHQ., 1938, pp. 836-40) in which light is thrown on the interpretation of some technical terms not infrequently come across in Indian inscriptions. In the first note an endeavour has been made on the authority of the *Aindravānanda-*

nāṭakam (Descriptive Catalogues of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of Prof. P. P. S. Sastri of the Madras Presidency College, Vol. VIII, pp. 3354-57, No. 4335), which gives *Viśvāsa-sthāna-padaṇīka*, to prove that the expression ' *viśvāsa* ' means an office and a title. In the other note much use is made of the Jaina lexicon *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*, an Ardha-Māgadhī dictionary by Muni Śrī-Ratnachandraji in explaining the terms *khola*, *khaṇḍapāla*, *khaṇḍaraksha*. This work shows that *khola* was a *Rājā-purusha*, engaged as a *guptachara* or spy. It places the Hindi synonyms *dānī* (Customs Inspector) and *kolval* (Head of Police) under the caption *khaṇḍaraksha* and also treats *daṇḍapāśika* and *śulkaṇḍapāla* as synonyms for *Khaṇḍaraksha*. In the Chamba inscriptions, it is pointed out, these terms and *khaṇḍapāla* occur together, which show that different offices are denoted by them. Instead of treating the two terms *khaṇḍapāla* and *khaṇḍaraksha* separately, it is proposed that they are to be applied to the same officer belonging to the group : *prāntapāla* and *kotṭapāla* (Warden of the Marches and Officer in charge of fortress or a fortified city respectively), who held a military post of the same status as the other two officers. Dr. Nihar Ranjan Roy has recently published a series of articles in the journal of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat, discussing epigraphic evidence for a systematic study of early Bengal administration.

In bringing this lengthy introduction to a conclusion, I must perform the sacred duty of acknowledging the help, generously rendered to me in the preparation of this work, of the many blemishes and imperfections of which I am fully conscious and for which entire responsibility rests on my shoulders. I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks to the University of Calcutta for the study-leave granted, which enabled me to proceed to Europe and devote myself quietly to the prosecution of my research in one of the foremost international centres of culture. I am profoundly grateful to Dr. L. D. Barnett, M.A., D.Lit. (Retired Keeper of Oriental Books and

MSS. in the British Museum, London) for the unfailing advice, sympathy and guidance received from him throughout my sojourn abroad. The debt I owe to him can hardly be expressed in words : a worthier and more affectionate teacher I have not met with in my life. To the memory of the late Dr. Sylvain Lévi, who kindly introduced me to some of his learned colleagues and friends, and arranged to provide me with every possible facility for a proposed course of study in Paris, I offer a sincere tribute of respect and gratitude. To the authorities and staffs of the British Museum, the India Office Library, and the Library of the School of Oriental Studies I feel greatly indebted for the ungrudging assistance I was fortunate enough to secure from them during my stay in the United Kingdom. I must also acknowledge the help rendered to me by the Calcutta University Central Library, the Imperial Library of Calcutta, the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Vāṅgīya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta, the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, and the Asutosh Museum. I am specially grateful to the Hon'ble Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., LL.D., Barrister-at-law, M.L.A., Minister, Government of Bengal, who was good enough to suggest the advisability of publishing this work, and also to Messrs. J. C. Chakravorti, M.A., Registrar, Calcutta University, and Dinabandhu Gangullee, B.A., Superintendent, University Press, for their valued co-operation in connexion with its printing. I am thankful to Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr.Phil. D.Lit., for the trouble he took in going through the proofs of the last two chapters while they were being published in the *Indian Culture*. Thanks are also due to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Deputy Director-General of Archaeology, Govt. of India, and to Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, M.A., Ph.D., Curator, Dacca Museum, for their courtesy in supplying me with the names of two unedited inscriptions, viz., the Nālandā seal-inscription and the Kurapulā inscription of Samāchāradeva respectively. I feel happy to have this opportunity of expressing

my gratitude to Mr. John Allan, M.A., Keeper of Coins, British Museum, the Hon'ble Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., Minister, Government of Bengal, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A. Ph.D., Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., Prof. B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), Prof. Radhakumud Mookherjee, M.A., Ph.D., and Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., for their good wishes and encouragement. I deplore the tragic demise of Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., whose genuine interest in this work will be remembered with gratitude mingled with sorrow. Sincere thanks are due to my former pupils, Messrs. Prabhas Chandra Majumdar, M.A., and Jyoti Sankar Bhaduri, M.A., who prepared the Index for me, and to Messrs. Devaprasad Guha, M.A., and Sudhir Chandra Das, M.A., who recently helped me in checking a few references.

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BENOYCHANDRA SEN

ABBREVIATIONS

AA.	...	Aitareya Āraṇyaka—A. B. Keith
AB.	...	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa—translated into English by A. B. Keith, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 25, 1920.
Abhicint.	...	Abhidhānābhīntāmāṇi by Hemachandra ed. by Kālivara Sarman and Ramdas Sen, Calcutta.
Act. Orient.	...	Acta Orientalia
AGI.	...	Ancient Geography of India—Cunningham
AICL.	...	Ancient India as described in Classical Literature
AIHT.	...	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition
AK.	...	Amarakośha
AL.	...	Altindisches Leben—Zimmer
Alberuni	...	Alberuni's India, ed. by Edward C. Sachau, Trübner's Oriental Series, Popular edition.
As. Res.	...	Asiatic Researches
AS.	...	Asiatic Society
ASB.	...	Asiatic Society of Bengal
ASI.	}	...
ASR.		
ASSI.	...	Archaeological Survey of India, Report
ASSI.	...	Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Report
ASWI.	...	Archaeological Survey of Western India, Report
Aufrecht, Cat. Cat.	...	Th. Aufrecht: Catalogus Catalogorum
Ayodhyā-K.	...	Ayodhyā Kaṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa
BDS.	...	Baudhāyaṇī Dharma Sūtra—Führer
Beng.	...	Bengal
Bhāgavata-P.	...	Bhāgavata Purāṇa
Bhishma-P.	...	Bhishma Parvan of the Mahābhārata
Bib. Ind.	...	Bibliotheca Indica
Bk.	...	Book
Bomb. Gaz.	...	Bombay Gazetteer
Bud.	...	Buddhist
CBSM.	...	Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum.
CAI.	...	Coins of Ancient India, Cunningham
CASR.	...	Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports

Cat.	... Catalogue
CCAI.	... Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India
CCBMGS.	... Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum—Gardner, 1886.
CCGDBM.	... Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta dynasty in the British Museum—Allan.
CCIM.	... Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum—V. A. Smith.
CCPM.	... Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum—Whitehead.
Cent. Rev.	... Centenary Review
CHI.	... Cambridge History of India—Vol. I—Rapson
CII.	... Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Com.	... Commentary
Com. Vol.	... Commemoration Volume
CR.	} ... Calcutta Review
Cal. Rev.	
DCBSM.	... Descriptive Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal—H. P. Sāstri.
DCSM.	... Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal—H. P. Sāstri.
DG.	... District Gazetteer
Digha-N.	... Digha-Nikāya
Div.	... Divyāvadana—F. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, 1886
DLICI.	... Descriptive List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar.
Dv.	... Dipavaṃśa
Dynastic History	... The Dynastic History of Northern India—H. C. Ray
EHI.	... Early History of India—V. A. Smith
Elliot	... The History of India as told by its own Historians
Ency. Brit.	... Encyclopaedia Britannica
Ep. Ind.	... Epigraphia Indica
G.E.	... Gupta Era
GLM.	... Gaudalekhamulā—Aksbay Kumar Maitreya, Published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.
GOS.	... Gaekwad Oriental Series.
GRM.	... Gaudarājamulā—R. P. Chanda, Published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.
HLB.	... History of the Bengali Language—B. C. Majumdar

HC.	...	Harshacharita Text—Führer, English Translation by Cowell and Thomas.
HIL, Weber	...	History of Indian Literature—Weber
HIL, Winternitz	...	A History of Indian Literature—M. Winternitz, English Translation (Vol. I) by Mrs. S. Ketkar, Published by the Calcutta University.
Hillebrandt, Ritual		A. Hillebrandt: Ritualliteratur
HODBL.	...	History of the Origin and Development of the Bengali Language—S. K. Chatterji.
HOS.	...	Harvard Oriental Series.
HSL.	...	History of Sanskrit Literature
Hv.	}	Harivamśa
Hariv.		
IB	...	Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, ed. by Nani Gopal Majumdar, Published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.
IG.	}	Imperial Gazetteer of India
Imp. Gaz.		
IGOL.		
IHQ.	...	Indian Historical Quarterly
IIA.	...	Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as described by Arrian, etc.—McCrindle.
ILC.	...	Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture—N. N. Ghosh
Ind. Alterthumsk.	...	Indische Alterthumskunde—Lassen
Ind. Ant.	...	Indian Antiquary
Ind. Stud.	...	Indische Studien—A. Weber
Ins. (or Inscr.)	...	Inscription
J. Andh. Hist.		
Res. S.	...	Journal of the Andhra Historical Society
J. and Proc. ASB.	}	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JPASB.		
Jarrett	...	A'in-i-Akbari of Abu'l Fazl, English Translation by Jarrett and Blochmann—Vol. II.
JASB.	...	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS.	...	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBORS.	...	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
J. Bud. T.	...	Journal of the Buddhist Text Society
JDL.	...	Journal of the Department of Letters—Calcutta University.
J. Legge	...	Fa-Hien—J. Legge

JMBS.	... Journal of the Mahābodhi Society, Calcutta
Jour. Assam	
Res. Soc.	... Journal of the Assam Research Society
Jour As.	... Journal Asiatique
JRAI.	... Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
JRAS.	... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JRASB.	... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
KAS.	... The Jaina Kalpasūtra
Kishk.-K.	... Kishkindhya Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa
KM.	... Kāvya Mimāṃsā
Kūmarūpa Śāsanā-	
vali.	... Kūmarūpa-Śāsanāvali—Padmanath Bhattacharya
Karpūramanjarī	... Karpūramanjarī—Sten Konow
KSS.	... Kaushītaki Śrauta Sūtra
Ling. Surv. Ind.	... Linguistic Survey of India
LSS.	... Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
Mahābhā	... Mahābhāṣya
MASB.	... Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
MASI.	... Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
Mbht.	... Mahābhārata
MGOLS.	... Mysore Govt. Oriental Literature Series
Mem.	... Memoirs
Milindap.	... Milindapañho
Mitra, Notices	... Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts.—R. L. Mitra.
Mohenjo Daro	... Mohenjo Daro—Sir John Marshall
My.	... Mahāvātṣa—Geiger
MKP.	... Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna—English Translation by F. E. Pargiter, Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
MP.	... Matsya Purāṇa
Nārada	... Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. 33
Nāṭya-ś.	... Nāṭya Śāstra
Num. Chro.	... Numismatic Chronicle
PB.	... Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa English Translation—W. Caland.
P.E.	... Pillar-Edict
Periplus	... The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea—Schoff
PHAI.	... Political History of Ancient India—H. C. Ray- Chaudhuri.

ABBREVIATIONS

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Proc.	...	Proceedings
PTDKA.	...	The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age— F. E. Pargiter.
PTS.	...	Pāli Text Society.
Quart. Journ. Geo.		
Soc.	...	Quarterly Journal of the Geographical Society, London
Rajast.	...	Rājataranṅinī—A. Stein
Rājasekhara	...	Kāvya Mīmāṃsā—Rājasekhara
Rām.	...	Rāmāyaṇa—Gorresio's edition
Raverty	...	Tabūqāt-i-Nāsiri—English Translation by Raverty
RE.	...	Rock-Edict
RI.	...	Rock-Inscription
Rv.	...	Rigveda
S.	...	See.
Sabbā-P.	...	Sabbhā Parvan of the Mahābhārata
Sansk.	...	Sanskrit
SB.	...	Satapatha Brāhmaṇa
S.E.	...	Saka Era
Sect.	...	Section
Sep. R. E.	...	Separate Rock-Edict
SBE.	...	Sacred Books of the East Series
SII.	...	South Indian Inscriptions
SJV.	...	Silver Jubilee Volumes
SPP.	...	Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā, Calcutta.
ST.	...	Sanskrit Texts—Muir
St. Account	}	Statistical Account of Bengal
Stat. Acc. Beng.		
St. Pet. Dict.	...	St. Petersburg Dictionary
Takakusu	...	I-tsing—1896
TMB.	...	Tāpdyā Mahā-Brāhmaṇa (Pañchaviniśa Brāhmaṇa) —Bib. Ind.
TSS.	...	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series
ÜB.	...	über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana—W. Caland
Univ.	...	University
Vaj. Sam.	...	Vājasaneyā Saṃhitā
Vana-P.	...	Vana Parvan of the Mahābhārata
Vāyu-P.	}	Vāyu Purāṇa
V. P.		
VDS.	...	Vādisbṛtha Dharmasūtra
Ved. Ind.	...	Vedic Index—Macdonell and Keith

Vi-P. ... Vishnu Purāṇa

V. Research Society } Varendra Research Society
VRS.

Watters ... Yuan Chwang's Travels in India—Thomas Watters

Whitney & Lanman Atharvaveda (English Translation)—Harvard Oriental
Series.

ZDMG. ... Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Part I

CHAPTER I

BENGAL IN ANCIENT INDIAN TRADITION

An introductory note on the present name of the province.—A popular interpretation.—Varying administrative and geographical significance.—The movement of Vedic culture towards the eastern territories of India.—The *Vrātyas*.—The Vedic and Purāṇic tradition regarding the *Puṇḍras*, the *Vaṅgas*, etc.—Some leading theories on Bengal ethnology.—The growing influence of the eastern territories from the 6th century B.C.—Advance of Aryanisation.—The geographical divisions of Ancient India.—The evolution of the theory relating to *Āryavarta*.—Bengal finally included in *Āryavarta*.

The scope of our enquiry into the ancient geography of Bengal will be strictly limited to the political boundaries set to it under the British Administration of to-day. The term "Bengal," which is derived from "*Vaṅga*," a tribal name known to the Vedic literature, appears to have come into vogue in the thirteenth century, when it was used by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo¹ (1298) almost in its modern form.² Abul Fazl, the author of the *Ā'in-i-Akhbari*, states that the original name of the country was *Bang*, to which the suffix "*Āl*" was added (Sansk. *Āli*—"a mound of earth or ridge for crossing ditches, dividing fields, and the like"), signifying devices, called by this name, which were constructed by its former rulers throughout the province.³ The Tamils in the early part of the

¹ Col. Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 98 (Revised ed., 1903); *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, edited with an Introduction by George B. Parks, pp. 187, 194.

² Cf. *Jāmī'u-T Tawārīkh* of Rashīdu-d-din completed in 1810 A.D. in Elliot, I, 72, n8. On the question of its real authorship dating from a much earlier period, see *ibid* p. 42. For other forms see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. William Crooke (1903), pp. 85-86.

³ *Jerrett*, Vol. II, p. 120. This seems to be only a popular explanation. Probably the name is of tribal origin. The Prakrit affix "*āl*" gives the same sense as "*vat*" or "*ālu*" in Sanskrit; cf. *Jagāla*=*Paṇsk. Jāṭavat*; *Jo-bāla*=*Jyotnāvat*; *Sihāla*=*Śikhāvat*. See E. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, 403, 505. The term '*Vaṅga*' may thus represent *Vaṅgavat*, applied to a country inhabited by the *Vaṅgas*.

eleventh century were acquainted with the Vaṅgala country.¹ In the twelfth century Vaṅga generally corresponded to Eastern Bengal.² Although this limited sense has never been lost sight of, the name 'Vaṅga' in its wider signification is applied to the whole province of Bengal, as at present constituted. Geographical boundaries were hardly stationary in ancient times. They were subject to constant shiftings and modifications owing to the pressure of political and cultural circumstances. But it is noteworthy that while almost all the other geographical terms connected with Bengal have more or less passed into oblivion, to be resurrected only by historical investigation, Vaṅga alone has survived the attack of time, and having outgrown its original tribal association, has proved its capacity to bear an almost unlimited territorial sense. For this extended meaning imposed on it, 'Bengal' is indebted to the Moslem and British rulers of India. The Muhammadans at first gave the name "Bengala" to the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, from Garhi (Teliagarhi in Bihar) to Chittagong, but in the course of time it was extended to the territories lying further to the east, as they gradually passed under their political control. Besides, it also came to include some portions of the present province of Bihar and Orissa. During the early days of British rule the Presidency of Bengal comprised all the Company's territories to the north of the Vindhyas, extending from the Himalayas and the Punjab to the mouths of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. Other eastern lands subsequently conquered by the British, *viz.*, Assam, Arakan, Pegu, etc., were similarly attached to the Bengal

¹ Ep. Ind., IX, plate facing p. 78; p. 232. The name occurs also in the Nalanā inscr. of Vipulaśrimitra, attributed to the first half of the twelfth century A.D. See Ep. Ind., XXI, p. 98. The name 'Vaṅgali' appears as that of a deity in the 8th chapter of the *Dharmapala*. See H. P. Śāstri, DCSM. (A. S. B.), Vol. I (Buddhist MSS.), 1917, p. 92.

² Edilpur Copper-plate of Keśavaśena, J. and Proc. A. S. B. (N.S.), Vol. I, pp. 99, 108; Madanapāḍā Copper-plate of Nīśvarūpasena, J.A.S.B., Part I, 1896, p. 18; A. D., pp. 126, 137. Vaṅga in these records includes Vikramapura, the name of a well-known place in the Dacca District, Eastern Bengal.

Presidency.¹ Several different provinces have been created out of this unwieldy body, the last of which, only a quarter of a century ago, resulted in the reduction of Bengal almost to its normal shape, which is substantially based on linguistic unity and homogeneity of cultural traditions. Although the political boundaries of Bengal have differed from age to age, its geographical limits have been marked out by Nature in a manner sufficient to help it to retain its identity. The deltas of the Mahanadi and the neighbouring rivers separate Bengal from Orissa on the south-west. In the south it is bounded by the Bay of Bengal, extending along the coast from Orissa to British Burma. In the north it stretches up to the Himalayas in the neighbourhood of Sikkim and Bhutan. In the east it includes the Hill State of Tipperah, about and beyond which lie the Garo, Khasi, Jaintia and Lusai Hills of the Assam Province, which recede into the unknown mountainous regions of Burma. The delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra² contributes to Bengal the most distinctive feature of its geography.

The story of the gradual Aryanisation of Eastern India is preserved in some detail in the Vedic literature, which constitutes almost the only source of our information relating to the earliest available history of Bengal. The Rigvedic Aryans were aware of the existence of two rivers in the east, *viz.*, the Ganges³ and the Jumnā⁴ which lay beyond their immediate surroundings in the Punjab and the north-west. The easternmost limit of their geographical horizon seems to have reached the Gaya district, the land of the Kikatas,⁵ where ruled, nobody knows when, King Pramaganda, the Naichasākha.

¹ The Geography of British India, published by the National Society's Depository, Westminster (1859); IGOL (1906), VII, pp. 193-195; PURL (1931), pp. 1-2.

² IGOL, VII, p. 198.

³ RV. X, 75. 53; RV. V, 52. 187; VII. 18. 19; X, 75. 5.

⁴ RV. III, 53. 14.

⁵ If Montgomery Martin is to be believed Shahabad was known by the name of Kikata only a hundred years ago. See his 'History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India' (1838, Vol. I, p. 406). The region, he says, extending

In view of the evidence furnished by tradition and later literary sources, it may be assumed with a fair degree of certainty that Kikāṭa represented at least a part of Magadha. The Rigvedic hymn referred to above thus betrays a knowledge of some monarchical form of government which prevailed in this eastern country apparently before it had been brought under the sway of the conquering Aryans. Hillebrandt's theory that the passage alludes to a raid against the Kikāṭas, planned by the Rigvedic Aryans, has not received general acceptance. It was in the later Saṃhitā period, which synchronised with the compilation of the earliest Brāhmaṇas, that the Aryans were able to extend their influence into regions hitherto unexplored or vaguely known. They established vigorous settlements on the Varanāvātī and much further to the east. As the Kuntis and the Vitahavyas, who are found connected with Malwa in the age of the Mahābhārata, busied themselves in disseminating Aryan culture in Central India, so did the Bhāratas and the Videhas devote their efforts to its further extension into the eastern territories along the Ganges, the Jumnā and the Sadānīrā (Rapti or

from the Charaṇādri to the Gridhrakūta is called Kikāṭa in the Desanata of the Śakti-nāga-ma Tantra. The Bengal Asiatic Society MS. of this work (No. 1 B 59) couples Magadha with Kikāṭa in one passage (folio 107). Yāska refers to the Kikāṭa country as inhabited by non-Aryans: Kikāṭa nāma deśo' nāryanivāsaḥ—Nirukta, 6, 32. According to Zimmer they were a non-Aryan people associated with Magadha, while Weber regards them as Aryan. See AL, p. 31, n; Ind. Stud., 1, 186; J. N. Samaddar, *The Glories of Magadha*, p. 7. The name "Kikāṭa" was probably confined to the western part of Bihar, Shababad and Gaya. The prefix "Pra" in Pramaganda (Pramagadha?) may suggest this identification. J. Charpentier, however, considers the rapprochement of 'Pramaganda' with 'Magadha' as fanciful. He suggests the location of the Kikāṭas in Sindh, and holds that they were worshippers of the sacred banyan tree, a theory based on his interpretation of "naichaśākha" which he equates with naiyagrodha (nyagrodha). J. R. A. S., 1930, pp. 355-4. But see F. W. J.'s note, p. 894 (*ibid*), also K. P. Chattopadhyaya on Naichaśākha, pp. 894-97 (*ibid*). The Abhidhānācintāmaṇi (p. 144) uses Kikāṭa as a synonym for Magadha (Kikāṭa Magadhābhavayāḥ). Cf. 'Magadhāḥ Kikāṭaḥ matāḥ' in II. ii of the Trikaṇḍaśeṣa. Vā. P. has the following in an additional verse (see Chap. 108, V. 28: Kikāṭeṣu Gayā puṇyā puṇyam Rājagṛham vanaṁ. Bh.P. twice refers to the Kikāṭas, 1.8.24; 1.10.18 (Huddho nāmnā janasutaḥ Kikāṭeṣu bhaviṣyati). Commentator Sridhara in explaining the former verse connects Kikāṭa with Gayāpradeśa. (See also Amūlya Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Pravāsa*, Bhāṣa, B.S.1928, pp. 631-37).

Gandak) respectively. The earliest undoubted reference to Magadha (Western Bihar) and Aṅga (Bhagalpur) is to be found in the Atharvaveda,¹ where fever (takman) is wished away to certain peoples, viz., the Mujāvants, the Aṅgas, the Magadhas. "Like one sending a person's treasure do we commit the fever," says the hymn. It is evident that the Magadhas and the Aṅgas were treated as enemies by the Vedic Aryans at the time of the composition of this hymn. Living in the outlying parts of the Aryan world they seem to have withstood for some time the domination of the Vedic culture and civilisation. The Aryan attitude to these tribes is, again, illustrated in the Yajurveda² where in a list of victims at the Puruṣa sacrifice mention is made of the Māgadha who is to be dedicated to Ati-krushṭa. The Vrātya Book in the Atharvaveda seems to be connected in a mysterious way with the region and the people of Magadha. The connection of the Māgadha with the Vrātya is apparent in the Atharvaveda, where the former is represented as his Mitra, Mantra, laughter and thunder.³ In the Śrauta Sūtras⁴ the initiated Vrātya has to give away the dress formerly used by him to a 'Brahmabandhu' of the Magadha-deśa. It appears quite probable that Magadha was an important stronghold of the Vrātyas. Attempts have been made by several scholars at a correct interpretation of the Vrātya rites,⁵ resulting in a controversy marked by opposing theories and arguments. All agree, however,

¹ V. 22. 14, First Half, p. 261.

² Vaj. Sam. XXX. 6. 22, where Māgadham = Magadhadēśajam according to Mahidhara's commentary. See Weber's edition, p. 841.

³ Ved. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 116, 342-44; Av. XV. 2. 1-4.

⁴ L88. VIII. 6. 28; Māgadha-deśyāya : aparo bravate magadho deśa eti tasmin ya utpannah sah, Com., p. 585. K88. XXII. 4. 22; com. on TMB., 17.1.16.

⁵ For details concerning these rites see L88., VIII. 6, 1-30; TMB., Chap. XVII. 2; K88., XXII. 4, 1-28; B88. XIV. 69, 1-2; 73.1; B88., 18. 94. 25. For a critical study see Hillebrandt, Ritual., pp. 139-140; Weber, Ind. Stud., X. 101, HSL., p. 112 and notes; Caland, ÜBB, p. 21; Whitney and Lanman, pp. 769-770; Hauer, Der Vrātya, Stuttgart, 1927; Winternitz, HIL., I, pp. 154, 191, 306n; JRAS, 1930, p. 462; N. Ghosh, ILC., Sections II-VI, 1934. Other references in note 1 and next page.

that the original purpose of this sacrifice was to enable its performer to secure an admission to the Vedic circle. Although the habits and customs of the Vrātyas essentially differed from those of the Vedic Aryans it has been maintained by some that they were originally Aryans¹ of a nomadic or primitive type later admitted to the cultured Vedic society. The outfit² of a Vrātya grihapati (householder), which seems to have been a local form of dress, consisted of a turban (uṣṇīṣhaṁ tiryāṇnaddha) and a black garment (kṛiṣṇaśaṁvāsa) and he used to be equipped with certain weapons, including a goad (pratoda) and a kind of bow (jyābroḍo). The vipatha of the Vrātya was a chariot of the easterners (prāchyaratha).³ The Vrātyas did not concern themselves with trade or agriculture,⁴ but they knew the use of silver tokens or ornaments (nishka).⁵ There are passages which may be interpreted to mean that their law was different from that of the Vedic Aryans (adaṇḍyaṁ daṇḍena ghnantaś charanti) and their speech characterised by peculiarities which marked it out from the Aryan language (a-dur-ukta-vākyaṁ dur-uktam āhur).⁶ Thus all the available evidence seems to point to the conclusion that the Vrātyas were originally distributed over a wide territory (in the east) outside the pale of the Vedic society, mythology and rituals to whose influence they ultimately succumbed.

¹ H. P. Sastri's Annual Address to the ASB., 1921, J. and Proc. ASB. (N. S.) XVII, 1921, pp. xxii; Keith, JRAS., 1913, pp. 159-160; Bloomfield, *Atarvaveda*, pp. 94, 95n; K. P. Chattopadhyāya in Cal. Rev., May, 1924, pp. 287-292, tries to prove that the Vrātyas were Aryan nomads from Central Asia, who entered India between 2000 B. C. and 1500 B. C. For Winternitz's observations on his theory, see HIL, I, p. 306n. Rājārām R. Bhagavat regards the Vrātyas as non-Aryans in JBBRAS., XIX, p. 361.

² TMB., XVII, 1. 14; LSS., VIII. 6, 7, 8, 13. According to J. Charpentier (V. O. J., XXV, 355-68, XXIII, p. 151ff.) the Vrātya is Rudra-Siva with the Sivaite ascetic as his human counterpart. But see A. B. Keith, JRAS., 1913, pp. 155-60, also JBBRS., Vol. XIX, pp. 357-64; JASB., 1925 (N. S.), pp. 151-165. Vrātya in the *Manusmṛiti* (X. 20) means an uninitiated man (Sāvitrīpatita). According to the same authority the Lichchhavis, the Jhallas and the Mallas were descendants of Rājanya Vrātyas (X. 23).

³ LSS., VIII. 6.9.

⁴ TMB., XVII. 1. 2.

⁵ LSS., VIII. 6. 17.

⁶ PB., XVII. 4; TMB., XVII. 1. 9; JRAS., 1913, p. 159. A different explanation is given in Cal. Rev., May, 1924, p. 289.

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa tells us the story of how the banner of Aryan culture was first carried across the Sadānīrā, the river which divided Kośala (Oudh) from Videha (Tirhut).¹ It had never been crossed by the Brahmins till Māthava Videgha, accompanied by his priest Gotama Rāhugaṇa, pioneered in a movement which led to a great expansion of Aryan culture. Brahmin settlements soon sprang up into existence to the east of the Sadānīrā, where a definite improvement in the material conditions of life took place with the advent of the Aryan colonisers. "From a very uncultivated" and "very-marshy land," Videha, which had not been previously "tasted by Agni Vaiśvānara," became soon converted into a quite habitable region. During this period the Aryans must have also taken steps towards strengthening their intimacy with Aṅga first mentioned in the Atharvaveda. A vigorous outpost of Aryan settlers was certainly in existence in this territory during the age of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa² which refers to the anointing of Aṅga Vairochana according to the *Mahābhisheka* rite by Indra Udamya Ātreya, which is said to have culminated in the establishment of his universal sovereignty. "Aṅga went round the earth completely, conquering on every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice." The progress of Aryan missionaries and conquerors in the eastern countries was later considerably facilitated by the effective hold they had already secured on Aṅga. In the whole range of the Vedic literature including the Brāhmaṇas no work is found to contain any reference to Bengal with the single exception of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,³ where the Puṇḍras are mentioned for the first time. The Puṇḍras are known to have played a significant part in the subsequent history of Bengal. It cannot, however, be definitely asserted that the Puṇḍras occupied during this period the same region with which they are found associated

¹ S. B., I. 4. 1. 10, 14-17; SBE., Vol. XII, p. 104, n1; J. Muir. ST., Vol. II, pp. 402-403.

² A. B. (VIII. 22), p. 337.

³ *Ibid.*, VII. 17-18, p. 307.

in later times. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa they form a distinct group with the Andhras, the Sabaras, the Pulindas and the Mutibas, and their position is no better than that of Dasyus or outcasts, living in large numbers beyond the borders (Udantyaḥ). They are described as the offspring of Viśvāmitra's fifty sons, who were degraded in consequence of a curse uttered by their father for their refusal to recognise his adoption of Sunahśepa as his eldest son. The home and the origin of the Puṇḍras were thus regarded with contempt. A later Vedic work, the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, in a passage¹ which is liable to different interpretations is generally supposed to contain the earliest reference to the Vaṅgas. These have been grouped with the Vagadhas or Avagadhas and jointly mentioned with the Vayasas and the Cherapādas (*cf.* the Cheros now living in some districts of the United Provinces, Bihar & Orissa).² It may be mentioned here that the Vedic tradition relating to the origin of the Puṇḍras, as found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, is at variance with the story contained in the Purāṇas, which traces the descent of the five eponymous tribes, *viz.*, the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Suhmas, Puṇḍras and Kaliṅgas, to the five sons of Rishi Dīrghatamas by Sudeshṇā, the wife of king Bali.³ They were known as Bāleya Kshatriyas, as they were adopted by the king as his own sons. While the Vedic literature brands the Puṇḍras as Dasyus (barbarians), the Purāṇas regard them as well as the four other tribes of avowedly the same origin to be Kshatriyas. The Aṅgas,

¹ A. A., II, 1. 1, p. 200.

² Vedic Cheras = modern Cheros = Keralas (settled in Malabar)? *Cf.* Keralaputta referred to in Rock-edict II of Asoka. On this equation is based the assumption that the Kerala town, Yayāti-nagara, mentioned by Dhoyi in his Pavana-dūta (12th century), was a settlement of this tribe. See D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, 44, n. 3. For references in the Pavana-dūta, see SSP. Series No. 13, Intro., p. 24, Text, p. 9, vv. 16, 26; JABB., (N. S.), 1905, p. 44. Yayāti-nagara = modern Biñka (from Vinitapur), a small town in the Sonpur State, 16 miles north of its present capital. See B. C. Mazumdar, *Ep. Ind.*, IX p. 189; Rai Bahadur Hiralal, *DLICI.*, pp. 93ff.; Raipur DG., Vol. A, p. 41, Bilaspur DG., Vol. A, p. 31.

³ F. E. Pargiter, *ATHL.*, p. 158.

whose mention is the earliest among these tribes in the Vedic literature, have their founder described as the first-born of the sons of Bali in some places of the Purāṇic literature.¹ The Vaṅgas and the Pundras came to be known to the Vedic Aryans in the latter part of their history. To the list of these early tribes some are inclined to add the name of the Bāḡdis, supposed to be of ancient origin, who are regarded as representatives of the Vagadhas mentioned in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka along with the Vaṅgas.² This is highly problematic and needs further investigation.

No definite information is available regarding the early history or geography of Bengal previous to its contact with the Vedic Aryans, and the data that can be collected from their literature are manifestly not sufficient to enable us to form any clear idea on the matter. Were the early inhabitants of Bengal intimately connected with the Vrātyas or the Kikāṭas, people with whom the Vedic Aryans came into contact in Eastern India, possessing characteristics different from their own? We know little that can be said definite about the racial affinities of the people who belonged to this land in the dim past of its history. If they came from outside, where was their original home? How did they face the Aryan invaders? Such problems cannot be solved with any degree of precision until further light on the subject is forthcoming. Pargiter, a critical student of Purāṇic tradition, suggested that the five tribes of the Vaṅgas, Pundras, Aṅgas, etc., entered India by the sea, first settled along the northern coast of the Bay of Bengal, gradually extended their power and influence inwards up the Ganges valley and thus took possession of the territory running from Aṅga in the north to the sea-coast in the south. In Bengal they spread themselves in the course of time over a wide and compact 'wedge-shaped area,'

¹ Putrau utpādayāmāsa pañcha-varṣa-karān bhuvi | Aṅgaḥ prathamato jajñe... (HV, Chap. 31, p. 58, vv. 1684-85; ... Śudeshgāyā iyesbṛhaḥ putro vyaajāyata | Aṅgas-tathā Kaliṅgaś-cha... MP., Chap. 48, p. 98; v. 77.

² Pravāsi, Vol. 21, Pt. I, p. 632.

bordered by the sea. These tribes and the Aryans, belonging to different ethnic and cultural types, met in the neighbourhood of Aṅga (*i.e.*, in Magadha and Videha), exchanged their ideas and gradually settled down as a united people, the product of a continuous process of subtle fusion.¹ But this account is principally based on the inference drawn from the Paurāṇika legend that the five eastern tribes composed a homogeneous ethnic group. The story does not throw any light on the origins of their race or culture. Moreover, the theory that these tribes entered India by the sea is a mere guess. The Vedic Aryan as a formative element in the population of Bengal can at the most be regarded as a doubtful factor. Sir Herbert Risley,² who was the first scholar to make a systematic study of the complicated ethnology of Bengal from a scientific standpoint, came to the conclusion, after a critical examination of the head-forms of the various groups of people in the province, that the two important races which had primarily participated in a process of intermingling in Bengal were the Mongolian and the Dravidian, and that the nose-form might, in the case of the Bengal Brāhmins, 'be due to the remote strain of Indo-Aryan ancestry to which traditions bear witness.' His Mongolo-Dravidian type occupies the delta of the Ganges and its tributaries from the confines of Bihar to the Bay of Bengal, while the Aryo-Dravidian or Hindustani type extends to the southern extremity of Bihar, 'from which point onwards it melts into the Mongolo-Dravidian type of Bengal proper.' The theory set forth in a scientific form thus boldly disposes of the popular view which supports much careless and loose talk about Bengal's claims to 'Aryan ancestry.' Among his critics, Mr. R. P. Chanda, observes that the brachycephalic type 'met with in the province

¹ Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 293; J.A.S.B., 1908, pp. 851-853; J.A.S.B., 1897, LXVI, Part I, p. 85.

² *The People of India*, ed. by W. Crooke, 1915, pp. 40-41.

³ *Indo-Aryan Races*, Part I, p. 75; R. P. Chanda, 'Alpine Strain in the Bengali people'—*Nature*, Feb., 22, 1917.

snows the Bengali race to be allied to the round-headed Aryans, the Baluch and the Pathans, who live beyond the Indus. By the time the Vedic Aryans had made a considerable advance towards the eastern countries, a section of this people, belonging to the *Homo Alpinus* type,¹ must have entered India and proceeded through the tableland of Central India to the Lower Gangetic plain, where they permanently settled. Recent ethnographic speculations also are distinctly opposed to Risley's Mongolo-Dravidian theory as an explanation of the physical characteristics of the population of Bengal. The view is gradually gaining strength that the origin of the true Bengali type is not to be sought among the Rajbansi Maghs of Chittagong, the Mals of Bankura and Midnapore, and the Koches of Jalpaiguri and Rangpur. These tribes which do not represent the Bengali type proper may be either Mongoloid or proto-Australoid in origin. It has been asserted that miscegenation between these races cannot explain the brachycephaly which is present among the higher castes in Bengal, constituting a vital problem of her ethnography. This distinctive type of brachycephaly is supposed to bring Bengal into an intimate racial connection with Western India where similar features are preserved among the Gujratis, Marathis, Kanarese and the Coorgs. Risley's classification is held defective because it failed "to diagnose accurately the origin of brachycephaly in Western India and its extension...to Bengal." Anthropometric data already collected seem to disclose some affinities between the Nagar Brahmins of Gujarat and the Kayasthas of Bengal, suggesting a common origin of their brachycephaly. The theory of an Alpine infiltration into the province, which was offered by Chanda in opposition to the Mongolo-Dravidian standpoint of Risley, is now considered by many to be the most suitable hypothesis to meet the requirements of the situation. As

¹ JRAL., 1912, pp. 467-438 ; A. C. Haddon, *The Races of Man* (1934), p. 27.

² For a criticism of Chanda's view, see S. K. Chatterjee, HODDBL., Pt. I, p. 33 ; *Nature East and West*, Nov. 23, 1916.

to the time when the brachycephals of the Alpine stock possibly appeared in Bengal, Chanda's conclusion that they were preceded by the Indo-Aryans has not been generally accepted. But the view that the brachycephalic element was introduced in a pre-historic epoch is maintained by such reputed anthropologists as Giuffrida-Ruggeri, Dixon and Hutton. It is to be noted that the craniological evidence from Mohenjo-daro, which is substantially supported by sculptural relics unearthed at the site, has brought to light the existence in Sind of four divergent racial types including the Alpine during a period which, according to certain calculations, ended about 2750 B.C. Although the discovery of these human remains does not *ipso facto* prove the presence of the brachycephals in Sind during the Mohenjo-daro epoch, the probability of their having already appeared in that remote period cannot be altogether denied. Thus this new evidence has added further strength to the view that the brachycephalic element of the type already defined was introduced into this country before the advent of the Aryans. It is not improbable that the broad-headed Alpine race proceeding through the North-Western frontier of India at first deposited considerable settlements along the Western coast, from Gujarāt to Coorg. At a later period large numbers of these immigrants penetrated to the south through a western route, while others advanced through the Central Indian Plateau where brachycephaly has been traced at Rewa to the Gangetic valley where the greatest degree of its influence was felt in the deltaic portion of Bengal. This broad-headed element which has been connected with the Alpine stock begins to manifest itself from Bihar in the east and reveals its maximum strength in Bengal. The Alpine movement towards the east may have been due to, and accelerated by, the pressure of Aryan settlers in India. Thus according to Hutton the Alpine stock may have "entered the Indus valley during or after the Mohenjo-daro period" but it was at a later date that the brachycephals were "pushed outwards by the Vedic Aryans carrying the round-headed element eastwards to Bengal down the

Ganges valley where the Bengali element in the delta seems very definitely intrusive forming a wedge between Orissa and Assam." Such Aryan influence as can be traced in the culture of Bengal, specially its language, does not depend for its explanation on an inevitable theory of racial admixture. "Race and Speech," says Dr. Eickstedt, "do not coincide in the least in India."¹ The Aryan speech may have been carried through various channels of communication and civilising agencies to the province of Bengal from Bihar which was one of the outer countries of the Midland, where, according to Hoernle and Grierson,² the earlier Aryan immigrants into India were forced to retreat by the pressure of a second incoming horde. It is interesting to observe that a long period of time elapsed before Bengal came to be regarded as a part of the Aryandom by the Brahmanical writers of the Vedic schools. The term "Āryāvarta," which was introduced to indicate the sphere of Aryan influence, had a geographical as well as a cultural significance. The geographical boundaries of Āryāvarta changed with the accession of new territories to an area which had originally been the stronghold of Aryan culture in the course of its expansion in different directions. From about the seventh century before the birth of Christ the territories in Eastern India began to manifest the stirrings of a new life. There is no doubt that the Aryans had by this time succeeded in establishing their influence on a somewhat firm basis at important stations in the Gangetic valley. A great step forward in the task of Aryanising Eastern India was taken by the institution of the *Vrātyastomas*, which led to the conversion of strangers to the

¹ Baron Von Eickstedt, *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, 1934, Vol. I, Chap. I, p. 28; *Census Report*, Vol. I (1931), pp. 441-454; *Mohenjo-Daro*, Vol. I, Chap. VIII, pp. 102ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, pp. 6-33; 1932, pp. 41 ff.; Roland B. Dixon, *The Racial History of Man*, pp. 260-67; B. S. Guha, *The Racial Origins of the Bengali*, Acharya Ray Com. Vol., 1932, pp. 174-178; Giuffrida-Ruggeri, *The First Outlines of a Systematic Anthropology of Asia* (1921), pp. 43-60. For a criticism of the views discussed above, see B. Datta, *Races of India* in *JDL.*, XXVI, pp. 1-84, specially pp. 21-22.

² A. R. Hoernle and H. A. Stark, *History of India*, 1905, Cuttack-Orissa Missionary Press p. 11; Grierson, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 52-55.

Vedic system. Aṅga had been transformed into an active centre for the propagation of Vedic faith, and a remarkable school of philosophical speculations, affiliated to the Vedic thought, derived its main inspiration from the royal house of Mithilā in Videha (=Tirhut). The rise of the heterodox systems of Buddha and Mahāvīra towards the end of the 6th century B.C. and the foundation of the first historical empire about two hundred years later changed the trend of affairs in a way that easily gave a predominant position to Bihar and the adjoining lands in the shaping of India's destiny for many centuries to come. The writers of the Vedic schools had to revise their opinions and gradually widen their original conception of "Āryāvarta." The Vedic authors in the later Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇa period seem to have been conscious of the necessity of a plan of geographical division of the country, based on directions. The divisions contemplated under this scheme, and already foreshadowed in the Atharva-Veda¹ were (1) the *Dhruva-madhyama-pratishṭhā diś*, (2) the *Prācī diś*, (3) the *Udīchi diś*, (4) the *Dakṣiṇā diś*, and (5) the *Pratīchi diś*.² Of these divisions we are more concerned with the first and the second, which have a close bearing on the evolution of the geographical and cultural import, underlying the term "Āryāvarta," which came into later use. It is to be noted, however, that in the Vedic literature itself these different divisions have not been indicated with any amount of precision and clearness. The expression "*Dhruva-diś*" means a cardinal point and in the Vedic terminology "denotes the ground under one's feet." The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa³ places the territories of the Kurus, Pañchālas, Vasas and the Uśīnaras⁴ in the *Madhyama-Pratishṭhā diś*. If the Vasas are to be regarded as identical with the Vatsas of Kauśāmbī (Kosam near Allahabad) and the Uśīnaras assigned to Uśīnaragiri, which according to the Kathāsaritsāgara,⁵

¹ XIX, 17, 1-2.

² H. C. Ray Chaudhury, CR, Oct., 1926, pp. 128-9.

³ A.B., VIII, 14, 3.

⁴ Cf. Pāṇini, II, 4, 20; IV, 2, 118.

⁵ Lambaka I, Taraṅga 3, vv. 4-5; Wilson's ed. of the Meghadūta, Calcutta, 1818, v. 52, p. 59.

was situated near Kankhal (Kanakhala), close to Hardwar (Haridvāra)¹, where the Ganges descends into the plain of Hindustan, it will appear that Madhyadeśa, as defined in the Mānava Dharmaśāstra, a work compiled in its present form in the second century B.C., was limited by the Himalayas in the north, the Vindhya in the south, Vinasāna (i.e., where the River 'Sarasvatī' disappears in the Rajputana desert) in the west, and 'Prayāga' in the east. Manu's Madhyadeśa practically corresponds to the Āryāvarta of the Dharmasūtras. Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha,² for instance, state that "Āryāvarta" lies to the east of Vinasāna,³ south of the Himalayas, north of the Pāripātra or Pāriyātra, i.e., the Western Vindhya in the south, and to the west of Kālakavana. Scholars have generally taken Kālakavana to be the ancient name of the extensive forest in the east, which Rama entered, having crossed the Ganges⁴ at Śrīṅgaverapura, identified by Cunningham with the modern town Singrur⁵ or Singer, about twenty-two miles north-west of Allahabad. Rama and his party are said to have reached 'Prayāga' (*Prayāgam abhitah*)⁶ having journeyed through the forest for a day. The forest was extensive and almost impenetrable (*sumahad-ranam*).⁷ Prayāga was situated in the midst of this forest and was shut off from all contact with the civilised world. The eastern front of the Madhyadeśa was thus in the neighbourhood of Prayāga. There is another view which places the Kālakavana in Bihar.⁸ But this theory seems to be untenable for two reasons. First, the attitude of the Dharmasūtras was far from accommodating to the eastern peoples, viz., the Magadhas, the

¹ CASR., II, 40 n.: Hariv., 9521. For other references see St. Pet. Dict., Vol. II, p. 1.

² Darśana or Adarśana in BDS (MG03), p. 11 n.: Adarśa in VDS. (Führer), p. 1, and in Patañjali, 1. 475.

³ BDS. (I, 1, 25), VDS. (1, 8).

⁴ Gorresio, Rām., Vol. II, Ayodhyā K., XLIX, 3, 7, 13; LIJ, 7-23: 26.

⁵ CASR., XI, p. 62; XXI, p. 11.

⁶ Ayodhyā K. (LIV, 1-8).

⁷ Ayodhyā K., XCII, 13; XCVIII, 14. Cf. the list of Tirthas in the Vana-Parva of the Mbh., LXXXV, 1876-1885, J.R.A.S. 1894, pp. 241-2.

R. C. Majumder, HBL., p. 82; S.B.E., Vol. XIV, p. 2, n. 8.

Āṅgas and the Puṇḍras, etc. It is improbable that they should include part of Magadha in an area strictly limited by cultural and racial considerations. Secondly, as Hultzsch¹ points out, the reading “*pratyak Kālakavanāt*” to be found in the published texts of Baudhāyana, Vaśiṣṭha and the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali² may be a clerical mistake for *pratyak Kanakhalāt* or *Kanakhkhalāt*, which he came across in two Grantha manuscripts. If the latter reading is the correct one, the eastern limit of Āryavarta lay along the south-east course of the Ganges from Hardwar ‘past Kanauj and as far as Allahabad.’ In any event Bengal was outside the limits of the Āryavarta, approved by the authors of the Dharmasūtras, and of the Middle Country or Madhyadeśa, as defined in the Mānava Dharmaśāstra. It may, however, be observed in this connection that in the age of the Dharmasūtras there were differences of opinion regarding the boundaries of “Āryāvarta” even amongst the writers of the Brahmanical schools. According to one view the name “Āryāvarta” was to be applied only to the Gangetic doab (*Gaṅgā-Yamunayor-antaram*), i.e., the region round about Kanauj,³ while some proposed to put its eastern limit in the region where the sun rises, as far as the black antelope wanders.⁴

Manu draws a clear distinction between Madhyadeśa and Āryāvarta. His code gave an extended geographical meaning to the term “Āryāvarta”⁵ so that it was to be regarded as co-extensive with the whole of India north of the Vindhyas, bounded by the Arabian Sea in the west and the Bay of Bengal in the east. On the other hand Madhyadeśa,⁶ according to the Mānava Dharmaśāstra, denoted the same region which in the legal treatises

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIV, 1905, p. 179.

² Mahābhā., on Pāṇini, II, 4, 10.

³ H. H. Wilson, V.P. Vol. IV, p. 64, note I; Sachau, Alberuni, Vol. I pp. 173, 198; V.D.S. (I, 12); B.D.S. (I, 1, 2, 6).

⁴ V.D.S., I, 15; B.D.S. I, 1, 28,—a verse ascribed to the Bhallavins (a school of the Śāmavedins); Max Müller, H.S.L., pp. 193, 364; S.B.E., XIV, 3.

⁵ M.D.S., ii, 21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 20.

of Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana is called Āryāvarta or the land of the Āryas. Manu's definition of Āryāvarta was adopted by later writers. In the lexicon Amarakośa¹ the same northern and southern boundaries of Āryāvarta are given, while its limits in the other two directions seem also to be implied as identical. Rājaśekhara,² who flourished c. 900 A.D., explained "Āryāvarta" as composed of the territories in which approved practices connected with the systems of the four castes and the four āśramas prevailed (*Tasmimś - chāturvārnyam chatur - āśramyamś - cha tanmūlaś-cha sad-āchārah*). His conception of the geographical limits of the Āryāvarta is identical with that to be noticed in the Mānava Dharma-śāstra. It extends from the Himalayas to the Vindhya and from the western to the eastern sea. For the sake of convenience he divides Northern India into five different parts. It is the Pūrvadeśa of Rājaśekhara, which comprises the territories of Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Nepāla, Kośala, Tosala, Utkala, Magadha, Videha, Puṇḍra, Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam), Tāmāliptaka, Malada, Mallavartaka, Suhina (W. Bengal) and Brahmottara. The rivers of the Pūrvadeśa, specifically mentioned, are the Soṇa, Lauhitya, Gaṅgā, Karatoyā and the Kapiśā. The western limit of the Pūrvadeśa is put in the neighbourhood of Benares (*Tatra Vārāṇasyāḥ purataḥ pūrvadeśaḥ*). Earlier than Rājaśekhara, Varāhamihira,³ the astronomer, who lived in the sixth century A.D., distributed the territories of India on a different basis. He used the term "Madhyadeśa" in his scheme of classification, but nowhere did he make any endeavour to define it. It is, however, reasonable to infer that his Madhyadeśa included Ayodhyā (=Oudh in the United Provinces), which appears to have been its eastern limit. It will be seen in a subsequent section that Varāhamihira

¹ Āryāvartaḥ puṇyabhūmir-madhyath Vindhya-Himāgayoḥ, Bib. Ind., 1912, p. 74 ; Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana, TSS., Pt. II, p. 9 ; cf. V.D.S., 19.

² K.M., G.O.S., No. 1, p. 93 ; intro., pp. xxiv-xxvi.

³ Varāhamihira includes in his Madhyadeśa Śāketa on the east, the Maru country on the west (Ind. Ant., XXII, pp. 168-170). M.P. also places Śāketa in the Madhyadeśa, see VP., op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 168 n. : *tasya-nishā madhyadeśe hi Ayodhyā nagari śubhā*.

located the different divisions of Bengal in the east and south-east respectively. The peoples of Eastern India used to be called *Prāchyas* in the age of the *Brāhmapas*. We have already referred to the fivefold division of the country, which the Aryans adopted during that period. It is quite probable, as Oldenberg¹ suggests, that in certain passages of the *Brāhmapas*, the *Prāchyas* meant the *Kāśis*, *Kosalas*, *Videhas* and the *Magadhas*. Tradition shows that their position was by no means insignificant as they are found coupled with the *Pāñchālas* in the *Saṃhitopanishad*² which, though called a *Brāhmaṇa*, is not really so. But with the growth and advance of geographical knowledge, territories lying further to the east of *Magadha* must have gradually come under the meaning of this term. It has been frequently used in the *Mahābhārata*³ and the *Purāṇas* to denote, in a general way, all the nations of Eastern India. We may perhaps recognise in the Greek and Latin *Prasii* an attempt to approximate to the Sanskrit ' *Prāchya*.' The fact that certain countries have been definitely mentioned in Indian literature as situated in the east has been of great help in settling their modern identifications.

The *Madhyadeśa* of the Buddhist writers differed, at any rate so far as its eastern limit was concerned, from the Middle Country, as understood in the Brahmanical literature.⁴ In the early Buddhist text, the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Buddha is stated to have defined the *Majjhimadesa* as bounded on the north by Mount *Uśtrāddhaja*

¹ *Buddha*, p. 393, n; *Ved. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 46.

² Weber, *HIL*, p. 34, n. 25. (*Sarvatra Prāchya-Pāñchālīshu*)....

³ V, 5510, 5555; VI, 689, 2141, 2584; VIII, 863. See *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 310 ff. In V, 5510, 5555, and VI, 689 above names of the three other cardinal territorial divisions are given, i.e., *Pratichya*, *Udichya* and *Dākṣiṇātya*. In the last-named verse it seems to be implied that the *Prāchyas* meant a combination of the *Aṅgas*, *Varāṅgas*, *Uppādras*, *Magadhas* and *Tāmraliptakas*.

⁴ The oldest passage in the Buddhist literature where this definition is given is in the fifth *Khandaka*, the *Chammakkhandaka* of the *Vinaya*. See Oldenberg, Vol. I, *The Mahāvagga*, p. 197, V, 18, 12; S.B.E., XVII, pp. 38-39, also Fausbøll, *Jātaka*, 1, 49; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 201; Childers's notes to the *Khuddaka Piṭha*, p. 20; *J.R.A.S.*, 1870, p. 328. (The commentary on this work is ascribed to *Buddhaghosha*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 85); *Buddhaghosha's commentary (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī) on the Dīgha. N.*, Pt. I, p. 173 (P.T.S.).

(Uśīnaragiri), on the south by the town (*nigama*) Setakaṇṇika (situated in the territory of the Andhras), on the west the Brahmanical village called Thūna, on the south-east the river Salalavatī (Sallavatī) and on the east the town known as Kajangala, beyond which lay Mahāsālā. The boundaries given above are more or less uncertain, but Kajangala,¹ which marked the eastern limit of the Buddhist Majjhima Desa, is to be identified with Ka-chu-wen-k'i-lo, mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen tsang² in the 7th century A.D. This country was situated at a distance of about 400 li (nearly 70 miles) to the east of Champā (Bhagalpur) and is now represented by Kankjal, near Rājmahal. The eastern limit of the Āryāvarta of Baudhāyana extended as far as Prayāg or Kālākavana. The Majjhima Desa of the early Buddhist writers, on the other hand, included a considerable portion of Bihar. The eastern limit of this tract of country even extended beyond Kajangala, according to later Buddhist literature. In the Buddhist Sanskrit Divyāvadāna,³ a collection of stories put in its present form some time after the Christian era, while the other boundaries remain identical, on the east is placed a town (in North Bengal) called Puṇḍravardhana (*Puṇḍra-rardhanam nāma nagaram*, to the east of which again lay the mountain Puṇḍrakaksha. This really marked the eastern frontier of the Middle Country as the region beyond this is termed 'pratyanta.' [*Dakṣiṇena Sarāvatī (cer. loc. Sarāvatī and Savārāvatī), nāma nagarī tasyāḥ pareṇa Sarāvatī nāma nadī... | Paścimena Sthūnopasthūnakau brāhmaṇagrāmakau... | Uttareṇa Uśīragiriḥ... |*]) To the Buddhists Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal up to the river Karatoyā in the east) remained the standard eastern boundary of Madhyadeśa. This is apparent from the account of

¹ Kajāṅgalā in Majjhima, Vol. III, p. 298; Kajāṅgalā, Kajāṅgala, Kajāṅgalikā, Kajāṅgalika, Jaṅgalā, in Anguttara, Vol. V, pp. 54-55; Kajāṅgalā in Faueböll, Jātaka IV, 310, V, 87; Kajāṅgalakā; Kajāṅgalan in Sumangala-Vilāsinī, Pt. I, p. 173.

² Rhys Davids, "Buddhist Birth Stories," p. 61, n. 2; AGI., p. 723.

³ Rhys Davids, J.R.A.S., 1904, pp. 83 ff.; Div., pp. 21-22. Jātaka (III. 364) includes Videha in Majjhima Desa.

Hiuen tsang, who treats of Central India as comprising thirty-seven different states, including Puṇḍravardhana. He has assigned the rest of Bengal (Tāmralipta, Samatāṭa, Kārnasuvarṇa) to Eastern India. Fa-hien in the 4th century took Magadha as a part of Madhyadeśa,¹ which shows that he also adopted the current classification.

The Jainas, from the beginning of their history, seem to have been free from any bias against Bengal. The Upāṅgas mark a later stage in the development of the Jaina literature, but the tradition embodied in them goes back, according to Weber, to a period of remote antiquity. One of these upāṅgas,² *pañcavaṃśa* (Prajñāpanā) *bhagavaṃśa* mentions Rājagaha (Rājagṛha) as the capital of Magadha, and devotes a section on Man, based on a classification of the different tribes of ancient India, who have been broadly divided into two distinct classes : milikkha (Mlecchha) and āriya (Ārya). The Āryas again are subdivided into nine groups the first of which is formed by the Khattariya comprising in the form of a gāthā names of 'Aryan peoples' with their chief cities, among whom are the Vaṅgas of Tāmalitti and the Lāṭas (Lāḍhas or Rāḍhas ?) of Koḍivarisa (Koṭivarsha). If the degree of antiquity claimed for the Prajñāpanā is to be considered probable, it will appear that the Jainas may have regarded Vaṅga as an Aryan land before the liberal interpretation of 'Āryāvarta' in the Mānava Dharmaśāstra accorded it a legitimate place within the limits of an area from which Bengal had been originally excluded. Before the compilation of this sacred text, a sūtra³ of the Baudhāyana school voiced the sentiment of the orthodox Aryan towards Bengal and the adjoining territories. According to this authority it was an offence to go to lands of the Puṇḍras, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, etc., for which expiation

¹ The cities and towns of Magadha were the greatest of all in the Middle Kingdom of Fa-hien's time. See J. Legge (1856), p. 79.

² Weber, Sacred Literature of the Jaina, trans. by Herbert Weir Smyth, Ind. Ant., 1891, pp. 373-375.

³ 1.1.80.

was insisted upon. Whoever had any occasion to go to any of these forbidden territories was strictly enjoined to perform the *Punastoma* or the *Sarvaprishṭha* sacrifice by way of penance, which would wipe away the stain due to such a visit (*Ārattān Kāraskarān Puṇḍrān Sauvīrān Vajṅān Kaliṅgān Prānūnān iticha gatrā Punastomena yajeta Sarvaprishṭhayā rā.*)¹ It may be observed *en passant* that in the opinion of the Baudhāyana school the Aṅgas and the Māgadhas among others were of mixed origin. (*Ārantayo'ṅga-Magadhā Surāśhṭrā Dakṣiṇāpathāḥ | Upāvērit-Sindhu-Saurīrā etc saṅkirṇa-yonayah*.)² This view shows that the ethnic factor, in whatever light understood by these authors, was not lost sight of in the determination of the orthodox attitude towards the outer countries. No wonder, therefore, that Āryāvarta originally denoted a comparatively limited area in a literature dominated by Vedic traditions.³

¹ BDS. I.1.29, MGOLS, p. 12; I, 2, 14, S.B.E., XIV, p. 148.

² SBE., XIV, 1, 2-14, p. 148. For details about the *Punastoma* and the *Sarvaprishṭha* see respectively GDS. XIX, 7, note and Taitt. Sam., II, 3, 7, 1-2. In the *Tīrthakulpa* by Jinaprabhā-Sūri (v.s. 1364) Vajṅga is grouped with Kaliṅga and Avanti, etc., to explain some point of nomenclature. See Bib. Ind., ed. by D. R. Bhandarkar, p. 86.

³ Vāsudeva Dikṣita in his *Śrī Bāṇanoramā*, a commentary on Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita's *Siddhāntakāumudī*, quotes the following stanza (vachana) without referring to its authorship:—

Aṅga-Vaṅga-Kaliṅgeshu

Saurāśhṭra-Magadheshu cha |

tīrthayātrap vinā yātaḥ

punaḥ saṅskāram-arhati (ed. by S. Chandrasekhara Sastrigul,

Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, 1911, Vol. II, pp. 455-56.

According to this rule anybody visiting Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, etc., except on pilgrimage, is required to undergo initiation for the second time. Authors of *Smṛti-Nibandhas* are equally unsympathetic towards some of these countries. See for example Devaṇa Bhaṭṭa, *Smṛiti-Chandrikā* (MGOLS.), *Saṅskāraśāstra*, 1914, pp. 22-23. Reasons explaining this attitude are offered by Ramaprasad Chanda in *Indian Seamen*, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee SJV., Vol. III, Part I, pp. 107-108. As the source of the stanza quoted above is not known, nothing definite can be said about the matter. Each period may have had its special reasons for condemning certain regions, but it is not quite unlikely that they were based on the tradition regarding some original difference that existed between Madhyadeśa and the outer countries, reproduced in the Brahmanical texts in a conventional way.

CHAPTER II

THE GEOGRAPHY OF BENGAL (FROM THE 4TH CENTURY B.C. TO THE 2ND CENTURY A.D.) FROM GREEK AND LATIN SOURCES

The land of the Gangaridæ—Its peoples, rivers, towns, etc.

From a review of traditions mostly preserved in early Indian literature we may now attempt something like a stock-taking of the positive facts of geography furnished by some Greek and the Latin literature of Classical Europe. The importance of this source of information may be realised from the fact that it may be safely assigned to a definite period of time, the outer limit of which, to put it in a round number, is 350 B.C., and the lower somewhere in the neighbourhood of 200 A.D. The data supplied are mostly based on reports gathered during Alexander's Indian campaigns, on the *Indika* of Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the Mauryan court of Pāṭaliputra, fragments of which were incorporated into the works of later writers ; on personal observations, as probably in the case of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, and finally on accounts given by traders, seamen and others, who had a first-hand experience of the Indian geography. The greater portion of the modern province of Bengal was known to the West as the country of the Gangaridæ ¹ during the whole of the period referred to above. Incidental references to the territory of the Gangaridæ are to be found in the works of Virgil (*Georg.* III. 27), Valerius Flaccus (*Argon.*, VI, 1, 66) and Curtius (IX, C, ii). In the second century A. D. Ptolemy ² mentions it in his geographical treatise, and earlier than he,

¹ Attempts are sometimes made, with very doubtful success, to equate "Gangaridæ" with Gaṅgārāṣṭra or Gaṅgā rāṣṭha (*I H.Q.*, Vol III, 1927, p. 729; Ptolemy, ed. by S. Majumdar, p. 383. Wilford's equation of it with Gancaradessa (*As. Res.*, V, p. 269) has no basis in fact.

² McCrindle, Ptolemy, p. 172, 1885.

the author of the *Periplus* calls it Ganges.¹ Regarding the geographical position of this country, Curtius Rufus in his narrative,² which is partly founded on the accounts of two important contemporaries of Alexander, informs us that on the "farther bank" of the Ganges dwell two nations, the Gangaridae (Gandaridai—Diodoros; Gandaritai—Plutarch) and the Prasii (Bresioi—Diodoros; Praisioi—Plutarch; Prasioi and Prasii—Strabo, Arrian and Pliny; Pharrasii—Curtius; other variants being Praisioi, Praesidae, Praxiake, etc.).³ With regard to the Prasii nation, the Greeks during Alexander's stay in India received valuable information from Phegelas (or Phegeus),⁴ and later, from Poros,⁵ who only confirmed his statement relating to their vast military resources. According to Strabo, Pliny and Arrian, the inhabitants of Palibothra, or Palimbrothra (which was situated at the confluence of the Ganges with the Erannoboas), were called Prasii.⁶ Again, Strabo reporting Artemidoros, speaks of the Ganges as descending "from the Emodoi mountains (*the Himalayas*) towards the south, and on reaching the city Gange⁷ (*Prayāg*), turns its course eastward to Palibothra and the mouth by which it enters the sea (*the Bay of Bengal*). Thus the indications are perfectly clear that the Greeks understood by the Prasii territory the dominions of Magadha. In fact they were one of the Prāchiya nations known to Indian literature. Cunningham was disposed to take the Greek Prasii as a variant of the Sanskrit form "Palasiya or Parasiya,"

¹ The *Periplus*, pp. 47, 366. The text was compiled between A.D. 70 and 80. See Wilfred H. Schoff, "The Date of the *Periplus*," J.R.A.S., 1917, p. 830; M. N. Haig in his *Indus Delta Country* (a memoir chiefly on its ancient geography and history, with three maps, 1894, p. 39) says that the author's voyages "were performed on various occasions" during the period A. D. 65-75 or 80, and that the work was completed in the last quarter of the 1st century A. D.

² McCrindle, IIA, p. 221.

³ II.A., pp. 221, 279, 281, 283, 310, 323, 394-B. Appendices, Notes, C, Dd.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 121 n., 291, 401.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 222.

⁶ McCrindle, AICL. (1901), p. 77, *ibid*, p. 42, n. 3; Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 205.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 77 n. 2, Section 11, 72, Gange = Prayāg (Willford); = Anupahar on the Ganges, South-east from Delhi (Grookurd).

a man of Palāsa or Parāsa.¹ But its restoration to the Sanskrit 'Prāchya' is more probable. The river Erannoboas, with which the Ganges united its course at Palibothra, was most probably the same as the Son.² The Sonus and the Erannoboas have, however, been mentioned as two distinct rivers by Arrian and Megasthenes.³ It is likely that they were only two arms of the same river, the Hiranyabāhu or the Son (Sona),⁴ which may have joined the Ganges at two places in early times.⁵ As the Erannoboas was quite a large river, indeed mentioned, though wrongly, as the third greatest river in India by some writers, its identification with the Gandak, proposed by Lassen, is to be considered untenable.⁶ As the land of the Gangaridae lay to the east of that of the Prasii the latter may have corresponded to Bengal in a

¹ 'Palāsa' is quoted in the *Śabdakalpdruma* (See *St. Pet. Diet.*, s. v., Vol. IV, p. 592) as a name of Magadha (Vol. III, p. 1984 : *Magadha deśah tīti Śabda ratnāvalī*). "The common form of the name is Paras or when quickly pronounced." Pras, which is taken "to be the true original of the Greek Prasii." See AGI, p. 520. This, however, is against the opinion held by many that the Gk. Prasii = Sk. Prāclī. See Wilson, *The Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. II, p. 135; Ravenshaw, *JASB.*, 1845, p. 147; McCrindle, IIA, p. 365. The two views, conflicting though they are, do not represent any substantial difference from the geographical point of view. No independent evidence has been produced to show that 'Palāsa' as a name of Magadha was current in this period, even admitting its correspondence with the Gk. Prasii as probable. Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua's attempt to connect the Gk. name with Prāgiyotisha is supported only by a series of assumptions. See *Jour. of the Assam Res. Soc.*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 53-54.

² According to Beglar, *ASIC*, VIII, 26 (Plate 1) the Sona of the Greeks = modern Son and the Erannoboas = Gandakī or modern Gandak. Wilson and Ravenshaw identify the Erannoboas with the Son. See Wilson's Preface, *The Theatre of the Hindus*, II, 187, pp. 135-36; *J.A.S.B.* (Old series), 1845, Pt. I, pp. 137-51, and map facing p. 138; Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, pp. 50, 53; Turnour, *Mahawanso*, I, App IV, p. lxxviii; McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian* (1877), p. 158; *As. Res.*, V, pp. 272-280, 285. That the Greek name Erannobos is to be equated with Hiranyabahu or Hiranyavāha is generally accepted. In Indian literature this appears as a name of the Son. See Abhichint, *Bhūmikhaṇḍa* p. 162; A.K. (*Sona Hiranyavāha*), I, 5, 34. *Kshurasvāmīn's* com. : *hiranyasā vahati*) Cunningham is of the opinion that the identification of the Son with the Erannoboas 'is complete both as to name and position.' See AGI, p. 520.

³ *Frag. XXB* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*). McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 64, 187 n., 205.

⁴ Waddell, *Excavations*, p. 19, n. 1.

⁵ Col. Wilford, *As. Res.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 338-9, 406; Sir W. Jones, *ibid*, IV, p. 11.

⁶ *Frag. I*, *Diod. II*, 37. McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 33. Patañjali in his comment on Pāṇini's *Sūtra*, II. 1. 36 gives the illustration : *anu Soṇap Pāṭaliputram*, i.e. Pātāl-

general way. This is suggested by the evidence of Megasthenes,¹ who informs us that the Ganges flowing from north to south ultimately loses itself in the ocean, forming the eastern boundary of the Gangaridæ, through which runs the final part of the river.² These authorities are silent as to which mouth of the Ganges was the eastern limit of this country. It is probable that they were not well-acquainted with the intricate courses of the Gangetic system. Strabo, for example, was ignorant of the existence of more than one mouth of the Ganges, through which its water was carried to the sea. It is to Ptolemy that we are indebted for a much fuller information of the river-system of the Gangetic delta. He mentions five different mouths of the Ganges from the west to the east in the following order :—the Kambyson (on the extreme west of the Gangaridæ), the Mega, the Kamberrikhon, the Pseudostomon and the Antibole (on the extreme east). The most westerly mouth of the Ganges may have been identical either with the Hooghly³ or the Subarnarekhâ, called the Jellasure river by Wilford.⁴ As the latter could be easily mistaken for a branch of the Ganges. The common impression, before the country was brought under survey, was that the river Saraswati joined the Subarnarekhâ near Dantan in the Midnapore district.⁵ According to Ptolemy the western branch of the Ganges or the Bhāgīrathi sends one arm to the right or the west, another to the left or the east. Taking the Kambyson of Ptolemy as identical with the Subarnarekhâ, we may assume that the offshoot which proceeded towards the west was the Saraswati, which he describes as a

putra is situated on the banks of the Sopa. See R. G. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, 1872, p. 311. For a recent notice of the Sûtra see *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 75.

¹ Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 135.

² McCrindle, Ptolemy, ed. by B. Majumdar, pp. 72, 73, 97-8, 100-2.

³ Vivien de Saint-Martin, "Mémoires Présentées par divers Savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres de l'Institut Impérial de France, Première Série, tome VI, pp. 165-167.

⁴ Wilford, *As. Res.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 462-464, 465.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 464-465.

stream flowing into the former. This communication does not exist, but it was believed to exist, as already stated. The river Rūpnārāyaṇ was probably considered as a branch of this western arm, viz., the Saraswati, which is mentioned by Ptolemy as affording a "passage into the great mouth, or that of the Bhāgīrathī or Ganges."¹ If the identity of the western mouth of the Ganges with the Subarnarekhā is to be accepted as correct, the second mouth, called the Mega, was the same as the Hooghly. But if the former corresponded to the Hooghly, the Mega has to be taken as identical with the Matlā, near Calcutta. The third mouth, viz., the Kamberrikhon, is represented by the river Barabanga, an important estuary, "which receives the water of the Kabbedak" or Kobbarak, the same as the Kaumaraka, referred to in a modern geographical work called the Kshetrasamāsa.² The river which, according to Ptolemy, branches out towards the east and joins this third mouth is the Jamunā. It is at Tribenī, in the Hooghly end, that the three rivers, the Ganges, the Saraswati and the Jamunā, mingle their waters. The fourth estuary which had the appearance of being mistaken as the last one is to be identified with the Haringhāta. Ptolemy says that the "Ganges sends an arm towards the east, or to the left, directly to the Pseudostomon" or "the false mouth." The fifth mouth is the Padmā, the Dacca branch of the Ganges. It is this river which throws out an offshoot into the Haringhāta, not *vice versa*, as recorded by Ptolemy. The land of the Gangaridae,

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 464-5; McCrindle, Ptolemy (1886), p. 101.

² From the information supplied by Wilson it appears that this book was written by Paṇḍit 'Jagannobun' at the request of 'Bijjala,' 'the last Raja of Patna,' who died in 1648 A.D. and that it was completed long after the latter's death. See *As. Res.*, XIV. pp. 373, 378-9. Wilson has made frequent use of this treatise in his geographical discourses. For the *Deśāvalivivṛiti* compiled by Jagannobhana Paṇḍit see *DCSM.*, Vol. IV, pp. 36ff. There are some other books having similar titles, from which Wilson's *Kshetrasamāsa* must be distinguished. Cf. Jinabhadra's *Kshetrasamāsa* (No. 16 in Kielhorn's *Report on the Search of Sk.* MSS., 1880-81, p. 11), a *Jaina Cosmography with Malayagiri's commentary*, published by the *Jaina Dharmaprasāra Sabhā*, Bhavanagar, Bombay, 1922, and Ratnāśekhara's *Laghu-Kshetrasamāsa* (see *Weber's Cat. of Sk. and Prak.* MSS., 1892, pp. 838, 850, fn. 1), a *Jaina Cosmology*, published with the author's commentary in the *Jaina Ātmānanda Grantha-ratna-mālā Series*, Bombay, 1916.

as depicted by Ptolemy, thus extended from the Subarnarekhā or the Hooghly on one side to the Padmā on the other, falling into the Bay of Bengal. The capital of the Gangaridae (Calingae¹ Kalingerum) according to Pliny was Parthalis.² Saint-Martin³ identified it with Paṇḍravardhana, which he took to be the same as Vardhamāna or the modern Burdwān, thirty miles to the west of the Hooghly branch of the Bhāgīrathi. But as every student now knows, the site of Paṇḍravardhana is to be looked for not in the district of Burdwān but elsewhere. Oldham's proposal to identify Parthalis (Partualis, Portalis) with Bishnupur in the Bankura district is not accompanied by any satisfactory evidence. S. N. Majumdar⁴ suggests that it should be identified with the city of Paṇḍravardhana in North Bengal. Granting the equation of 'Parthalis' with 'vardhana,' the name Paṇḍravardhana is much too significant to be represented in such a simple abbreviated form. Besides, there is no proof to show that Northern Bengal was part and parcel of the territory of the Gangaridae. Parthalis may have even been situated outside Bengal proper⁵ since Pliny connects the region with Kaliṅga. An important town in the Gangaridae in the first and second centuries A.D. was Gange or Ganges, as it has been mentioned both by the author of the *Periplus*⁶ and Ptolemy.⁷ In the *Periplus* it is stated that a great volume

¹ The common reading is *Gangaridum Calingarum, Regia*. See *Frags.* LVI, Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VI. 21. 22. ² The Gangarides were thus a branch of the Kaliṅgās. McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 135, n.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

⁵ McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, ed. by S. Majumdar, p. 383.

⁶ K. P. Jaysawal has drawn attention to an old Odīyā manuscript preserved in the Indian Museum, which contains seven verses relating to the early history of Utkala and mentioning a Nandartja of Magadha and an Aira king who was a great enemy of Aśoka (Aśokaśya mahāmītraj Airah Utkaleśvarah, v. 4). In one of these verses (v) the manuscript refers to Ekaprastara, where the Khandagiri was situated (Ekaprastara-khapde ku purdgaḥ parvat-ottamah | Khandagiri-i-ti nām-āsan pavitra ch-Otkale bhuvī—v. 5)—*JBOBS.*, 1917, p. 482; *Sten Konow, Act. Orient.*, Vol. I, p. 40. Jaysawal identifies Ekaprastara with Parthalis. The next step is to identify it with Dhauli. The text is corrupt. Probably the ancient name of Khandagiri was Kumāraparvata (Śrī-Kumāraparvata-sthāne). As mentioned in Uddyota-Kesari's ins. in Lalatendu-Kesari cave on the Khandagiri (*Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 166), which seems to have belonged to the 10th or 11th century A.D.

⁷ The *Periplus*, pp. 47-48.

⁸ Ptolemy, p. 172, 1886.

of trade used to be conducted through the market-town of Gange, situated on the bank of the Ganges. "Raw silk and silk yarn and silk cloth" used to be carried down from the city of Thinae (= Hiên-yang or Si-gnan-fu on the Wei river, in the land of This or Ts'in in China)¹ and exported from this place to the Tamil country in the south (Damerica). Various articles of trade, including pearls and "muslins of the finest sort" imported to this centre, were sent to different places.² Gange was most probably Hooghly.³ Its identification with Tamalūk (22° 11' N. 87° 56' E.) in the Midnapore district is rendered improbable by the fact that Ptolemy mentions both Gange and Tamalites. The latter town has been assigned by him to the Mandalai, who had Palimbothra (Patna) under their occupation. Megasthenes,⁴ as reported by Pliny, seems to have known this place, since mention is made in his list of Indian races of a people called the Taluctae who have been associated with the Modubae, the Uberae, etc., living to the east of the Prasii. It may not be advisable to agree with Taylor in identifying Gange with Suvarnagrāma or Suvarnapura (modern Sonārgaon, 23° 40' N. 90° 36' E., about twelve miles to the south-east of Dacca), for Ptolemy has referred to this place as Sounagoura separately (145° 30', 29° 30') in his scheme of Transgangetic India.⁵ The site of Hooghly (with Saptagrām or Sātgaon extending up to Tribeni)⁶ may have been chosen as the most suitable centre for keeping up commercial relations with the Tamil country. One of the two towns which Ptolemy has placed in the land of the Gangaridae is Paloura, situated between the first and the second mouth of the Ganges, viz., the Kambyson and the Mega-

¹ Marco Polo, Vol. II, p. 27, n. 3, 1903; The Periplus, pp. 48, 261.

² The Periplus, pp. 47, 256.

³ Saint-Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-146; McCrindle, I.C.L., p. 77, n. 3.; JASB., Vol. VII, p. 28.

⁴ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VI. 21, 22, 11; *Frag. LVI*, McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 139.

⁵ McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, ed. by S. Majumdar, pp. 224-225.

⁶ J. Proc. A.S.B., Vol. V, 1909, p. 257.

The importance of this place is apparent from the fact that Ptolemy selected it "as one of the bases for the preparation of his map." The name ends with "oura" which seems to be equivalent to Dravidian "ur" = city. (Kanarese *uru*, Tamil *ur*, cf. Hippokoura, Barakoura).¹ According to Caldwell, the name "Paloura" means "the city of milk" (from Tamil *Pal-ur*). Sylvain Lévi suggests the first element to be equivalent to Tamil *Pallu*, Telugu *Pallu*, Kanarese *hallu*, old Kanarese *pal*, Malayalam *pallu*), meaning "tooth." Ptolemy's "Paloura," therefore, signifies the same sense, as conveyed by "Dantapura" (= Dandagula of Pliny² and Dantakūra of the *Mahābhārata*), the name of a city in *Kaliṅga*, mentioned in early Buddhist and Jaina works such as the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the *Uttarā-dhyāyana Sūtra*.³ Lévi next identifies it with Dantapura, (Dantapura-vāsakāt)⁴ mentioned in the Purle Plates of Indravarman of the (Gaṅga) year 149,⁵ which was probably situated somewhere near Chiacole and Kalingāpatam. This theory, however, does not fully agree with the specific details given by Ptolemy regarding the position of Paloura. Yule places it at (21°49' N. and 86°13' E.) Jaleswar or Jellasore near Contai in the Midnapore district, while according to Saint-Martin, it is to be identified with the modern Pollerah, seventeen miles from Tamlūk in the same district. But it should be noted that there is still a village called Dantan near the Subarnarekhā in the Midnapore district, about fifteen miles to the north of Jaleswar on the left bank of the river, which was comprised in the principality of Daṇḍabhukti in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. (cf. *Rāmacharita*

¹ *Ling. Surv. Ind.*, IV, pp. 325, 674; Caldwell, p. 104.

² McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 141-142, n.

³ P. C. Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 165-166; S. Lévi, *Jour. As.*, vol. cxxi (1935), pp. 46 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, LV (1936), pp. 94 ff. A Prakrit inscription at Nagarjunikonda in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency, dated in the 14th year of Virapurisa-datta (3rd century A.D.) contains a probable reference to [Pa]-lura. See *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 92, n. 4; *JDL*, xxvi, pp. 9 ff. For another reference see *J. Andh. Hist. Res.* 8., VII, Pt. 4, pp. 229 ff. The existence of Dantapura in *Kaliṅga* is no ground against the existence of another place of the same name in a Bengal district.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 361.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 360-371.

and the Tirumalai inscription). The present name "Dātan" or "Dāntan" may be regarded as a corruption of "Danta," which shows that the region Tanḍabutti (in Tamil) may have been alternatively called Dantabhukti. If Paloura is identified with Dātan, it will have the double advantage of being in fair accord with the geographical indications furnished by Ptolemy, and the philological equation which Lévi has proposed; but this, as will be seen in the next chapter is not enough to decide the question finally. The ethnology of the Gangaridae may throw some welcome light on the geography of Bengal, as known to the Western World during this early period. Saint-Martin propounded the theory that the Gongbris of South Bihar, the Gangayis of North-Western and the Gangrar of Eastern Bengal should be regarded as the remnants of the Gangaridae.¹ The Bāgdis (=the Vagadhas of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka?) seem to have been another important factor in the composition of this people. They probably represent the original stratum of the population of the district of Burdwān in Bengal. They are supposed to have derived their origin, along with the Rajbansi Mals in Burdwān, from the same stock as the Sauria Maler of the Rājmaḥal hills and the Māl Pahārīā² of the Santāl Parganas in Bihar. These tribes, according to Oldham,³ may have been connected with the Malli or Mandeī and the Sabarae (Suari or Auarae of Megasthenes)⁴ of the classical geographers. Similarly, he links the Bauris, at present living in the non-deltaic portion of the Burdwān district, with the Uberrae,⁵ mentioned by Megasthenes as associated with the Taluctae (of Tāmralipta) and others. Megasthenes speaks of the territory of

¹ Saint-Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142; Martis, *Eastern India*, Vol. III, pp. 532, 534; W. Hamilton, *Description of Hindoostan*, Vol. II, p. 718 (1820); Hodgson, *On the Origin of the Koch Bodo and Bhimal People*, JASB. XVIII, 1849, p. 708.

² Cf. Pargiter, MKP., p. 380 n.; VP., XLV, 128. (Mallae = Māls ? Mālā Magadhā Govindāḥ prāchyāṁ janapadāḥ smṛitāḥ).

³ W. B. Oldham, *Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District*, 1894, pp. 5-12.

⁴ McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 139; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 127 n.

⁵ *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 137.

the Calingae (the Kaliṅgas) as lying nearest to the sea, while higher up the Ganges being the boundary of their regions were the Malli and Mandeī.¹ They were the neighbours of the Monedes and the Suari, who are mentioned as situated 'after' the Prasii and 'more inland.'² The trend of these ethnological speculations seems to favour the theory that the modern districts of Burdwān, Hooghly and Bankura with considerable portions of Midnapore, Birbhūm and the Santāl Parganas, constituted the major part of the country of the Gangaridae. According to Megasthenes, it was "remarkable for its vast extent and the largeness of its population." Not only did it include Western Bengal, it must have comprised Lower Bengal as well, extending up to the Padmā, as shown in Ptolemy's geography. Saint-Martin's theory quoted above, leads to the inference that Eastern Bengal may have also contributed to the richness and variety of the population of the Gangaridae country. The author of the *Periplus*, following his reference to the country of Ganges with its great river that "rises and falls in the same way as the Nile," speaks of Chryse (Auria Chersonesus of Ptolemy or Malacca peninsula)³ as lying near it and as "the very last land towards the east." In the age of Ptolemy the Gangaridae confronted a powerful tribe, viz., the Maroundae that must have established itself at the head of the delta. The limits of the region occupied by the Maroundae at this time may be defined with some precision. They are said to have lived to the south of the territory occupied by the Ganganoi or Tanganoi (Tangana of Indian tradition = Uttara Kosala), which extended from the Ramgaṅga to the upper course of the river Sarayū or Ghāgrā.⁴ The Maroundae lived along the eastern side of the upper Gangetic course, and their territory, which included Mithilā, extended from the Gandak to the Mahānandā and reached the apex of the Gangetic delta. Ptolemy mentions six towns, one of which was probably the modern Bahraich

¹ *Ibid*, Frag. LVI, McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 134-135.

² *Ibid*, p. 139. ³ *The Periplus*, p. 47. ⁴ Saint-Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

(Beraita) and another Gorakhpur (Korygaza). Of the remaining four two may be located in Bengal. The town of Aganagora ($146^{\circ}30', 22^{\circ}30'$)¹ is probably represented by Aghadip² near Kāṭwa to the east of the Ganges in the district of Burdwan. The other town, Kelydna³ ($146^{\circ}, 25^{\circ}30'$) sounds like a foreign reproduction of "Kalnadi" or "Kālindī," the name of a branch of the Ganges, which appears in Rennell's map as Calendry. It is not unlikely that Kelydna; was situated in the neighbourhood of the mediaeval city of Gauḍa,⁴ which stood at the confluence of the Kālindī and the Mahānanda in the district of Maldā in Northern Bengal. But it may be observed here that there is a sub-division called Kalnā with its headquarters of the same name in the district of Burdwan, where Aganagora has been located. Further investigation may be necessary to decide if this place has not a better claim to represent Ptolemy's Kelydna. It seems quite probable that the river, Dāmodar (=the Andomatis of Arrian?)⁵ divided the Maroundae from the Gangaridae in the second century A.D. Another river, the Amystis (the Adjī or Ajāvati = the modern Ajay ?) was, according to Arrian, a tributary of the Ganges (i.e., the Bhāgīrathi) flowing past the city of Katadupa⁶ (=modern Kāṭwa?). The Muruṇḍas are known from different sources.⁷ According to

¹ Ptolemy, p. 212, 1885.

² Saint-Martin, p. 182.

³ Ptolemy, 1927, ed. by S. Majumdar, p. 213.

⁴ Saint-Martin, pp. 129-181.

⁵ Megasthenes and Arrian pp. 186, 187, 189n.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁷ John Allen, CCGD., etc., Intro., p. xxix and notes, where Sylvain Léri's, *Deux Peuples méconnus in Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, pp. 176-'85 and other important references are discussed. See Wilford, *As. Res.*, VIII, 113. A Maruṇḍa kin., according to a legend, was the master of the thirty-six hundred thousand people of Kanyakubja. (Śaṭṭrīdhīśa-lakṣha-Kanyakubhādhipati-Śrī-Maruṇḍarāja), for which see Vikrama's *Adventures*, EOS., Vol. 26, p. 251, Vol. 27, p. 233, Intro., 26, xxvi. Probably the name has been applied to Kanishka ((Mu) r (o) ḍasa-Kanishkasu) in the Zodia ins. Sten Konow holds that Muroḍ is the Saka word "Muruṇḍa," master, lord, Chinese wang. Ep. Ind. XIV, pp. 292-93. Cunningham, ASI, V, pp. 57ff, and Plate XVI, 1.; Senart, *Jour. As.*, A, VII, XV pp. 185 ff. and Plate. Boyer, *Jour. As.* X, iii 465 ff., Sten Konow is of the opinion that the Muruṇḍas are Sakas and their successors. Sec. CII, Vol. I, 1929, pp. 143, 146.

Hemachandra's ¹ testimony the Muruṇḍas were at one time connected with Lamghan (Lampākās = tu ² Muruṇḍāḥ). The Purāṇas mention the Hūṇas, Tukhāras, Yavanas, and the Muruṇḍas of Mlechchha ³ origin among the successors of the Andhras. There was a Muruṇḍa power in the Gangetic valley (Kanyakubja, Pāṭaliputra). It is to a Muruṇḍa chief that the Allahabad Praśasti of Samudragupta refers in the 4th century A.D. (*Dairaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi-Saka-Muruṇḍaiḥ*). One of their kings (*Meou-loun*) is known from the Chinese accounts to have despatched an envoy to Funan in the 3rd century. In the 5th century A.D. Mahārāja Jayanātha of Uchchakalpa in Central India (Nāgaudh state in Baghelkhand) had a Muruṇḍa wife (Muruṇḍadevī or Muruṇḍa-svāmīni).⁴ The reference to the Maroundae by Ptolemy is particularly interesting, inasmuch as it shows them linked up with Bengal in the 2nd century A.D. According to Megasthenes, as reported by Pliny, the Molindae formed a group with the Modubae, Uberae, Galmodoroēsi, Preti, Calissae, Sasuri, Passalae, Colubae, Orsulae, Abali and the Taluctae (the people of Tāmralipta), whose king had an army consisting of 50,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry and 400 elephants. These tribes may have chiefly occupied "the regions between the left bank of the Ganges and the Himalayas." The possibility of such location combined with the apparent similarity of names may persuade us to suppose that the Molindae were probably identical with the Maladas,⁵ who seem to have given their name to an important district in Northern Bengal, where is situated the ruined city of Gaur. It is very doubtful, however, whether the Maroundas were the same as the Maladas,⁶ a view quoted by Cunningham with

¹ Abhichint., v. 36, p. 144.

² Cunningham, A.G.I., pp. 49-50, 674.

³ Pargiter, DKA, pp. 46, 72, and footnotes, 21, 65, 68.

⁴ Fleet, CII., I, pp. 127, 181, 186.

⁵ Megasthenes and Arrian, pp. 137-38 and note.

⁶ VP., XLV. 123 has the following : Tathā Pravaṅga-Vaṅgeyā Māladā Mālavartīnāḥ. Cf. Ins. 96, 97 on p. 138. The reading in MKP. (LVII, 43) is Mānadās—p. 396 fn. The Maladas figure in the Mbht. (Sabbā. XXIX, 1083) as a tribe vanquished by Bhīma on his

approval. If they were identical, reason should be offered to explain why the available Indian sources have preserved the original Saka word with such a degree of persistence, when its alleged Sanskritic adaptation was in vogue at an early date. The Purāṇas refer to the Muruṇḍas and the Maladas separately, the former name occurring in the dynastic and the latter in the geographical portion.

It is impossible to attempt the reconstruction of anything more than the barest outline of Bengal's geography from the materials gleaned from the accounts of foreign writers during the period under review. Much useful information in Ptolemy's geography is unfortunately lost to us owing to the utterly distorted shape of India that he has presented to his readers. His setting of the equator and method of calculating longitudes are fundamentally defective.¹ Under his scheme the land beyond the easternmost mouth of the Ganges belongs to Trans-Gangetic India, where he has placed Kanogiza² (probable variant Kanagora, noted elsewhere in his work), the same as Kanauj on the Ganges, removed several degrees from its actual position, and Sagoda, *i.e.*, Sāketa (Oudh), on the west of the Sarayū or Ghaghra. To Trans-Gangetic India he has assigned Triglypton, (var. Triglyphon) which Yule identified with Tippera, and Col. Wilford³ regarded as the combined name of Comilla, Chattala (Chittagong) and Arakan. But Caldwell connects it with Trilingam (Tiliṅga) or Telingāna on the Godāvarī.⁴ Another Trans-Gangetic place, Rhudamarkata, is to be removed from its position on Ptolemy's map and located somewhere in Upper Bengal. The river Doanas,

digvijaya in the East, and again in the Drops. P., VII. 163. In the Calcutta edition of the Rāmāyana, 1869 A.D., Canto XXIV, 23-29 (Ādi) deals with the Maladas (Maladās=cha Kāruśāḥ). Malada is placed in the east by Rājasekhara : see KM., p. 93.

¹ Cf. Ency. Brit. (11th ed.). Vol. 22, pp. 623-6.

² Ptolemy, p. 229 ; also pp. 181, 184.

³ As. Res., Vol. XIV, pp. 451. Also cf. Hobson-Jobson, sv. Talaing.

⁴ Dravidian Grammar, pp. 32-33. Caldwell refers to Modoligana mentioned by Pliny (VI, 16) as meaning three Kalingas (from Modo=Muḍu=3, Galinga=Kaliṅga). S. Lévi's analysis gives the same sense as Triliṅga. See Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian, p. 79.

by which Ptolemy probably meant the Brahmaputra, has been, carried into the Gulf of Siam. With these more or less known instances of error and confusion before us, we should be particularly cautious in our attempt to determine the bearing of Ptolemy's Trans-Gangetic plan on the geography of Bengal. There may be some truth in the suggestion made by Col. G. E. Gerini that his Pentapolis (Sanskrit Pañcha-palli = five cities: Pañcha = five; Palli = city; cf. Gk. Tripolis, Tetrapolis) may have been identical with Tippera (Tripura = three cities). The ground for this theory is the analogy, supplied by the case of Mudu-palli (*lit.* three cities),¹ a place situated near Masulipatam, which was called Petapoli by some European navigators of the 17th century and Pentepoli by De Barros, which is a near approach to Ptolemy's Pentapolis. The Kirātas were the neighbours of Bengal. According to Indian tradition, some of these were settled along the eastern confines of Āryāvarta, near the Brahmaputra, in certain parts of Tibet (Bhoṭa), eastern Nepal and Tippera, which once used to be called Kirātadeśa.² Megasthenes probably refers to them as the Scyritae³ in his account of 'fabulous races.' But Ptolemy places the Kyrrhadae much further to the south.

¹ *Researches on Ptolemy*, A. S. Monographs, No. I, 1909, pp. 35, 36.

² Wilson, *Vi.P.* IV, p. 175, XL; Rāmā (Gorresio), *Bk. III*, p. 167; F. Hamilton —Nepal, pp. 7, 54; James Long, *Analysis of the Bengali Poem Rājamālā or the Chronicles of Tripurā* —JASS, Vol. XIX, 1850, pp. 536-37. According to a legend Kirāta was the brother of Puru, who was banished to the Eastern Provinces by his father Yayāti.

³ Fragment XXX in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VII, ii. See Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 80. According to the Mbht., II, 1002, Bhagadatta of Prāgiyotishā (in Assam) was surrounded by the Kirātas, Chīnas, and others dwelling along the sea-coast. Kirāta is combined with Vataḡa and Pundra in another passage, *ibid.*, II, 684. The Kirātas and the Chīnas figure in an inscr. at Nagarjunikonda.—See *Ep. Ind.*, XX, 22. The name actually used is Chīlāta. Vowel notes Chīlāda, Chīlāa, Ardhamāgadhi Chīlāya corresponding to Skt. Kirāta. *Ibid.* p. 85. Cf. Chīna-Vilāta in *Māhātma-purāṇa*, pp. 327, 331; Chīlāya in a Jaina *Upāṅga*, *Ind. Ant.*, 1891 pp. 374-5.

CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA CLASSIFIED

SEC. A

WESTERN BENGAL

A grouping of the leading geographical names attempted.—The geography of Suhma, Rāḍha and Karṇasuvarṇa.—Purāṇic, Buddhist and Jaina traditions.—The evidence of contemporary literary works : Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, Rāma-charita, Bṛhatsaṃhitā, Kathāsaritsāgara.—Buddhist and Jaina traditions.—The synonymity of Rāḍha and Suhma.—Important places : Tāmralipta and Vardhamāna.—The data in the Irdā copper-plate, Naihāti grant, the Nidhānpur plates, the Vappaghoshavāṭa grant, etc.—Toḍar Mal's rent-roll.

We may now pass on to various other sources, besides those already utilised, which make important contributions to our knowledge of the ancient geography of Bengal. From a detailed examination of the materials available to us, it will be obvious that the country of the Gangaridae (Vaṅga and Rāḍha?) which lay to the east of the Prasii with a part of the land occupied by the 'Maroundae' added to it, practically denoted the extensive area composed of the three subdivisions, Vaṅga, Suhma, and Puṇḍra,—names which have been used in Indian literature as essentially of tribal origin, as will be presently explained. In addition to the territories mentioned above, a complete list of the major geographical divisions of Bengal, as far as it can be prepared with the help of the existing data, will be found to include Samatāṭa, Hārikela, Karṇasuvarṇa, Gauḍa, Varendra (or Varendri), Rāḍha (or Rāḍhā). They may be grouped under three well-defined categories on the basis of their respective connections with Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma. The first group may comprise Suhma, Rāḍha and Karṇasuvarṇa, the second is to consist of Puṇḍra (Paṇḍra, Puṇḍravardhana, Paṇḍravardhana), Gauḍa and Varendra, and to the third may be assigned Vaṅga, Hārikela and Samatāṭa. We shall now take up each of these groups separately and proceed to a discussion of the specific evidences obtainable for a solution of the geographical problems connected with it.

Suhma, Rāḍha and Kārṇasuvarṇa.

According to the ancient tradition, embodied in the Purāṇas and the Great Epic, the Suhmas were originally allied to the four other tribes, the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas and Puṇḍras.¹ It is said that Sudeshṇā, the queen of Bali, had five sons by a Ṛishi called Dīrghatamas, and that these eponymous heroes were the originators of the five different tribes. The Suhmas are unknown to the Vedic literature. Tradition points to their existence during the age of the Mahābhārata. Pāṇḍu,² is said to have killed Dīrgha of the Magadha *rāshṭra* and subdued the Videhas in Mithilā and the rulers of Kāśi, Subma and Puṇḍra. If Jaina tradition is to be believed, the Suhmas had some sort of history in the early part of the 5th century B. C., when their country (Subbabbhūmi) is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra.³ That their territory was generally known in the 2nd century B. C. is proved by the citation of its name in the Mahābhāṣya by Patañjali.⁴

The story regarding the origin of the Suhmas contained in the treasure-houses of Indian tradition, viz., the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata,⁵ at least goes to prove, independently of other evidences, that they must have been neighbours of those tribes which are mentioned as connected with them by ties of original kinship. Of these the Aṅgas are definitely known to have corresponded to Eastern Bihār (Bhāgalpur) in the historical period, beginning from the 6th century B.C. The Kaliṅgas were asso-

¹ Vi. P., Vol. IV, Chap. 13, p. 122. Some MSS. of this Purāṇa read Sumbha. Also see *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 165-6, n. 11, where Wilson identifies it with Tippera and Arakan. In the *pacchuppānāvatthu* of the *Telaṭṭa Jātaka* there is mention of a small town called *Desaka* in the *Sumbha* (= *Suhma* ?)-*raṭṭha*. See Faustöhl, Vol. I, p. 303; B. C. Sen, JDL, XX, p. 45. *Sumbha* is also mentioned along with Videha, Kāśi, Kosala, Magadha, Vaṅga, etc., in Rām. (Gorresio, Vol. IV, p. 31). Kāśik. K. XL, v. 25.

² Mibt. Up-p., civ. 4717-21 : 118, vv. 4153-1455 ; Hariv., xxi. 1681-93.

³ KAS, SBE., Book I, Chap. 8, sec. 3.

⁴ Mahābhā. (on IV 2, 52 : *viśayo dāro*)—Kielhorn, II. 282. Cf. *Adgānāth viśayo* : *śrāṭh* | *vaṅgāḥ* | *Suhmāḥ* | *Puṇḍrāḥ* II. Kāśikā on Pāṇini (VI, 2, 89) gives *Suhmanagara* (Tāmralipta ?). See Otto Böhtlingk, Pāṇini's Grammatik, 1857, p. 321.

⁵ For references to the origin of Suhma, see ALHT., p. 168, n. 4.

ciated with a long strip of country, which included modern Orissa and extended up to Ganjām or Vizagapatam in the south and the Amarkantak hills in the west. Further light on the geographical situation of the Suhma country can be derived from the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata, which gives an account of the exploits of Bhīma (Sabhā, Chap. XXIX), the second of Pāṇḍu's sons, in the eastern countries of India. According to the details of Bhīma's conquering career, supplied in this connection, the Suhma country has to be located within a region on the west of which lay Magadha (western Bihār), on the north Nepāl (*Kirātānām = adhipatīn*), on the east the river Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) and on the south the Bay of Bengal. The Pāṇḍava hero is said to have come from Videha (Northern Bihar : Darbhanga) to the world of the Kirātas (*Kirātānām = adhipatīn = ajayat sapta Pāṇḍarah—v. 1089*). He next arrived among the Suhmas and the Prasuhmas (*tataḥ Suhmān Prasuhmām = ścha—1090*). His attention was afterwards directed towards Magadha (*Magadhān-abhyadhād = balī—v. 1090*). He overran Girivraja (*Girivrajam = upādravat—v. 1091*) and next encountered Karṇa of Aṅga. Having killed the ruler of Modāgiri (Monghyr—v. 1095), he came into hostile contact with the king of Puṇḍra (1096), and the ruler who dwelt on the bank of the Kauśiki (*Kauśiki-kachchha-nīlayam rājanañ = cha—v. 1096*). Afterwards he conquered Vaṅga (*Vaṅga-rājam = upādravat—v. 1097*), Tāmralipta and Karvaṭa (v. 1098). Thereafter is mentioned the Suhma country, whose ruler he defeated along with all those who lived on the sea-shore (*Suhmānām = adhipatīn = ch = aiva ye cha sāgara-vāsinah | Sarvān Mlechchha-gaṇāms = ch = aiva vijigye—v. 1099*). Finally he appeared before the River Lauhitya (the Brahmaputra—v. 1100). It appears from the brief account given above that the Suhma country was close to the sea and also to Tāmralipta.¹ The identification of Tāmralipta with modern Tamlūk on the Rūpnārāyaṇ branch of the Hooghly river has been

¹ For a popular history of Tāmralipta written in Bengali, see Trailokya Nāth Baskit's *History of Tamluk*, 1902. ARABI (1921-22, 74) reviews some of the antiquities of this place.

settled beyond any dispute.¹ The Suhma country can thus be located within limits more or less precise. Its proximity to the sea along the eastern course of the Ganges is also definitely indicated by Kālidāsa (5th century A.D.)² who describes (Canto IV, vv. 32, 34-35) the victorious army of Raghu as having marched like the Ganges, led by Bhagīratha, to the eastern ocean and conquered the Suhmas on the sea-shore dark with palm-trees (*tālivanaśyāmam = upakaṇṭham mahodadheḥ*). Suhma has been referred to as an eastern country in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā of Varāhamihira (6th century A.D.),³ and in the topographical portion of the Kāvyaṃmāmsā (17th chapter) it has been placed by Rājasekhara (c. 900 A.D.)⁴ in the eastern part of Āryāvarta, which, according to him, corresponded to the whole of India north of the Vindhyas.⁵ In the 58th chapter of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, where India has been represented in the form of a tortoise with its face turned eastwards, the Subhras (the Suhmas ?)⁶ find their place in the eastern division. The site of Suhma can be more definitely ascertained with the help of the Daśakumāracharita⁷ (c. 6th century A.D.), where its author Daṇḍī describes the city of Dāmalipta as actually situated within the territory of the Suhmas (*Suhmeshu Dāmalipt = āhrayasya nagarasya*). This place under various names was located in the east by the authors of the Purāṇas,⁸ by Varāhamihira (IV. 7)⁹

¹ Fergusson raised objections to the identification—JRS., 1873, pp. 243-245, but see B. L. Gupta, JBuLT⁴, Vol. V, Pt. II, pp. 4-6 f.

² Ma'linātha (Canto IV, v. 35), in the course of his comment observes :—*Sindhura = yāu = nadi-vorāḥ = iva Suhmaiḥ Suhmadeśīyaḥ*. *Suhm = ādayaḥ śabīḥ janapada-vachanāḥ | kabhātriyam = śchakshate*.

³ Chap. XIV. 5; mis. ref. V. 37, XVI. 1; Ind. Ant. XXII, p. 171.

⁴ KM., pp. XLJ. 93.

⁵ MKP., Canto LVIII, 12; also p. 356.

⁶ Ed. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara—Uchchhrāsa VI, p. 244. This chapter gives the story of a Suhmaspati (king of Suhma) Tuṅgadhavā by name.

⁷ See Mbht., Ad-p. 186, 6993^a; Sabhā p. XXIX, 1006 (King Tāmralipta), Droṇa-p. LXX 2186 (Aṅga-Vaṅga-Kaliṅgānā-cha Videhān Tāmraliptakān); VP. XLV, 123, (Tāmraliptakā); MKP. P. LVII, 44; Vi-P., Book IV, Chap. XXIV, p. 220 (Tāmralipta). For Tāmralipta or Tāmraliptakā in the sense of a tribe of that name see Mbht. II. 1874; VII 2436, 4716, 4723; VIII. 803, 893.

⁸ Ind. Ant., 1891, p. 191.

and Rājaśekhara.¹ Varāhamihira further refers to it as a city (X. 14). The name "Dāmalīpta" is used not only in the Daśakumāracharita but in the Abhidhānachintāmaṇi, where it occurs as one of the several synonyms for Tāmralīpta known to the lexicographer Hemachandra, viz., Tāmalipta, Tāmaliptī, Tamālinī, Vishṇugriha, Stambapū.² Names of the same place or its people that can be compiled from different other sources are Tāmalipti or Tāmaliptika (v. l. Tāmalipta and Tāmaliptaka—Varāhamihira), Tāmalikā, Tāmaliptī, Tāmalipta, Velākūla³ (Trikāṇḍaśeṣha), Tāmoliptī (Mahāvamsa),⁴ Tāmraliptaka (Rājaśekhara), Tamalites (Ptolemy),⁵ Taluctae (Pliny), Tambūlak (Toḍar Mal).⁶ During an earlier period of its history, Tāmralīpta was for some time under the occupation of the Vaṅgas, as stated in the Jaina Upāṅga Prajñāpanā.⁷ It figures as an independent kingdom in the account of Bhīma's eastern conquest. But Daṇḍi's evidence, quoted above, clearly shows that it came to be comprised in the geographical sphere represented by Suhma. The absorption of Tāmralīpta into the Suhma territory seems to be indicated by Kālidāsa, who does not make any separate reference to it in connection with Raghu's *digvijaya*. The Kathāsaritsāgara (III, 4, 291) refers to Tāmraliptikā as situated near the eastern sea (*pūrvām = ambudher = adurasthām nagarīm*), and in the Daśakumāracharita⁸ it is portrayed as a flourishing centre of trade and maritime activities, close to the sea and not far from the Ganges. Hiuen-tsang paid a visit to Tāmralipti (Tan-mo-lih-ti) which is described as situated along a

¹ See p. 91.

² V. 45—Bhūmi Kāṇḍa, p. 147.

³ 2.1.11, p. 15. For most of these names see Śabda-Kalpadruma (1927) by Rādhākānta Deva, Vol. II, 1148, 1180.

⁴ M.V. (P.T.S.), 11, 83 (Tāmaliptiyam āruhya nāvām...), 19, 6, pp. 93, 148; D.V., p. 28

⁵ McCrindle, Ptolemy, 1927, pp. 167-8, 170.

⁶ Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 142. In the rent-roll it is a mahāl of Sarkār Jalesar or Jellapore which shares with Sarkār Madāran practically the whole of the Midnapore district, also including large portions of Balasore. See JRAS., 1896, pp. 746, 749.

⁷ Ind. Ant., 1891, pp. 373, 375.

⁸ Viṭh uchchhvaṣa, p. 287 : Mukṭā cha nauḥ prativā's-preritā tām = eva Dāmalīptam praty = upāśishjate Gaṅgā-rodhasi.....

bay of the sea.¹ Lying in the neighbourhood of the sea, it was during this time a port in Eastern India for embarkation for China,² Ceylon and the Eastern Archipelago. Fa-hien in the 5th century A.D. actually took ship from this place which was at the sea-mouth. The boat, carrying him and others, proceeded in a south-westerly direction and arrived in Ceylon after they had sailed for fourteen days and nights off the port of Tāmralipta.³ The place and its neighbourhood, during the latter part of the 7th century, does not seem to have been immune from such acts of brigandage and robbery, as may be possibly committed in a busy and crowded port or its vicinity unless adequate police precautions are taken. I-tsing, the Chinese traveller, who arrived in Tāmralipta in 673 A.D., was once attacked by some robbers during a trip to this city from a place near Nālanda, and with difficulty escaped the fate of being pierced by their swords.⁴ It was from this port on the coast of Eastern India that the Chinese visitor sailed for the land of Śrībhoga which, according to Takakusu, “covered the N. E. side of Sumatra from the southern shore of Malacca to the city of Palembang.”⁵ As a place where trade and commerce were brisk, Tāmralipta afforded inviting opportunities to fortune-seekers. The story of the three brothers Udayamāna, Śrīdhautamāna and Ajitamāna, who went on business from Ayodhyā to Tāmralipta and made plenty of money, is told in the *Dudhpani* (in the Hazāribāgh district) rock-inscription,⁶ which on palaeographical grounds, has been assigned by Kielhorn to the 8th century A.D. It is difficult to say precisely when Tāmralipta started on its career as a sea-port town,

¹ Beal, *Life*, p. 138; Watters, Vol. II, pp. 189-190.

² Beal, *Life*, Intro., p. xxxviii.

³ Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I, pp. lxxi-lxxii; J. Legge, *Fa-hien*, p. 100. The port was 60 or 70 *yojanas* east from Nālanda. See Chavannes, *Mémoire composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang*, etc., p. 97.

⁴ Takakusu, pp. 211, xxxiii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. xli, 144 n., 185.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 843, 845, vv. 4, 5.—Tāmalipti(m) = Ayodhyā yayoḥ pūrvam = varāṇasīyā. Bhūyāḥ pratiniṣṭhā = te svam = āvāsāḥ yiyāsavaḥ.

now represented by Tamlūk in the Midnapore district, about twelve miles from the junction of the Rūpnārāyaṇ (the Selai branch) with the Hooghly. There is no reference to it in the Vedic literature. It is likely that the place, favoured by nature, was fast developing into an important centre of trade and commerce, inland and sea-borne, from about the 6th or 5th century B.C. In those days it was probably connected with different parts of Northern India, such as Rājagṛiha, Srāvastī, Gayā and Benares by means of well-planned routes.¹ In the 3rd century B.C., so goes the legend, King Devanāṃpiya Tissa of Ceylon sent four envoys to the Maurya emperor Aśoka, who are said to have reached the haven (Tāmalittī) from Jambukola (in Northern Ceylon) in seven days (Mahāvamsa XI, 20, 23).² These messengers on their return from the Indian court embarked at Tāmalittī or Tāmralipta and arrived in the island to greet their king after a journey of twelve days (XI, 38-39). A branch of the Bodhi-tree under which Buddha attained his emancipation was carried in a ship from Gayā on the Ganges (XIX, 5) and brought down to the port, whence it was sent across the sea to Ceylon during Aśoka's reign. The emperor who personally witnessed the departure of the ship from Tāmralipta, is himself stated to have travelled to that place by land over the Vindhya range to the mouth of the Ganges, the journey being completed 'in just one week' (XIX, 6). Thus there were two routes, one by land and the other by water along the Ganges, through which communications were maintained between the cities of Magadha and other parts of Northern India on the one hand, and Tāmralipta on the other. The two merchants, Tapussa (Tapoosa) and Bhalluka (Palekat), who paid homage to Buddha at Uruvelva near Gayā, are mentioned in two

¹ T. H. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 103.

² *MV.*, (Trans.), 1912 pp. 78-80, 128-29.

³ *Ibid.*, XIX, 6, 16, 17, p. 128, fn. 4. Taou-lin (Sanskrit name Silaprabha), a Chinese priest, came first to Ceylon "and after passing along the Kalinga Coast" he visited the "country of the naked men" whence he proceeded to Tāmralipta. Here he spent three years on a study of the Sanskrit language. See Beal, *Life*, Intro., p. xxxviii.

Burmese legends to have gone there after having landed at the port of Adzeitta whence they proceeded to Soowama. It is held by some scholars that these references are applicable to Tāmralipta and Suhma, but these names do not appear in their known forms in the Burmese legends collected by Phayre and Bigandet. It was known to the Classical world, as its mention in the works of Ptolemy and Pliny shows. The Ceylonese Buddhists considered ¹ Tāmalitti to be an ancient land, for in the Dīpavaṃsa (3, 33) which gives a survey of the early kingdoms and dynasties of India, it is stated that in former times, king Purinda, his children and grand-children, ruled at the city of Malitthiyaka which is believed to be identical with it.

As Tāmralipta was included in the Suhma territory, the latter must have comprised at least the greater part of the present district of Midnapore (east). The river Kapiśā seems to have separated the Suhma country from Ūtkala. This river has been mentioned by Kālidāsa in the Raghuvamśa (IV. 38) in the canto on Raghu's *digvijaya*. Having crossed the river Kapiśā (or Karabhā), the victorious hero appeared in the territory of the Utkalas. There is a probable reference to this river in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, which may be identified with the modern Kansai, a modified form of either Kamsāvati or Kapiśāvati. In the first quarter of the 11th century A.D. the southern portion of Midnapore and some part of northern Orissa including Balasore were probably amalgamated, constituting the kingdom of Daṇḍabutti, which was attacked by Rājendra Chola, I. It was proposed by MM. H. P. Sāstri² that Daṇḍabutti, mentioned in some South Indian Tāmil inscriptions, should be regarded as identical with the modern city of Bihār and its neighbourhood in the Patna District, which used to be known to the Ceylonese as "Odantapuri," to the Tibetans as

¹ Śiva Chandra Sil, 81P., 1310, Part I, pp. 13-21; Buddhadeva by Satīś Chandra Vidyabhāṭṭa, 1311 note, pp. 142-143; DA, Chap. 27, p. 393; Phyre, JASB., 1850, pp. 473-476; *ibid* (N.S.), 1910, Vol. VI, pp. 632-633; Oldenberg, Vol. I, Mahāvagga, p. 4, 88E. Vol. 13, pp. 81-84; Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, Vol. I, pp. 108-9. Cf. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, 2nd ed., pp. 186-87; JPTS., 1888, pp. 38, 62.

MASB., Vol. III, p. 10.

"Otanapuri" and to the Muhammadan writers as "Odanan Behar." But it is more usually identified with Dāntan in the Midnapore district.¹ The details regarding its position relative to the other territories in Bengal attacked by the Chola army, as contained in the Tamil description, leave little room for doubt that Dāntan is the modern representative of Daṇḍabutti. The name "Dāntan" appears to be a Prakrit corruption of the Sanskrit word Danta (a tooth). The sense of "Poloura" mentioned by Ptolemy as the name of a city situated on the westernmost mouth of the Ganges (the Kambysen), has been found to be the same as that of Dantapura (in Danta-bhukti²). It should be added here that there is a village called Pālura "at the northern extremity of the Ganjām district, about 6 miles N. E. of Ganjām town," which Oldham shows with good reason to be the same as Paloor between the Chilka lake and Ganjām, visited by the French scholar Anquetil Duperron² in the course of his journey from Bengal to Pondicherry in 1757. Oldham has traced this place under the name Palhor in several maps prepared in the 16th and 17th centuries, and he is disposed to identify it with Ptolemy's Paloura. Dantapura in Kālīṅga, mentioned elsewhere, was according to the same scholar situated somewhere near the embouchure of the Vamśadhara. It should not, however, be overlooked that the meaning of Dantapura and Paloura is the same. Is it possible to suggest that a considerable tract of country including portions of the Midnapore district (where Daṇḍa-bhukti was situated) and Kālīṅga was once known by some name having Danta as one of its constituent elements and that some of its important towns were called Dantapura (Sanskrit) or Paloura (Telugu)?

The evidence of Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator on the Māhābhārata, who frequently quotes a former authority named

¹ The place is also noted by Henry Yule in William Smith's *An Atlas of Ancient Geography*, 1874, p. 23. I had an opportunity of consulting it in the British Museum, but as I have been unable to find it in Calcutta, I am accepting without verification the reference given by Oldham, *JBORS*, xxii (1936), Pt. I, p. 2. Cf. *MASB.*, Vol. V, No. 8, p. 71; *McCindle*, *Ptolemy*, 1927, p. 72; *AGI.*, p. 735.

Sylvain Lévi, *JBORS*, xxi, Pt. III, pp. 187-188; xxii, pp. 1-12.

Arjuna Miśra, is almost decisive in determining the geographical position of Suhma. Nilakanṭha in commenting upon the Sabbā-parva of the great Epic uses Suhma and Rāḍha as synonymous terms.¹ The name Suhma has fallen into disuse since about the 12th century, when it was last mentioned in the Pavanadūta by Dhoyika (*Gaṅgā-vīchi-pluta-parisaraḥ.....Suhma-deśaḥ*—v. 27).² Bānabhaṭṭa, the author of the Harshacharita, was acquainted with the name Suhma (Chap. VI) in the 7th century. Once again it is mentioned in the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā in the 9th century. The use of this name was gradually abandoned in favour of Rāḍha, which seems to have become more popular.³ The name "Suhma" has been completely forgotten, while Rāḍha still retains its position in the vocabulary of the province, fraught with living associations in the social life of some of the important castes of Bengal—a name popularly signifying the whole of Bengal lying to the west of the Bhāgīrathi, of which the earliest bed is the Saraswati. The Rāḍhīya branch of the Bengal Brahmins has been referred to by Halāyudha (12th century), son of Lakshmanasena's minister Dhanañjaya and brother of Isāna and Paśupati, in his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*.⁴ Several castes of Bengal, have a similar subdivision. Maulānā Minbāj-ud-Dīn (13th century), the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, defines Rāl (Rāḍha) as situated on the western side of the Ganges (the river Gang).⁵ In the map prepared by de Barros (1496-1570),⁶

¹ Submāḥ Rāḍhāḥ—Mbht., Chap. 29, Sabbā.

² JASB., N.S., 1905, pp. 45, 57. Dhoyika was born earlier than 1205 A.D., for his verses are found quoted in Śrīdharaśā's Sadukti-Karṇāmpita (1205-6 A.D.). See Mitra, Notices, III, pp. 135, 145, also the text published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1933, pp. 64, 65.

³ One of the bards (Vaitālikayor-ekaḥ) in Act I, (i. 14) of Rājasekhara's Karpūra-Mañjarī speaks of "the loveliness of Rāḍha" (rāḍhāñijīdarāḍhāchaṅgattapa. 'Rāḍhā' means here a territory as well as lustre. See *ibid*, Sten Konow, pp. 9, 157. Cf. rāḍhā śobhā vibhūḥāś ayād—abbikhyā sushamā samāḥ (2, 410), in Halāyudha's Abhidhānaśāstramālā, ed. by Aufrecht, 1861.

⁴ JASB. (N.S.), Vol. II, 1906, p. 176, fn. 3: Rāḍhya-Vārendrakīḥ or Rāḍhīya-Vārendrakīḥ. If Halāyudha's Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva is to be believed, he was a Mahāmātya under Lakshmanasena. For a list of his works see Aufrecht, Cat. Catalog., Vol. I, p. 764.

⁵ Raverty, Vol. I, pp. 584, 585.

⁶ His work was published in four decades from 1552 to 1613 A.D. See J. J. A. Campos, History of the Portuguese in Bengal, 1919, pp. xvii-xviii.

the name " Rara " ¹ is to be found on the Ganges opposite to Gour (Gauḍa). Nīlakaṇṭha's statement as to the synonymity of Suhma with Rāḍha may not be strictly accurate so far as the early history of the former is concerned. According to the Jaina legend preserved in the Āchāraṅga Sūtra, ² Subbabbhūmi, which is taken as identical with Suhmabbhūmi, was only a part of Lāḍha (Rāḍha) as Vajrabhūmi and Subhrabbhūmi (Svabhra-bbhūmi) were, according to the commentaries, the two divisions of Lāḍha. ³ But earlier Brahminical literature knows only Suhma. In the Jaina Bhagavatī Sūtra it is mentioned as one of the sixteen *janapadas*, into which the country was divided at the time of Mahāvīra's birth. But the Jaina tradition is not corroborated by the Buddhist literature, which does not contain any reference to Rāḍha in a similar account of the political condition of India during the same period. The question whether the *Lāḍarattiha*, referred to in the Ceylonese Chronicles ⁴ as the home of Vijaya, who is said to have colonised Ceylon, should be considered as identical with Rāḍha, has taxed the minds of many scholars, without leading to a final unanimous conclusion. It may be pointed out that the connection between Lāḍa and Vaṅga, as can be understood from the legend, was very close. The story goes to say that Susima, the daughter of a king of Vaṅga, " formed a connection with a certain Siho," " who found his livelihood in a wilderness," and gave birth to two sons, Sīhabāhu and Sihasivali. Sīhabāhu founded the city of Sihapura which became the capital of his kingdom of Lāḍa. Sīhabāhu's son Vijaya later on went in a ship and ultimately colonised Ceylon. The proximity of Lāḍa to Magadha is suggested where it is said that Sīhabāhu's mother arrived in the former country from Vaṅga with " a

¹ It is not certain that this is our Rāḍha. Cf. H. Blochmann's observations. *Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal*, JASB., 1878, p. 223 (Blaes's map gives Pare instead of Rara. See *ibid.*, Pl. IV, facing p. 232).

² SBE., Vol. XXII, 1, 8, 8, pp. 81-85.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁴ DV., IX, pp. 54-56, 160-162 M.V., JASB., 1838, p. 939; W. Geiger (1912—P.T.S.) Chap. VI, pp. 51-54 (Trans.); 1906, pp. 56-61 (Text).

caravan travelling to the Magadha country.' This is even admitted by Lassen¹ who first proposed to identify Lāla with Gujarāt (Lāṭa—Greek Larike), but the subject has yet hardly disappeared from the arena of controversy. Lāla (cf. Jaina Lāḍha) can be taken as a perfect Prakrit equivalent both for Rāḍha and Lāṭa. The probability that the Ceylonese tradition refers to the latter country is to a considerable extent enhanced by the fact that the story of Vijaya's colonising enterprise had at a certain stage of his adventure its setting in Suppāra (Sopara), and Bhārūkachchha (= Barygaza of Ptolemy and the Periplus = modern Broach), the two well-known places on the western coast of India, where the party were forced to land, being driven by a heavy storm.² Barygaza or Broach was comprised in the country of Larike (Lāṭa) in the age of Ptolemy.³ But the special circumstances under which Vijaya and his companions had to break their voyage on the western coast, which is nowhere mentioned in the earlier part of the legend may, again, call for caution in arriving at a hasty decision on the point. Scholars, who are competent to express a sober opinion on the linguistic affinities of the Ceylonese, have also failed to end the dispute regarding the true geographical equivalent of Lāla.⁴ The question, therefore, should be still treated as

¹ Ind. Alterthumsk., Vol. II, p. 105; cf. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 679, note 2.

² DV. IX. 25 Only Suppāraka is mentioned in the MV. (Chap. VI. 46).

³ Ptolemy, 1927, pp. 153, 372.

⁴ See E. Müller—Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 198, n. 2, quoting Burnouf who identifies Lāla with Rāḍha; E. Kuhn, *ibid.* XII, pp. 51-55, 65—Sir Asutosh, BJV., Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 118-16; S. K. Chatterji, HODBL., pp. 29-73, Part 1. n. I : CHI, Vol. I, p. 660. The legend concerning Vijaya as given in Chap. VI of the Mahāvamsa (Text, pp. 86-81; Trans. pp. 51-54) may be briefly reproduced as follows. A certain king of Vaṅga who had his capital in Vaṅganagara (Vaṅgeṣu Vaṅganagare Vaṅgarā's aḥḥ—v. 1) had a beautiful and amorous daughter by his wife, a princess of Kālīṅga (Kālīṅgarasāho dhitāsi mahes' tassa rājino). She left her father's protection to live a life of licence, joined a caravan proceeding to Magadha (agā Magadha-rāminā—v. 4) and when it arrived in the Lāla country (Lāla-raṭṭhe) she yielded to a lion who attacked the party in a forest (aṭaviyā) and took possession of the princess. A son called Sīhabāhu and a daughter called Sīhaśvalī were born out of the union (v. 10). Sīhabāhu after his 16th year came to know all about the past history of his mother, and left his lion-father together with his mother and sister. When they came to a border-village (maṇabāhā—

open and unsettled. But it may be pointed out that if we have interpreted the Ceylonese story aright, Lāla was a recent clearance in a forest during the period to which it is to be referred. The Jaina tradition, which goes back almost to

gāmam āgamam—v. 15), they met the general of the Vaṅga king (v. 16) who was in charge of the frontier territory (pachchanta-sādhane). This officer was the son of the maternal uncle of Siḥabāhu's mother (mātulaśa suto—v. 15). Siḥabāhu and the others introduced themselves as dwellers of the forest (aṭavi-vāsino—v. 17). They came to Vaṅga and the general married his uncle's daughter. The lion who had been deserted by his family now entered the Vaṅga kingdom and began to make such ravages as compelled the king to promise his kingdom as a reward to anybody who might bring about his destruction. This task was undertaken by Siḥabāhu himself, but by the time this was carried out the Vaṅga king had already died. The deceased king's ministers, recognising Siḥabāhu to be the son of his daughter, unanimously agreed to place him on the vacant throne (v. 33). He accepted the kingship but later abdicated the throne in favour of his mother's new husband, went back with his sister, whom he married, to Lāla where he began to reign (Lāla-raṭṭhe...rajjān kāresi). To him were born thirty-two sons of whom Vijaya was the eldest. Vijaya grew wild and uncontrollable, and the king was subsequently compelled by his people to order his expulsion from the Lāla territory. The king put him and his 700 followers on a ship and sent them forth upon the sea (nāvāya pakkhipāpetvā vissaṭṭāpesi sāgare—v. 43). Among the party the children landed at Naggadīpa, the women at Mahilādīpaka and Vijaya with men attendants at Suppāraka (Sopara in the Thana district, Bombay). But the violence of his own followers made the place insecure for Vijaya who subsequently sailed away and landed in the region called Tambapaṇṇi in Laṭṭā (Ceylon). The next chapter which deals with the story of Vijaya's accession to the throne of Ceylon mentions the foundation of a city named Ujjent (evidently after Ujjain in W. Malwa) by one of his own ministers (Text, p. 67; Trans., p. 53). In Chap. VIII it is mentioned that Sumitta, one of Vijaya's brothers, had some sons by the daughter of a Madda king (v. 7).

Two distinct geographical circles are indicated in the story, one comprising Magadha, Vaṅga and Kālīṅga, and the other Sūrpāraka, Ujjain, Madra and Bharukacchha (Broach—see below).

The historical side of the story is better represented in the *Dīpavaṃśa* (IX, 1-44) which omits most of the fanciful details given in the *Mahāvāṃśa*. In this version also Siḥabāhu (Siḥabāśhu) is described as the son of Śiśa of Lāla by Susimā of Vaṅga (pitā cha Śiśasavhaya—v. 3), but the *Dīpavaṃśa* unlike the other chronicle does not seek to attribute to the father the characteristics of a lion. References to Magadha, Kālīṅga, which are to be found in the *Mahāvāṃśa* legend, are not present in this account, nor is there any mention in it of Siḥabāhu's visit to Vaṅga, his mother's marriage with the general of its king, Śiśa's destructive activities in that territory with their sequel, and Siḥabāhu's temporary occupation of its throne. Divested of these elements, the episode in so far as it relates to Siḥabāhu and his parents is much shorter in the *Dīpavaṃśa* than in the other work. The *Dīpavaṃśa* records that Siḥabāhu having left his father's cave began to rule at Śiḥapura, the most excellent town (Varuttamath) in Lāla-raṭṭha. From this point till the end of the narrative the two chronicles generally agree in regard to the more important details. In connection with Vijaya's maritime journey, the *Dīpavaṃśa* reports that the ship

the same period, shows that a considerable portion of the country of Rāḍha was still in a condition that could hardly be described as habitable or civilised.

The story of the Mahāvīra's journey in the Lāḍha¹ country, contained in the Āchārāṅga Sūtra, is specially interesting for one reason. It probably throws some light on the extent of the territorial jurisdiction of Lāḍha in those days. But here again the difficulty with which we are confronted cannot be easily solved. The country, as we have already seen, was divided into two parts—Subbabbhūmi and Vajjabhūmi.² As Subbabbhūmi gradually came to be co-extensive with Rāḍha (a view which may be taken on the combined evidence of the Jaina text and Nilakaṇṭha's commentary), there is a fair degree of probability that at least a part of Vajjabhūmi lay beyond the present western limit of Bengal. But any dogmatising on the point can hardly be permitted in view of our ignorance of the precise geographical limits of Suhma, as it may have been originally constituted. There is a probable reference to Vajjabhūmi in the classical Tamil work *Silappadhikāram*, which is supposed by some scholars to preserve a genuine account of the career of Karikāla, the Chola king, whose date cannot be definitely fixed.³ In the story of his northern invasion,

in which the exiled prince and his male attendants 'embarked went, sailing on the sea, losing her way and her bearings, to the port of Suppāra' (*vippanaṭṭhā disamūḍhā gatā Suppāra-paṭṭanam*—v. 15). They 'stopped three months at Bhārukachchha (v. 25), went again on board his ship,' and 'driven away by the violence of the wind, came to Laḍḍādīpa' (*ukkhittavāta-vegena*—v. 27), formerly known by the names of Ojādīpa, Varadīpa, and Maṇḍadīpa.

The *Dīpavaṇśa* which was written between the 4th and the 5th century A.D. is an earlier work than the *Mahāvāṇśa* (Intro., p. 9). The ship carrying the exiled prince is not mentioned to have been originally bound for Ceylon. Starting from the point of departure in Lūḍa, she may have quite unexpectedly reached the port of Sopara on the western coast. Moreover, the statement in the *Dīpavaṇśa* that the ship, losing her way and bearings, arrived at that port, is significant. References to Magadha and Kāliṅga may have been deliberately omitted as these were not called for except in an incidental manner.

¹ The reading 'Bāra' in an old Mathura inscr., believed to represent Rāḍha, is held by Lüders as untenable, s. Ind. Ant., XXXIII, pp. 105-06. The name is given as Rāḍha in an illustrated MS. of the 11th century, s. Bendall, CBMS., p. 200.

² S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, Readership Lectures, Calcutta University, 1923, pp. 32-33. The author places the evidence in the first century A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 33), but Dr. L. D. Barnett remarks that the date of Karikala is very uncertain, may be c. 350. Also see B. M. Barua, *The Ājivikas*, pp. 57-58.

which states that while the Chola monarch was engaged in military operations, receiving presents from different kings, which added to the beauty of his capital Kaveripattanam, the ruler of Vajra maintained his neutrality. The commentator, in explaining the passage, points out that the Vajra country was situated "on the bank of the river Sone." It was surrounded by "great waters on all sides," and its contiguity to Magadha, whose ruler after some resistance submitted to the invader, is implied in the story which refers to Magadha, next to its mention of Vajra. If this tradition has any historical value, it is necessary to place Vajra somewhere in the neighbourhood of Magadha along the western side of Rāḍha. The *Mahābhārata* seems to refer to the same tract of country under the name "Prasūhma" (western Subma), which was invaded by Bhīma during his exploits in the eastern countries. It has been suggested that Vajrabhūmi or Vajra as a geographical term is not entirely unknown to Indian epigraphy. An attempt has been made to connect it with the designation of a class of officials¹ who were specially entrusted with the task of assisting the Maurya Emperor Aśoka in the propagation of some of the cardinal principles underlying his concept of *Dhamma*. Another reference is supposed to be contained in the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela, the Cheta (Chedi?) king of Orissa. As regards the alleged mention of Vajrabhūmi (Vajra-bhūmi) by Aśoka, it may be safely said that the theory has no foundation in fact. In his XIIth Rock Edict² the Maurya Emperor informs us that the Dharmā-mahāmātrās, the Mahāmātrās in charge of women, the Vacha-bhūmikās, and various other classes of officials appointed by him, have been engaged in such a way as to promote the growth of every separate religion as well as the awakening of *dhamma* among his subjects. The Girnār

¹ Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

² Hultzsch, CII, Vol. I, 1925, pp. 21, 48.

version of the said edict runs thus :—*Etāya athā vyāpatā dhamma-mahāmātā cha ithihakha-(ithidhiyakha-Kālsī) mahāmātā cha vacha-bhūmikā cha aṇe cha nikāyā ayaṃ cha etasa phala ya ātpa-pāsīmīla-vadhī cha hoti dhammasa cha dīp(a)nā*. In the place of “*vachabhūmikā*” (XII. 9) of the Girnār edict, Kālsī reads *vacha-bh(u)mikyā*; the reading in the Mānsehrā (XII. 8) and the Shālbīzgarhī text is *Vrachabhūmika* (I. 9). *Vacha* or *Vracha* may be equated with “*vraja*.” This word has been actually used in the VIth Rock Edict¹ of Aśoka, where it is impossible to suggest that it is the name of a country. (cf. Girnār-*Vachamhi*; Jaugaḍa-Kālsī-Dhaurī-*Vachasi*; Shālbīzgarhī-Mānsehra-*Vrachaspi*). It will be natural to presume that *Vacha* in “*vacha-bhūmika*” should be taken in the same sense in which it has been used in the VIth Rock edict. *Vraja*, meaning a cowpen or cattle herd, pasture or a high road, is mentioned in the VIth Rock Edict as follows :—“*S(a)re kālē bhūmij(a)mānasa [adamānasā-Kālsī; aśimīnī-Shālbāz; aśatasa (Mānsehrā)] me orodhanamhi gabhāgāramhi vachamhi ca rinītamhi cha uyānesu cha saratra pitiredakā sītā*, etc.—(Girnār). The *Vraja-bhūmikas* (from *Vraja* and *bhūmi*, i.e., office) in the employ of the Maurya Emperor were either superintendents of cattle establishments² like the Godhyaksha of Kauṭilya’s Arthasāstra (II. 29), or they were officers in charge of high roads, the protection of which was a duty of the king in ancient times.³ As to a probable allusion to the *Vajra* country in Khāravela’s inscription, it is to be noted in the first place that the passage in which

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 34, 57, 76, 88, 106.

² They were officials connected with the cattle—herds—D. R. Bhandarkar—*Asoka*, p. 57; “*Overseers of cowpens*”—Bühler (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II. 470, n. 18); Hultzsch, *CII.*, Vol. I, pp. 21-22, n. 5. on p. 22

³ The *Arthasāstra* also refers to the duties of the king in respect of *pasuvraja* and *vaṇikpatha* (Kauṭ., II. 1.1, cf. the *Vivādhyaśaka* (*ibid.* II, 34) ‘*Vraja*’ and ‘*vaṇikpatha*’ occur also in II. 5. See R. K. Mookerjee, *Asoka*, Gaekwad’s Oriental Series, pp. 160-161, fn. 4. V. A. Smith doubtfully translates the term by “the superintendents of pastures” —*Asoka*, the Buddhist Emperor of India (Clarendon Press, Third edition), 1920, p. 183.

the name is said to occur is in such a bad state of preservation that it is practically impossible to decipher it in a satisfactory manner. Lüders in his "List of the Inscriptions of Northern India" thought it prudent not to incorporate a doubtful interpretation of this passage in his summary of the main contents of the Hāthigumpha inscription. In the seventh line of the epigraph, mutilated as it is, Prinsep read *Vajaragharavedham*,¹ which was changed to *Vajarighavadhāsatiṃ* by Cunningham.² Jayaswal's proposal in 1918 was to read it as *Vajira-ghara-vi Dhi-siti*, which was later given up in favour of a new reading, *Vajira-ghara-va(m)ti gh(u)sita*.³ Thus there is a unanimity among scholars so far as the reading of the first three letters is concerned. *Vajari*, *Vajara* and *Vajira*⁴ can be taken as approximations to *Vajra*. If it has been used at all as the name of a country, the site represented by it is probably to be sought for elsewhere than in Bengal or its immediate neighbourhood. In two Tamil inscriptions of the 2nd and 5th years respectively of Rājendra Chola II's reign mention is made of *Vayirāgaram* and *Chakrakotṭa*. The latter place has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hiralal with *Chakrakotṭyā* in the Bastar State of the Central Provinces.⁵ Kielhorn restored the Tamil name⁶ *Vayirāgaram* to *Vajrākara*. The expression *Vajiragbara*, if it has been correctly read in the Hāthigumpha inscription, may be equated with "*Vajra-gaḍh*," and identified with *Vairagaḍh*⁶ in the Chanda district of the Central Provinces, where the other place mentioned in the Tamil inscriptions has also been located. But the probability of *Vajra-ghara* of the Hāthigumpha inscription signifying the royal house of *Vajra* has

¹ JASB., 1837, Vol. VI, Pt. II, p. 1090, Pl. LVIII.

² CIL., Vol. I (1877), p. 93.

³ JBORS., 1927, Vol. IV, p. 377; Vol. XIII, p. 227; for the latest view on the subject held by R. D. Banerjee and K. P. Jayaswal, see Ep. Ind., XX, p. 78.

⁴ B. M. Barua proposes a different reading. See *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, 1929, p. 16.

⁵ IHQ., Vol. IX, p. 92; C. P. Inscr., p. 150; Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 174 ff.

⁶ Ep. Ind., VII, App., pp. 124-25, Nos. 756, 761; p. 124; n. 4; XX, p. 78.

not been entirely removed. Vajrabhūmi (Tamil Vajra), which was a part of Rāḍha, lay close to Magadha. The Sanskrit word Vajra may mean "the hard or mighty one" (Monier-Williams's Sanskrit Dictionary, New Edition, p. 913). Can Vajrabhūmi be taken as a synonym for Vīrabhūmi (Bīrbhūm) which is the name of a modern district in western Bengal situated on the border of the Santal Parganas in Bihār.¹ From the details that may be gathered from the Āchāraṅga Sūtra already noticed, it appears that the tract through which Mahāvīra traversed was, to a considerable extent, covered with forests and jungles. It has been described as a pathless country, where "it was difficult to travel." People lived in scattered villages. In the course of his travels, Mahāvīra sometimes did not reach a village. The speech of the people was not Aryan (*cf.* the word *Chuchchū*, current among them). They were almost brutal in their conduct. They mocked and jeered at him, used an abusive language, and assaulted him. The country was lacking in the ordinary comforts of life. The food and the dress used were of the primitive sort (*cf. lukkhadesie bhatte*).² According to the Jaina Kalpa Sūtra Mahāvīra spent some time in a place named Paṇitabhūmi (Paṇiyabhūmi in the Jaina Bhagavati), which the commentators explain as situated in Vajrabhūmi.³ The connection of the ancient people of Vajrabhūmi, 'the terrible *indigènes*' with the Bhūmij of the Jungle Mahāls naturally suggests itself as probable.⁴ The name of Jhārkhand is traditionally applied to a wild and indefinitely extensive area, comprising portions of the modern districts of Bīrbhūm, Bānkurā and Midnapore in Bengal, the Rājmahāl hills in the Santal Parganas and the eastern districts of Chotā Nāgpur in the Province of Bihār. A separate district called

¹ Dr. Barnett double the equation Vajra = Vīra.

² Jacobi, *Āchāraṅga Sūtra*, p. 45.

³ SBE., XXII, p. 264, n. 4.

⁴ E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872), Calcutta, ASB., p. 174; JASB., 1866, p. 186.

Jungle Mahāls, constituted in 1805 but abolished subsequently, included some parganas or mahāls of these districts as well as that of Burdwān.¹ According to Mr. G. Ramdas, the northern part of the Dakshina-Jhāḍa-khaṇḍa of the Kendupāṭṇā copper-plate grant of Nṛsiṃhadeva II (1295 A.D.),² covering the Ganjām Agency has been mentioned under the name of Mahā-kāntāra in the Allahabad Prāśasti of Samudragupta (4th century A.D.), who is said to have come into conflict with its chief, Vyāghra (*Mahākāntāraka-Vyāghrarāja*, l. 19). This region, whether or not figuring in the latter inscription, is apparently different from the wild tract in Chotā-Nāgpur with its continuation in western Bengal. Sher Khān, the rival of Humāyūn, was acquainted with this tract of country when he carried out his strategic retreat to Rohtasgarh from Gaur in 1538.³ There was no regular line of communication in those days from Jhārkhand to the civilised world outside. The Afghan hero proceeding along unknown tracks through hills and forests may be credited with having performed an amazing feat when he completed this difficult journey. The same route possibly under better conditions was followed by Mīr Jumla during his pursuit of Shujā in 1659, and the Marāṭhās under Balāji Rao in 1742-43.⁴ Portions of this area are at present inhabited by two tribes, the Male and the Māl Pahariyā of the Santāl Parganas, believed by Risley⁵ to be of the 'Dravidian' stock, probably connected with the ancient Mālas⁶ or the Mallas.⁷ The

¹ IG., VII, pp. 263-4, 1886, XIV; 1905, p. 239; D 3. (Midnapore), pp. 195-96.

² IHQ., 1925, pp. 683-84; JASB, LXV, Pt. I, p. 256.

³ Journal of Dr. Francis Buchanan, ed. with notes and intro. by C. E. A. D. Oldham, JBORS., Vol. XV, 1929, Sep-Dec., p. xiii.

⁴ JBORS., XV, p. 556; Elliot, IV, 367, n. 2. For details of the route, see Kalikaranjan Quannungo, Sher Shah, pp. 123-24. Cf. Beveridge, Akbarnāma, Vol. 1, p. 331, and n. 1.

⁵ Sir H. P. Risley, The People of India, 1915, pp. 44-48.

⁶ Cf. VP., XLV, 122. The Mallas are well known to Buddhist literature. See Vimala Charaṇa Lāhā—Some Kshatriya Tribes, p. 158 ff. The Mahābodhi inscription of the 26th year of Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty (early 9th century) refers to the Mallas of Bodhi Gaysa (Mallānāth—Mahābodhi-nivāsinaṭh)—GLM., pp. 31-32.

⁷ Mālas-MKP., BP. ; Mālavartakas—KM; Rām. Kishk-K, XL, 22.

eastern part of the Chotā Nāgpur Division comprising a portion of Jhārkhanda, viz., Mānbhūm, may have been occupied by the Mānavartikas¹ of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, the Mānavarjakas² (Vajrakas?) of the Māhābhārata, or the Mandei mentioned by Pliny.³

The discussion of the ancient boundaries of the Rāḍha country naturally leads to a pertinent question: what was the probable western limit of Bengal in early times? In the absence of any positive evidence on the subject, it is impossible to give a correct answer to this question. Territorial expansion often starts from a small nucleus, which gradually develops into a wider area through the operation of various forces, not the least important of which is political. It is not unlikely that a part of the wild tract of land lying to the south of Gayā, to the east of Shāhābād, to the south of Bhāgalpur and to the west of Bānkurā, Midnapore and Bīrbhūm was once comprised within the geographical limits of Rāḍha which may have been a comparatively small area at the beginning. It may be noted in this connection that although during the reign of Akbar there was a separate Śubāh for Bihār, a part of what at the present moment constitutes its eastern division belonged to the Śubāh of Bengal, which extended from Garhī⁴ (Fehargarhī) in the west to Chittagong in the east. Thus of the two sarkārs, Purniah and Audambar (*alias* Tāndā), the former was composed of the central portion of the present district of the same name as far as the Mahānandā, and the latter, which included nearly the whole of Murshidābād and Bīrbhūm⁵ also comprised Kanakjok

¹ LVII. 43; p. 326, n.

² Bhīshma-P., IX. 357.

³ The list of the Indian races given by Pliny has been mostly borrowed from Megasthenes (Fragm. LVI; Pliny, Hist. Nat. VI. 21. 8-23, 11). It is reported that "the tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea," and that, higher up are the Mandei "and the Malli in whose country is Mount Mallus, the boundary of all that district being the Ganges." See Megasthenes and Arrian, 1877, pp. 131-35.

⁴ Jarrett, Vol. II, pp. 115-16; Blochmann, JASB., 1873, p. 223.

⁵ Jarrett, Vol. II, pp. 129-30, 134 Blochmann, JASB., Part I, 1873, Pt. II, pp. 217-18; J. Beames, JRAS., 1896, pp. 92-96. The reading of the name as Udaer is due to a mistake. The name Audambar obtains elsewhere also, see e.g., (JASB., above; p. 217); as a

(Kānkjol), twenty miles to the south of Rājmaḥāl (Āg Maḥāl), on the other side of the Ganges, opposite to Malda in Bengal. It is noteworthy that the Vappaghoshavāṭa inscription of Jayanāga¹ assigned by Dr. Burnett to the latter part of the 6th century A.D., mentions a *vishaya* called Audamvarika (from Udumbara).² It cannot, however, be maintained that a mere reference to this place in an inscription of the 6th century justifies an ascription of the same geographical limits to it as those of the Sarkār Audambar mentioned in the Ā'in-i-Akbarī. Garhī³ (Gharī, Portuguese Goriz, Terriagully on Rennell's maps or Teliyagarhi) is shown as a maḥal of the Sarkār of Jannatabād or Lakhnauti in Toḍar Māl's rent-roll. The fortifications defending the passes of Garhī (between the Rājmaḥāl hills in the south and the Ganges in the north) stood at the boundary between the Sarkār of Mungir belonging to the Bihār Sūbah and the Sarkār of Lakhnauti under the Sūbah of Bengal. The importance of Garhī from the strategic point of view is demonstrated in the accounts of the military operations that took place between Maḥmūd Shāh and Sher Khān and again between the latter's son Jalāl Khān and the imperialist forces of Humāyūn. Sher Khān was compelled to change his route to Gaur when a detachment of his army was held up at Garhī, which, according to some, afforded the only passage available to the countries of Gaur and Bengal; "there being, except that gate, no other way of entry or exit." In the latter part of the 11th century the principality of Tailakampa [referred to in the commentary on the Rāmacharita (II, 5-6)], identified by H P. Sāstrī with the modern Telkupi in the Mānbhūm district,

Vishaya in the *Bhukti* of Kanyakubja mentioned in the Barah plate of Bhoja I. (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 15-19); also see CASR., Vol. XIV, pp. 116-17 Udumbara, the name of a people in the *Bṛīhatsaṁhitā*, *mis.*, ref. V. 40; XVI, 8; Audumbaras, *i.e.*, the people of Udumbara in *Madhyadeśa*, *ibid.*, XIV, 4; MKP., LVIII, 9.

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 60 ff.

² R. D. Banerjee seems to have succeeded in establishing the geographical connection between Udumbara and Sarkār Audambar. See Ep. Ind., XIX, pp. 286-87.

³ Elliot, IV, 387-8; V, 112, 201; VI, 19, 41, 44, 53, 326; Jarrett, 11, 121, 151; JEORS., *op. cit.*, pp. 555-57; Kalikaranjan Qanungo, Sher Shah, pp. 119, 121, 174.

was subordinate to the declining Pāla dynasty of Bengal. But there is no proof to shew that from the geographical standpoint it was considered to be a part of Bengal.

In the course of time Rāḍha expanded into a region of considerable dimensions. In the first quarter of the 11th century it was divided into two parts, *Uttara Rāḍha* and *Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha*. The Tirumalai inscription of the 13th year of Rājendra Chola refers to the kingdoms of *Uttiralāḍam* and *Takkaṇalāḍam*. For some time there was considerable uncertainty regarding their identifications. Hultzsch and Kielhorn¹ proposed that they respectively stood for northern (*Uttira* = *Uttara*) and southern (*Takkana* = *Dakṣiṇa*) Lāṭa (central and southern Gujarāt).² On a later occasion Hultzsch agreed with Mr. Venkayya³ in taking them to correspond to the northern and southern parts of Virāṭa, identified by him with modern Berar in the Central Provinces. Hultzsch evidently accepted the view put forward by Mr. Venkayya that the Tamil term “Ilāḍa” might be taken as corresponding to the Sanskrit name *Virāṭa*. But Birat or Bairat is to be placed in Rājputāna,⁴ and it is difficult to see how “Ilāḍa” can stand for Lāṭa. The theory that the Chola records referred to above speak of Gujarāt is on the face of it untenable. The victorious South Indian army appears to have arrived in Takkaṇalāḍa, having passed through and conquered in succession the territories of *Oḍḍa(Oḍra)-vishaya* (modern Orissa or the U-cha of Hiuen tsang),⁵ *Kośalai-nāḍu* (southern Kosala or the Chhattisgarh region corresponding to the upper valley of the Mahānadi and its offshoots),⁶ and *Taṇḍabutti* or *Daṇḍabutti* (Dāntan in the Midnapore district). The Cholas

¹ SIL., Vol. I, pp. 97, 99; Vol. II, pp. 108, 109 (cf. the Tamil inscr., No. 26, in the Central shrine of the Rājarājēśvara temple at Tanjavur, dated in the 19th year of Rājendra Chola's reign, which also gives these names); Vol. III, pp. 424-25, vs. 109-20; Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, App., p. 120.

² See Geographical Dictionary, p. 114.

³ Hultzsch, Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 229 (n. 3), 231; Venkayya, Annual Report for Epigraphy, 1906-07, p. 87 ff.

⁴ Geographical Dictionary, p. 38; ASR., II, p. 244.

⁵ Si-yu-ki, p. 204.

⁶ CASR., XVII, p. 68.

finally came to Vaṅgāla-deśa (*cf.* mod. Vaṅgāla = a native of East Bengal) from Northern Lāḍa. If the indications, thus set forth, of the general movement of the Chola army have any meaning, it must be concluded that North and South Lāḍa were situated in Bengal rather than on the western coast. The only alternative left to us is to regard the name as equivalent to Rāḍha,¹ a view which has been generally accepted. As the Chola army moved from Daṇḍabutti it first appeared in southern Rāḍha. Had they marched from Bihār,² as held by H. P. Śāstrī, their progress would have been from the north to the south. The Irdā copper-plate, which has recently been brought to the notice of scholars by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, shows conclusively that *Daṇḍabhukti* was situated in West Bengal, as a *maṇḍala* of this name was comprised in the Vardhamāna-bhukti in the tenth century A.D. Rāḍha (*Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha-pradeśa*) is twice mentioned in the Prabodhachandrodaya-nāṭaka by Kṛishṇa Miśra (11th century)³ and in the Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdharāchārya⁴ written in 991 A. D.; Uttara-Rāḍhā occurs in the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman (11th century)⁵ and the Naihāti copper-plate

¹ GRM, p. 40; N. N. Vasu, *Vaṅger Jātiya Itihās Rājanya Kāṇḍa*, p. 173, n. 90; SII., Vol. II, Addenda and Corrigenda.

² MASB., Vol. V, p. 71, GRM., p. 40. S. K. Aiyangar holds the identification of Tandabutti or Daṇḍabutti with Bihār to be probable—*J. Ind. H.*, Vol. 11, pp. 817 ff. But his arguments have been successfully refuted in *JBORS.*, 1939, pp. 330-8; *JRAS.*, 1935, pp. 658-61; *ibid.*, p. 113. This identification of Daṇḍabutti is mainly supported by the assumption that it is the same as Otanapuri mentioned by Tārānāth, and Advand Bihar of the Moslem historians. But these two forms correspond to Uddanḍapura, *JASB.*, (N.S.), pp. 107-8; *SPP.*, XV, pp. 12-13, which is quite different from Daṇḍabutti or Daṇḍabhukti. The evidence of the Sanskrit portion of the Tiruvallaṅgāḍu plates, which names Raṇḍūra (of Takkaṇaḷāḍam) as having been conquered by the Chola army before Dharmapāla of Tanḍabutti) is opposed to the testimony of the Tamil records of Rājendra Chola's reign, which reverse this order. Besides, the former brings Oḍḍa last of all, while it was attacked much earlier according to the latter inscriptions. The narrative in the Tirumalai inscr. is to be preferred as there is reason to believe that this record was prepared soon after the Chola expedition. For the Irdā Copper-plate see *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 150ff.; for the Tamil record of the 19th year and the Tiruvallaṅgāḍu plates, see p. 57 (above), n. 2, also for the latter, SII., III, pp. 838ff; *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1916. Pt. II, paragraphs 11-20; *ASB.*, 1908-09, pp. 238-35.

³ Act II, p. 43.

⁴ *JASB.* (N. S.), Vol. VIII, p. 341, n. 1.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 87-43.

of Vallālasena (12th century).¹ The Belāva grant refers to a place called Siddhala, a village situated in northern Rāḍhā (*Uttara-Rāḍhāyām Siddhala-grāmīya*—l. 43). The same place is mentioned in the Bhuvaneswar praśasti of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (11th century)² where we have Rāḍha without any such specification as is to be noticed in the Belāva grant. In this record Siddhala³ has been described as the best of villages, the ornament of 'Āryāvarta' and the goddess of fortune presiding over Rāḍha. (*Āryāvartta-bhuvām = vibhūṣaṇam = iha khyātas-tu sarva = āgrimo grāmaḥ Siddhala eva kevalam = alankāro = stī Rāḍhā-śrīyāḥ*, v. 3). Some part of Uttara-Rāḍhā was sterile region,⁴ where no water could be found (*Rāḍhāyām = ajalāsu jāṅgalapatha*—v. 18. Bhuvaneswar Praśasti). Evidently it refers to a part of Jhārkhanda in Bengal (*cf.* Āchāraṅga Sūtra). Whilst in the first quarter of the 11th century Rāḍha was broken up into two broad political divisions, each ruled by a separate chief, the distinction between northern and southern Rāḍha in the subsequent period may have been retained only for administrative purposes. The Naihāti grant⁵ of Vallālasena points to Rāḍha as a whole, being the country with which his ancestors were associated (*Sadāchāra-charyā-ninūthi-prauṭhām Rāḍhām*—v. 3.) but refers to Uttara-Rāḍhā in the portion (ll. 37-38) specifying the boundaries of the village given away. In this grant Uttara-Rāḍhā is mentioned as the name of a *maṇḍala* comprised in the Varddhamāna-bhukti, to which a second reference is to be found in the Govindapur grant⁶ of Lakshmanasena (12th century), the son and successor of Vallālasena. (*Śrī-Varddhamāna-bhukty = antahpātīny = uttara-Rāḍhā-maṇḍale*. —Naihāti grant; *Śrī-Varddhamāna-bhukty = antahpātī*—l. 33. Govindapur copper-plate). Burdwān

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 156-68.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 209-07.

³ There may be some truth in the suggestion that this place is represented by modern Sidhalgrām, a village under Labpur P. S. in the Birbhum district. See Harekrishna Mukherjee (pub.), Birbhum Vivaraṇ, Part II, p. 234, n. 8.

⁴ Dhammapāla in his Paramattha Dipaṇi (Com. on the Vimāśevattā) explains jāṅgala 'as' lūkkhadhūssaro anudaka bhūmippadeso.' See edn. by E. Hardy, PTS., pp. 335, 366, fn. 2.

⁵ Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 159.

⁶ Bhāratavaraha—1332. B.S., pp. 441-45; I.B., pp. 92-96.

(name of a district in Bengal on the west of the Hooghly), seems to have been known in its Sanskrit form 'Varddhāmāna' in quite early times. According to the Jaina Kalpasūtra Mahāvīra spent some time in Asthikagrāma (Lec. V, Sec. 122). The commentary says that it was formerly known by the name Vardhamāna. It refers to a legend accounting for the change of the name.¹

In the Bṛihatsaṃhitā it has been assigned a place as a city or a country in the eastern division.² In the Kathāsaritsāgara³ there are several references to "Vardhamāna" (Vardhamāna—the ornament of the Earth, where ruled a king called Paropakārin; a Brahmin from the city of Vardhamāna once reached the great forest of the Vindhyan mountains through the southern quarter; a sculptor of Vardhamāna, carving an image of the daughter of a Kālīṅga king; a Brahmin from Pāṭaliputra married a girl residing in Vardhamāna, etc.). Vardhamāna appears to have been a popular name for cities in ancient times; hence unless there is a clear hint for its identification, there will remain the chance of an error if any place by reason simply of its being known by this name is located in this province.⁴ Even in Bengal there seem to have been more than one city of this name. In the Chittagong inscription of Kāntideva⁵ mention is to be found of a place called *Varddhāmāna (-pura)*, whence this plate was issued about the 8th century A.D., addressing the future rulers of Harikelā (*-maṇḍala*, i.e., eastern Bengal). The Vardhamāna division, according to the

¹ SBE., Vol. XXII, p. 264, n. 2.

² XIV, 7; Mis. Refs., XVI, 3; LXXIX, 21; XCIV, 2.

³ The Ocean of Story, trans. by C. H. Tawney, ed. by N. M. Penzer—II. 171 (with n. 1), 188, 189, 223, 224, 237; III, 218, 229 (ref. to a king named Virabhuja), 230, 232; IX, 53, 75.

⁴ Cf. Dr. L. D. Barnett's note in the above, Vol. II, p. 17 fn. Also see Geographical Dictionary, p. 25. The Banckhera (about 25 miles from Shāhjahānpur, U. P.) plate of Harsha was issued from *Varddhāmāna koṭi* in the 22nd year of his reign. (See Ep. Ind., IV, p. 210). He identifies it with Bardhankoti in the Dinajpur district (North Bengal). There is no reason why this place is to be located in Bengal. According to the Ārya-Mahājñāśrī-Mūlakaṇṭha there was a city of this name in Kāmrūpa: Kāmarūpe tathā deśe Vardhamāne puroṭtame. (See TSS., No. LXX, Pt. II, p. 89.)

⁵ Bhāratavarsha, 1332 B. S., Aṣṭadśa, p. 48; Mod. Rev., Nov., 1922, pp. 612-14.

evidence of the Naihāti grant, was larger than the Uttara-Rāḍha-maṇḍala which formed only a portion of it. This *bhukti* may have been so constituted as to have included at least a considerable part of Rāḍha. In the abovementioned grant the *bhukti* is Vardhamāna the *maṇḍala* is Uttara-Rāḍha, to which belonged Svalpadakṣhiṇa-Vīthi, where was situated the village Vāllabhitthā (l. 44;= modern Bālutiya—6 miles to the west of Naihāti). Its boundaries were:—Khāṇḍayillā (= Khāruliā to the south of Bālutiya); River Siṅgaṭiā to the north of Khāṇḍayillā (now represented by a canal to the south and east of Bālutiya).¹ The river Siṅgaṭiā flowed past the village Nāḍichā, to the north of the village granted (*Nāḍichā-śāsan = ottarastha-Siṅgaṭiā nadī-paśchim = ottara rastha*) on the north-west, village Ambayillā (modern Ambalgrām to the east and south of Khāruliā) on the west *Ambayillā-śāsan-paśchima-sthita-Siṅgaṭiā-paśchimataḥ*—ll. 39-40). The southern boundary ditch of Kuḍumvamā (*Kuḍumvamā dakṣhiṇa-sīmāli-dakṣhiṇataḥ*—l. 40) lay on the south, where the village also adjoined the boundary-ditch, leading to the west on the western side of Kuḍumvamā (*Kuḍumvamā-paśchima-paśchima-gati-sīmāli-dakṣhiṇataḥ*—ll. 40-41). On the south, again, lay the cattle-path to the south of Āuhā-gaḍḍiya; *Āuhā-gaḍḍiyā-dakṣhiṇa-gopatha-dakṣhiṇataḥ*—l. 41). On the south the boundary ditch reached up to the northern ditch of Surakonā-gaḍḍiyākīyā,² which stood on the western side of the track, connected with the northern cattle-path, belonging to Āuhā-gaḍḍiyā (*Āuhā-gaḍḍiyā = ottara-gopatha-nihsarītā-paśchima-gati Surakonā-gaḍḍiyākīyā = ottar = āli-paryanta-gata-sīmāli-dakṣhiṇataḥ*—ll. 41-42). On the east the eastern boundary-ditch of Nāḍḍinā, a half of the cattle-path on the east of village Jalasoṭhī (=in the Murshidābād district); a half of cattle-path, which went up to the river Siṅgaṭiā on the east of the village Molādandī (modern

¹ SPP. XVII, pp. 232-34 (with a map).

² In the Burdwan district a tank is popularly called "gaḍe" or "gaḍiya." (SPP., 1317 B. S., p. 234. S. K. Chatterjee notes the equation of the affix gaḍḍa, gaḍḍi, gaḍi) as in modern Bengali Śiḍiḡuḍi, a place-name, with Telugu gaḍḍa, Kannaḍa gaḍde—HODBL., Vol. I, p. 66.

Murundi ; *Molāṇḍāṇī-sāsana-pūrvva-sthita-Siṅgaṭiā-paryanta Go-path=ārdha-pūrvvataḥ*—ll. 43-44). During the reign of Lakshmaṇasena (12th century A.D.), Paśchima-Khāṭikā was under the jurisdiction of the Varddhamāna-bhukti. According to his Govindapur copper-plate¹ a subdivision of the former was Vetaḍḍa-chaturaka (=modern Bator in the Howrah district),² in which was situated the village of Viḍḍāra. On the eastern half of it lay the river Jāhnavī (or a branch of it—Jāhnavī-vantī—the Hooghly), on the south stood the maṇḍapī (maṇḍapa—a temple) of Leṅghadeva; on the west an orchard of pomegranates, on the north was situated the village of Dharmanagara (*Śrī-Varddhamānabhukty=antaḥpāti-Paśchima-khāṭikāyām Vetaḍḍa-chaturake pūrvve Jāhnavī-vantī arddhasīmā. Dakṣiṇe Leṅghadeva-maṇḍapī-sīmā. Paśchime dāli-mvakshetra-sīmā. Uttare Dharmmagara-sīmā*, ll. 33-36).

Nīlakaṇṭha's use of Rāḍha and Suhma as synonymous terms is not conclusive evidence to shew that Suhma in earlier times

¹ Dhāratvaraha, 1332 B.S., pp. 441-45; IB, pp. 92 ff.

² Bator (Betor, Bhattore, Buttore) is referred to in the *Manasā maṅgala* of Vipradāsa, a Bengali poet supposed to be of the 15th century (cf. *Sindhu-mulavada-mahiti*-(t)-Śiṣṭaka-parimāṇa(n)āṇī nṛpati Husea Sā Gauḍa mulakṣaṇa(n)—leaf 2, MS. No. 353)—A.B. as the place where its hero Chāndi Salāgar offered his worship to Betāi Chāṇḍī.—Proc. A.S.B., 1932, pp. 133-137; also CR, No. 136, Oct., 1931, p. 371. The legend says that on his journey by boat down the Jāhnavī, he followed a course between Aḍiḍaha on the east and Ghushuḍi on the west (the northernmost part of Howrah city). He next proceeded along the eastern bank of the river, passing Calcutta (Kalikātā) and halting at Betāḍ. The MS. relied on by Sāstrī is relatively modern as he himself admits. Bator is on the western side of the Hooghly, a part of the Howrah city, and lies south of Sibpur. It rose to considerable importance during the palmy days of Saptagrām as a centre of overseas trade. One of the reasons of its prosperity in those days was that it afforded an excellent temporary accommodation to sea-going vessels before they left the Indies on account of the river being 'very shallow' from here upwards. Its fate was however linked up with Saptagrām or Sāṭgāon (in the Hooghly district). The trade moved from Bator on the west to Sūtānuḍi on the east, and being abandoned by the Portuguese it lost its importance in the 17th century and soon passed into obscurity. The place was visited by Cesar Frederick in the 16th century and is given sufficient prominence in the maps of De Barros (16th century) and Blaeu (middle of the 17th century). See Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, etc.*, Everyman's Library Series, Vol. III, pp. 236-7; DG. (Howrah), 1909, pp. 19, 20, 23, 151, 152; Map 19 of Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*; C. R. Wilson, *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 128, 130-31; (also map, facing p. 180); II, . 260; III ibid, Vol. VIII, xxix.

corresponded to the whole of Rāḍha, as understood in his age. There is no direct epigraphic evidence from which it can be inferred that the whole of the present district of Murshidābād was reckoned as a part of Rāḍha during the period under review. But as it cannot be assigned to any of the other broad divisions of Bengal, mentioned in the introductory part of this section, its geographical position, at least, makes it closely connected with Rāḍha. The district is divided into two distinct parts, each with clearly marked physical characteristics different from those of the other. The portion lying to the west of the Bhāgīrathi, which is a continuation of the Chotā Nāgpur plateau, is popularly called Rāḍha, while the tract to the east is known as Bagri.¹ In the Matsya Purāṇa mention is to be found of Submottara,² i.e., either the northern part of Suhma or lying to the north of it. If this name is correct, it could not possibly be given to Puṇḍra, which has been separately mentioned. Some part of the Murshidābād district may have been comprised in this undefined tract of Submottara. It can now be taken as fairly certain that in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. a considerable area, including at least portions of Murshidābād, was called Karṇasuvarṇa.³ For the determination of its site our reliance has to be chiefly placed on the evidence of the Chinese Records. Hiuen-tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited a country called Kie(Ka)-lo-na-su-fa-lana, a name which can be easily converted into the Sanskrit Karṇasuvarṇa known to Indian epigraphy. Unfortunately, the details of the main directions of his journey in Bengal given in his own account do not agree with those presented in his biography. The Chinese traveller states in his itinerary that travelling north-west for over 700 li, he went from Tāmralipta to Karṇasuvarṇa.

¹ DG. (Murshidabad), Vol. XXXII. p. 2.

² CXIII. 44; cf. MKP. LVII. 48; KM. p. 93; Nāṭya-S.—XIV which read Brahmottara. The latter name may have been quite different from Submottara which passed out of currency. It is interesting to note that in the days of Akbar Barmhattar or Baharmuttar was a parganah under Sarkār Sātgaon in the district of Hooghly. See Jarrett, II, 141; JBAS, 1896, p. 104; Pargiter's note, MKP., p. 827.

³ Watters, Vol. II, p. 191; S. Beal, The Life, Book IV, p. 132; Si-yu-ki, p. 200.

But, according to the Life, he proceeded from Puṇḍravardhana, to Karṇasuvarṇa, journeying in a south-easterly direction over a distance of 700 li. This discrepancy in the two accounts has, no doubt, given rise to some difficulty in locating Karṇasuvarṇa accurately. Watters believes the statement made by the traveller himself, that his visit to Karṇasuvarṇa was undertaken from Tāmralipta.¹ But he points out that as “his location of Karṇasuvarṇa...is not in agreement with the rest of the narrative.....we must apparently regard that place as 700 li to the north-east instead of north-west of Tāmralipta.” The indication of the route between Puṇḍravardhana and Karṇasuvarṇa, as given in the Life, need not be depended upon, for there seems to be no ground for supposing that there is any mistake in the Si-yu-ki as regards the general stages of Hiuen-tsang’s journey in Bengal. The identification of Karṇasuvarṇa rests on firmer ground than this somewhat conflicting evidence of the Chinese accounts. Hiuen-tsang informs us that near the capital of this country stood the Lo-to-mo-chih monastery, “a magnificent and famous establishment, the resort of illustrious Brethren.” It is quite likely that the monastery was named after the place where it was situated. It was thus the name of the capital of Karṇasuvarṇa. The name can be Sanskritised into Rāgaṇṛittikā, or Raktanṛittikā, of which the Prākṛit form is Rāṅgāmāti. There is still a place of this name lying at a distance of twelve miles to the south of Murshidābād town on the right bank of the Bhāgīrathī, which is “nearly due north of Tamruk and 120 or 130 miles off.” Hiuen-tsang’s Rāṅgāmāti cannot be identical with another place of this name, which exists in the Chittogong district. The capital of Karṇasuvarṇa was only above 20 li in circuit. It cannot, therefore, correspond to the vast area of red laterite soil extending from the foot of the Rājmahāl hills through the Burind area to the Madhupur jungles in Mymensingh in eastern Bengal, of which any particular part could be called by this name in consistency with its meaning. That Rāṅgāmāti

¹ Watters, Vol. II, p. 192.

in the Murshidābād district is an ancient site has been fully established by the old remains which it has yielded.¹ It was probably from this place that a certain Buddhist monk (Mahānāvika-Buddhaguptasya Raktamrittikāvāsa) went to Malacca as mentioned in an inscription of the 4th century A. D.² Rīngāmāṭi stands on the site of an old city called Kansona (-ka-gaḍh). This name has now passed into oblivion, but it was current even in the last century, as shown by its mention in the Introduction to the Śabdakalpadruma³ in connection with the genealogy of Rādhākānta Deva, attached to its eighth volume. The name Kāṇṣoṇā⁴ can be derived from Kārṇasuvarṇa 'through an intermediate Prakrit form' *Kaṇṇasonnari*, as explained by Dr. Barnett.⁴ Thus the theory that Kārṇasuvarṇa roughly corresponded to the present Murshidābād district, first propounded by Beveridge, seems to be quite well-founded. It was from this place that the Vappaghoshavāṭa grant of Jayanāga and the Nādhānpur plates of the Assam king Bhāskaravarman, a contemporary of Hiuen-tsang, were respectively issued in the 6th and the 7th century. In the time of Jayanāga the *Audumrarika* vishaya is known to have been

¹ See F. P. Layard, The ancient City of Kansonapuri, now called Rungamutty, JASB., 1853, pp. 281-82; H. Beveridge, The site of Kārṇasuvarṇa, JASB., 1893, Vol. LXII, Pt. I, pp. 315-28; ASR., 1927-28, p. 99.

² H. Kern, *Veraprende Geschriften*, 1915, p. 259; James Low, An account of several Inscriptions found in Province Wellesley on the Peninsula of Malacca, JASB., 1819, XVII, 2, pp. 62-66; J. W. Laidlay, Note on the Inscriptions from Singapur and Province Wellesley, *ibid.*, pp. 63-72, Pl. IV, No. 8. The transcript on p. 71 is vitiated by several errors.

³ Murshidābādā-nagar-āsanne svajana-pālakaly Kārṇasuvarṇa-nāmadheyā-samāṇe vāsā-kāraḥ—pp. v.vi. Śabdakalpadruma—Parisishṭa (1779 S.).

⁴ Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 62. Wilford puts the name as Cosumapuri (As. Res., Vol. IX, p. 39). It is Kansonapuri or Kurn-sona-ka-ghur, according to Capt. F. P. Layard (JASB. 1853, p. 281). The city is believed to have been built by a king of Bengal named Kārṇa Sena, about whom nothing is known. It is quite likely that tradition by means of such a legend has tried to explain the origin of the name of the place. Acc. to Beveridge, it was both known as Kusumapuri, which was a common name, and Kārṇa Suvarṇa gaḍa (fort) (from Kansona, of which the correct spelling proposed by Lassen [III, 766n.], is Kārṇasuvarṇa). The tradition referred to by Wilford (see above) speaks of the conquest of the port of Kusumi by a king of Lashkā. Beveridge is inclined to take this to mean that the city was destroyed by a king of Ceylon in the 12th century, s. JASB., LXII, Pt. I, pp. 320, 331.

under the jurisdiction of Karṇasuvarṇa (...*Karṇa(s)uvarṇa-kāvasthitasya*...l. 1...*Nārāyaṇabhadrasy-Āudumvarīka-(visha)ya*...l. 3). The village Vappaghoshavāṭa, granted by Jayanāga to Bhaṭṭa Brahmavīra Svāmin, in the 6th century A. D., resembles in name Ghoshapādā,¹ a centre of the Kartābhajā sect on the Bhāgirathi. But its identification is not certain, as there are villages elsewhere (for instance, in the Murshidābād district) which have names similar to this. According to the directions given in the inscription, it had for its boundary on the west the Brahmin settlement belonging to the village Kutkuṭa² (*paśchimasyaṇ-diśi Kutkuṭa-grāmīṇa-vrā (brā)hmaṇānām sakta-tāmrapaṭṭa-sīmā*—ll. 8-9). On the north as well as on the east Gaṅginikā (*Uta(ra)syaṇ Gaṅginikā, pūrvasyaṇ-iyam-eva Gaṅginikā*—l. 9). It has been proposed with the help of some topographical details, furnished by the Bengali poet Bhārata Chandra Rāya (c. 1740 A. D.), who mentions Gaṅginī,³ that it should be identified with “the river Jalangī, a branch of the Ganges or Padmā, which unites with the Bhagirathi near Nadiyā.” There was a mustard-channel, issuing from Gaṅginikā whose course followed the western boundary of the village Amala-pautika (*tato missrito Āmalapautika-grāma-paśchimā(ma)-sīmā = anugatas-Sarshapa-yānakaḥ*—ll. 9-10). The grant was further bounded by the estate belonging to Bhaṭṭa Unmīlana Svāmin (*ten-aiva [sīmā sam]parichchhinno yāvad-Bhaṭṭ-Ōnmīlana-svāmi-tāmrā-paṭṭa iti*—ll. 10-11). The same boundary to the south of the latter proceeded along the north as far as the end of Bharāṇi Svāmin's land (*tasmāch = cha dakshīṇa-din(g) bhāgād-bhūyas-ten-aiva sīmā uttaran-diśam-anuvalamānas-tāvad-āgato yāva(d) Bharāṇi-svāmi-tāmrā-paṭṭa-sīm-eti*—ll. 11-13). This principal boundary-line in a straight course entered the Vakhata-(s)ūmalika-deva tank, situated on the

¹ Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 62.

² Introductory remarks, Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 60.

³ Gaṅganī, the name of a village in the neighbourhood of the Jalangī, *ibid*, p. 62.

boundary of Bhaṭṭa Unmīlana Svāmin's land, and finally confronted the limit of the Brahmin estate in Kuṭkuta-grāma, already mentioned. (*tatopi pragunena Bhaṭṭ-Onmīlana-svāmi-tāmra-paṭṭa sīmni Vakhata Sūmālikā-deva-khātam-praviśya tāva(d) gato yāva(t) sa eva Kutkuṭṭa-grāmīṇa-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-sīm-eti—ll. 13-14*). The Nidhānpur Plates ¹ were also issued by Bhāskara-varman, the king of Kāmarūpa (7th century), from his victorious camp at Kārṇasuvarṇa (*skandhāvārāt Kārṇasuvarṇa-vāsakāt—l. 3*) ² for the purpose of renewing a grant, originally made by his great-great-grandfather, Bhūti-varman, ³ the relevant documents having been destroyed by fire ⁴ during the interval. It may be mentioned in this connection that there are references to a Gaṅginikā in the Khālīmpur grant of Dharmapāla also (*c. 800 A.D.*) ⁵ : *Paśchimena Gāṅginikā ; Asya ch-ottareṇa Gaṅginikā sīmā, (Sro)tikayā Gaṅginikām praviśtā ; Uttareṇa Gaṅginikā*, ll. 32, 38, 40-41. The village which this document gives away as a religious endowment was situated in the *Vyāghrataṭi-maṇḍala*, the earliest reference to which also is available from this grant. As far as our information goes, there is no epigraphic reference to the name Kārṇasuvarṇa after the 7th century. If the two *gaṅginikā*'s ⁶ are identical, and if they are the same as the Jalangī, as suggested in Dr. Barnett's introductory note on the Vappaghoshavāta inscription, it may be surmised that in the north the *Vyāghrataṭi-maṇḍala* converged on what in the 6th and 7th centuries constituted the district of Kārṇasuvarṇa. It is, however, impossible to regard the identification of the river of Jayanāga's grant as settled beyond dispute. It is difficult to locate satisfactorily a river, characterised by such an epithet (*Gaṅginikā* = a dried river-bed), ⁷

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 73-76.

² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³ Ep. Ind., XIX, pp. 118, 121.

⁴ Last verse in the Nidhānpur plate, edited in Ep. Ind., XII, p. 76.

⁵ Ep. Ind., IV, p. 249.

⁶ Ep. Ind., XIX, p. 117. n. 3.

⁷ Ep. Ind. XIX, p. 387. "Gāth and Gāṅgina are common terms in Western Bengal dried-up riv. or bed or a small river."

from existing conditions merely, for what may at present be a dried-up watercourse may not have been so in such a remote period of time. Added to this is the fact that rivers are known to have frequently changed their courses in the past, a process which has not yet ceased to operate. Thirdly, in view of the evidence brought forward by R. D. Banerjee, bearing on the identification of Audumvarika Vishaya, it may be necessary to observe certain limits in the matter of deciding the geographical questions connected with this copper-plate grant.

It appears from the Śaktipur grant¹ of Lakshmanasena (latter part of the 12th century) that the Mora used to flow in the territory of Uttara Rāḍha (northern Rāḍha). The Mor² which may be esteemed as one of the chief rivers of the modern district of Birbhūm is also known by the name Morakhi or its Sanskrit equivalent Mayūrākshī. It enters the Birbhūm district from the Santāl Parganas on the west and follows a course right through the centre towards the east, joining the Dwārkā which mingles its water with the Bhāgīrathi in the Murshidābād district.³ The reference to the Mora in connection with Uttara-Rāḍha is a sure hint that the places mentioned in the grant as situated to the south of that river are to be looked for in either of these districts, or partly in one and partly in the other. It is necessary at the outset to ascertain the position of the Kaṅkagrāma-bhukti in relation to Uttara-Rāḍha, as indicated in this copper-plate grant, for this seems to be a vital question in determining the limits of Rāḍha as they stood during Lakshmanasena's reign, and also whether there was a fresh territorial readjustment, so far as this region is concerned, some time

¹ Rames Vasu, SPP, B.S. 1339, Vol. XXXVII, Pt. IV, pp. 216-225, and plates ; Dharendra Chandra Ganguly, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, Pt. V, pp. 211-219, with plate facing p. 212.

² DG. (Birbhūm), pp. 4-5.

³ Ep. Ind., XXI, pp. 213-14. 'The Dakshīṇa-Vithi of Uttara-Rāḍha' (p. 212) is inaccurate and misleading.

between the 11th year of Vallālasena's reign when his Naihāti grant was issued, and the 6th year of Lakshmaṇasena's government, when the Śaktipur grant was engraved. It has been already noticed that in the Naihāti grant Uttara-Rāḍha figures as a *maṇḍala* situated in the Vardhamāna-bhukti. But the Śaktipur grant, as interpreted by Dr. D. C. Ganguly, and Mr. K. N. Dikshit,¹ shows that in the 6th year of Lakshmaṇasena's reign Uttara-Rāḍha was comprised in the southern subdivision (*Dakṣiṇa-rīthi*) of the Kaṅkagrāma-bhukti. It has, therefore, been concluded that the Kaṅkagrāma-bhukti 'seems to have taken over the Northern Rāḍha tract from Vardhamāna-bhukti.' The existence of the latter *bhukti* continued at least up to the 2nd year of Lakshmaṇasena's reign as is evidenced by the Govindapur grant, but it is suggested that with the creation of the Kaṅkagrāma-bhukti, the older division was organised so as to exclude the northern part of Rāḍha and include only its southern portion (*Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha*). This is only a guess, for no record is available shewing such exclusive connection between *Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha* and the Vardhamāna-bhukti. The basis of all such inferences can be easily called into question. The statement of boundaries in respect of a few villages, contained in the grant, begins in the following manner :—*Śrī-Madhugiri-maṇḍal=ārachchhinna-Kumbhīnagara-pratibaddhaḥ Kaṅkagrāma-bhukty=antahpāti-Dakṣiṇa-rīthyām=Uttara-Rāḍhāyām Kumārapura-chaturake*—ll. 26-27. There is little evidence in the text to suggest that the whole of Uttara-Rāḍha was comprised in the southern subdivision of the Kaṅkagrāma-bhukti.² The passage means that the villages, to which it refers, were connected with Kumbhīnagara as separated from the Madhugiri-maṇḍala, and that they were situated in the *dakṣiṇa-rīthi* or southern subdivision of the Kaṅkagrāma-bhukti, in Uttara-Rāḍha, in Kumārapura-chaturaka. The view that the Kaṅkagrāma-bhukti

¹ *Ibid.*, Editorial note, p. 214.

² N. K. Bhattasali's observations, SPP., B.S. 1939, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. II, p. 64 ; JRAS., 1935, p. 98.

was formed by separating northern Rāḍha from the Vardhamāna-bhukti must be discounted, for the Śaktipur grant does not refer to Uttara-Rāḍha as a *maṇḍala*. Uttara-Rāḍha-*maṇḍala* should not be taken as conterminous with Uttara-Rāḍha, although it seems quite clear that the centre of Uttara-Rāḍha lay in the Vardhamāna-bhukti, for here existed a subdivision called after this name—a name which represented the territory as a whole. Until further light is available, it may be permissible to accept K. N. Dikshit's suggestion,¹ that 'Kaṅkagrāma from which the bhukti took its name' is probably represented by the modern Kankjol (24°48' N. Lat. 87°48' E. Long.). According to Cunningham² the district of Rājmaḥāl was originally called Kāṅkjol 'which was once the headquarters of an extensive province, including the whole of the present district of Rājmaḥāl and a large tract of country which is now on the east of the Ganges, but which in former days was on its west bank.' It is situated 'on a jutting point of the old high bank of the Ganges, just 16 miles to the south of Rājmaḥāl and the same distance to the south-west of Gaur.' Cunningham adds that 'the province in which it was situated was called Rārḥ or Rāḍha' and that 'part of the Trans-Gangetic Kankjol is in the Purniya district, and part in the Malda district.' Considering the geographical position of Kāṅkjol, it may not appear unlikely that the new bhukti of Kaṅkagrāma³ whose existence is not reported by any earlier source was formed out of a combination of certain portions of Rāḍha and Paṇḍravardhana-bhukti to meet some military or administrative exigency. Its situation at a strategic point on the western frontier of Bengal, particularly its proximity to Gaur, may

¹ Ep. Ind., XXI, p. 214.

² CASR., Vol. XV, p. 37; AGI., p. 548. The name is given as Gungjook in Gladwyn's translation of the Ayeen Akbery, 1800, II, 178.

³ N. K. Bhattasali thinks that the name after all may not have been as it appears in the inscription; and that it may turn out to be a mistake for 'Vardhamāna.' See SPP., *op. cit.*, p. 86. But as the grant definitely and clearly reads 'Kaṅkagrāma,' there is no meaning in such speculation.

have convinced the Sena king of the necessity of cutting excessively large divisions into moderate proportions, which could be managed with greater ease and efficiency both in regard to internal administration and defence against external enemies. As to the Madhugiri-maṇḍala, Dikshit suggests that it corresponded to the region where stands the hill Mahuagaḍhi, 22 miles to the south-west of Kāṅkjol, and 20 miles to the north-west of Kumbhira, in the Rampurhat P.S. of the Bīrbhūm district, which is taken as identical with Kumbhīnagara of the grant. If the identification of Kaṅkagrāma with Kāṅkjol is acceptable for the present, the other identification too may be regarded as probable, for not only do the older names and their supposed modern representatives bear some undoubted phonetic affinity but their proximity to Kāṅkjol also is a point that cannot be ignored.

We may now pass on to a detailed study of the *pāṭakas* in which were situated lands, the grant of which is the subject-matter of this record. Altogether five *pāṭakas* are mentioned in this connection, viz., Vārahakoṇā, Vāllihitā, Nimā, Rāghava-haṭṭa, and Vijahārapura including Dāmaravadā.¹ The first four of these formed a sort of group by reason of their contiguity to one another if not for any other cause, as will be evident from the fact that the same boundaries are given for them taken together. On the east of this group of four (*chaturaka*) lay the adjoining land of Mālikuṇḍā with Aparā-joli (*pūreve Aparā-joli-sameta-Mālikuṇḍā-parisara-bhūh*), on the south the land of Bhāgaḍī-khaṇḍa in Brahmasthala (*dakṣiṇe Brahmasthaliya-Bhāgaḍī-khaṇḍa-kshetram*), on the west the cattle-track of Achchhamā, (*paśchime Achchhamā-gopatha*), and on the north the river Mora (*uttare Mora-nadi-sīmā*). The boundaries of Vijahārapura were Lāṅgala-joli on the west, the cattle-track of Parajāṇa on the north, Vipravaddhā-joli on the south and Chākuliya-joli on the east (ll. 31-33). As regards Kumārapura (*-chaturaka*), which

¹ Ep. Ind., op. cit., p. 318. There are some inaccuracies in the reading as regards these names in SPP., 1837, p. 223. The name of the river itself is read here to be Mocha.

included all the abovementioned *pātakas*, it has been proposed to identify it with a place of this name under P. S. Maureswar, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of the Mor. According to Ganguly *Vārahakoṇā* is the same as *Bārkundā* under P. S. Suri, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north of the Mor, and 4 miles from Sainthia railway station of the E. I. R. Loop line. N. K. Bhattasali¹ identifies it with *Bāran*, and *Nimā* and *Vāllihitā* with the modern villages *Nimā* and *Baluti* under P. S. Maureswar, to the north of the Mor, 4 miles north-east from Sainthia and $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of *Kumārapura*. According to Dikshit² *Vārahakoṇā* should be identified with *Bārkoṇā*, 'a well-known ancient locality...close to Panchthupi in the Kandi Subdivision of the Murshidābād district.' The identification is supported by its proposer not only on the ground that the two names sound very much alike, but also because *Nimā* and *Baluti* are found to exist in the neighbourhood of *Bārkoṇā*. It has been already noted that the river Mor does not exhaust itself in the *Bīrbhūm* district. It penetrates into the *Murshidābād* district where it drags on its course up to a certain point in the *Kānli* subdivision, running both to the north and south of *Panchthupi*. If *Kumārapura* is to be located in *Bīrbhūm*, and some of the *pātakas* lying within its jurisdiction to be assigned to *Murshidābād*, it is difficult to see how this intimate connection could be maintained between widely separated areas, unless it is presumed that the subdivision which was only a part of the *dakṣiṇā vīthi* was considerably extensive in size. As regards the identifications proposed by Ganguly and Bhattasali, these may be objected to on the ground that the present villages of *Nimā*, *Bārkundā*, *Bāran* and *Baluti*, to which they point, are situated to the north of the Mor, while the *pātakas* with which these have been sought to be identified, lay, according to the *Śaktipur* grant, to the south of that river. They have attempted to minimise the force of this objection by emphasising the unsteady and restless course of the *Mayūrākṣī*, and by suggesting that the dried-up bed of the river *Kāṇā*

¹ JRAS, 1935, pp. 96-97.

² Ep. Ind., XXI, p. 214

running to the north of Nimā and Baluti marks in fact an older position of the Mor as it stood at the time of the Śaktipur grant, from which it must have deviated towards the south in later times. It will, however, strike every body that the river in changing its direction from the north to the south took particular care in saving these villages from its ravages. With the decay and desertion of old villages, due to various causes, new settlements are often formed in the neighbourhood and named after those vanished centres of human life and activity. Thus some of these pāṭakas which flourished at the time of the Śaktipur grant may have actually lost their importance and passed into obscurity in a subsequent age, but their names which were not forgotten may have been given to new villages springing up in the neighbourhood.¹

On the evidence already discussed it is possible to venture an approximate definition of the territorial limits of Rāḍha in the period preceding the Muhammadan conquest of Bengal. The eastern part of Midnapore certainly belong to this territory (cf. Daśakumāracharita). The portion lying to the south of the Kansāi (cf. Raghuvamśa) was allied to Utkala (Orissa). In the 11th century Dāntan in the west was beyond the limits of the two subdivisions of Rāḍha (cf. Tirumalai inscription). The district of Burdwan was part and parcel of Rāḍha. In the 12th century the *bhukti* of Vardhamāna was large enough to include portions of northern Rāḍha as forming an administrative unit of the type of a *maṇḍala* (cf. the Naihāti Grant). In the 10th century, as the Irdā copper-plate shows, this *bhukti* included the Daṇḍabhukti-*maṇḍala* which soon after seems to have separated itself from the former, since it is mentioned without being specified as a *maṇḍala* as a chiefship distinct from the northern and southern Rāḍha in the Tirumalai inscription. The political importance acquired by it appears to have been

¹ The identifications of Acchhamā (a cattle-track) with Ammo (a village) and Vijahārapura with Bāhar, do not seem to be well-supported. See J.R.A.S. 1935, p. 97. There may be some sense in identifying Parajāpa with Palijāns.

preserved as late as the time of Rāmapāla (latter part of the 11th and the earlier part of the 12th century). The Irdā copper-plate records the gift of a village called Chhattivannā (Sanskrit-Saptaparnā, Bengali-Chhātim) Kaṇṭisaṁmāśa and Vā(Bā)-ḍakhaṇḍa (*prativaddha*—).¹ Mr. N. G. Majumdar in his editorial note, assuming that there was probably a lesser Chhattivannā as well, identifies the village with the modern Chhātnā in the Bankura district or with Chhatina on the Subarnarekhā, between Belyabera and Nayabashan. On a consideration of all the available data regarding the position of Daṇḍabhukti, it may appear very likely that the Varddhamāna-bhukti at the time, to which the Irdā plate is to be assigned, comprised at least “the southern and south-western portion of the Midnapur District, including the lower reaches of the Suvarṇarekhā river, if not a portion of the Balasore District itself.” Some of the places named in the Naihāti and the Govindapur plates have been traced in the Howrah and Hooghly districts. The Prabodhachandrodaya Nāṭaka by Kṛṣṇa Miśra (11th century) speaks of the city of Bhūriśreṭhīkā, as situated in Rāḍha (*Rāḍha tato Bhūriśreṭhīkā-nāmadhāma paramam tatrottamo naḥ pitā*).² It was a famous centre of culture in early mediaeval times. A commentary on the Vaiśeṣika system of Brahminical philosophy was written at this place in 991 A.D.³ Its modern name is Bhursut,⁴ a village on the right bank of the Dāmodar river in the district of Hooghly. The capital of Lāla, Siṁhapura, mentioned in the Ceylonese literature,

¹ Ep. Ind., XXII, pp. 154, 155. According to the Deśāvalivṛtti (DCSM., IV, p. 49) Tamlūk included a place called Vāḍagrāma.

² ASB. ed., Act II, p. 49.

³ In the Vakratantali Charter of Mahābhavagupta I, mention is to be found of an immigrant from Rāḍhā-phamballikandara. See Ep. Ind., XI, 94. This is taken by B. C. Mazumdar as corresponding to Rerhakhol or Rairakhol, a feudatory state near Sonpur in Orissa, the village Rairakhol being 45 miles from Sonpur. *Ibid*, pp. 101, 102, 201. According to R. D. Banerjee the first element in the compound shows that the place was situated in Rāḍhā. See his *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 200. The mention of Rāḍhā in the Charter is significant; even if the identification as proposed by Mazumdar is to be accepted, it will be possible to hold that the place was once within the sphere of Rāḍhā's influence.

⁴ The famous Bengali poet Bhārata Chandra Rāya (18th century) was the son of

has been sought to be identified with modern Singur¹ on the Tārakeswar Branch of the E. I. Ry., about 10 miles from Tārakeswar in the Hooghly district. The value of this identification is doubtful, firstly, because there is a divergence of opinion among scholars as to the probability of this Lāla country having corresponded to Rāḍha, and secondly, because the name Simhapura is by no means a safe guide by itself in the solution of the problem. There seem to have been several places of this name in ancient times. The Lakkhā Maṇḍal inscription² refers to a Siṅghapura which may have been identical with the one mentioned by Hiuen-tsang (Seng-ha-pu-lo=Simhapura), a dependency of Kashmīr, and identified with Ketas, situated on the north of the Salt Range. In the Bṛihatsaṁhitā there is a reference to the people of Simhapura (Simhapuraka, V, 42). The Belāva copper-plate (11th century) of the Yādava king Bhojavarmān preserves the memory of a Simhapura, the identification of which is a disputed problem. The Komarti plate of Chaṇḍavarman and the Bṛihatprosthā grant of Umavarman mention a Simhapura which is perhaps to be identified with the modern Siṅgupuram between Chicacole and Narasannapeṭa.³ From the foregoing discussion we may

Narendra Rāya, Zemindar of Bhursut, who later lost his estate owing to some intrigue. The autobiographical portion of his Annadā-maṅgala contains the following verse :

Bhūriśīte bhūpati Narendra-Rāya-suta

Kṛishṇachandra pāśe rave haye rājya-chyuta.

See Annadā-maṅgala (S. 1769-1847 A. D.), p. 300. Dr D. C. Sen kindly informs me that this place is also mentioned in his earliest work—Satya Piror Kathā. The name is spelt as Bhoat in Jarrett, II, p. 140.

¹ JASB., N.S., Vol. V, p. 605. If the Ceylonese Lāla is = Lāta, Simhapura is suggested by some to be identified with Sihor (21° 43' N. and 72° E.) in Bhavnagar State, S. K. Chatterjee, HODBL., p. 72, n. 1 ; (Kāthiawār).—Ep. Ind., XI, p. 110; JBRAS., X, p. 79.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 12.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 143; XII, p. 4; The Buddhist Chronicle, Mahāvamsa, Chapter 59, vs. 39, 56, mentions that three relatives of Tilakasundari, queen of Vijayabāhu I (1054-1103 A. D.) came to Ceylon from Sihapura in Kālīṅga. See JRAS., 1913, pp. 519 ff. Singupuram mentioned above is spelt as Singapuram in Sewall's list of Antiquities, Vol. I, p. 9. This is probably the place to which reference is made in a Ceylonese inscription of Nīśāṅka-Malla as Simhapura in the country of Kālīṅga. See Ep. Zeylanica, Vol. II, 115.

The Tamil work Manimekhalai mentions Simhapura "in the fertile country of Kālīṅga."

See Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Manimekhalai in its Historical Setting, Luzac & Co., p. 187.

arrive at the conclusion that Suhma or Rāḍha undoubtedly comprised Howrah, Hooghly,¹ Burdwān and the northern and eastern portions of Midnapore and Birbhūm. Did it include also the whole of Murshidābād and Bankura ? It has been already seen that some of the villages stated to have been included in the Vardhamāna-bhukti in the 12th century are to be located in the modern Murshidābād district. The brief inscription on the Susuniā rock in the Bankura district (4th century) makes mention of a place called Pushkarapa. H. P. Śāstri's proposal² to identify it with Pokharan on the borders of Jodhpur and Jaisalmer States in Rājputānā has been convincingly shown to be unacceptable by K. N. Dikshit³ who has discovered its modern representative in the village Pokharan, only 25 miles to the north-east of Susuniā, on the south bank of the Dāmodar where various interesting antiquities are to be found. A centre of considerable political interest developed as is shown by this record, in the first half of the 4th century A.D., in the Bankura district, which, though not mentioned in the inscription itself, must have formed an important part of ancient Subma. Dhoyika, a poet of the 12th century, speaks of Suhma as situated on the Ganges.⁴ Suhma in his time (or Rāḍha, cf. Nilakaṇṭha), therefore, may have contained all the present districts of western Bengal, for ought we know. According to the Jaina evidence, to which the testimony of a Bengal inscription as late as the 12th century bears some similarity, a part of this tract of country was sparsely inhabited, arid, pathless and devoid of water-supply. This may refer to the western part of Rāḍha, the outlying forests of Bengal, once connected with the

¹ In the Bengal Asiatic Society, MS. No. 3093 of Jaganmohan Paṇḍita (dated S. 1746 -- 1824 A. D.) reference is to be found to Mānāta-deśa in Rāḍhā (Rāḍhādeśeshu) on leaf, 41A. H. P. Śāstri holds that this corresponds to the Hooghly district where there is a famous village called Mānāda. See Śāstri, DCSM., 1923, Vol. IV, pp. 51-52.

² Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 317.

³ ASI., 1927-28, pp. 188-89. D. R. Bhandarkar (IHQ, 1925, p. 255) attempts a philological equation between Pushkarapa and Bakkuram, taking the latter to represent Bankura.

⁴ JASB., N.S., I, p. 57.

Jhārkhand, which included the eastern portions of the Santāl Parganas and the Chotā Nāgpur division of the Province of Bihār. The boundary that separated Uttara-Rāḍha from Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha was probably the river Dāmodar, which formerly joined the Hooghly at Naya Sarai, thirty-nine miles above Kātwa. Its old mouth is still marked by the Kansona Khāl (from Kārṇasuvarṇa ?).

In the latter part of the 11th or the first quarter of the 12th century there were several chiefships situated in western Bengal. Their names have been recovered from the commentary on Sandhyākara Nandī's Rāmacharita. These are Daṇḍabhukti (Dātan in the Midnapore district), Aparā-Mandāra, Uchchhāla, besides Kayaṅgala, which lay outside the present boundary of Bengal. Regarding the identification of Aparā-Mandāra, some interesting information is supplied by the rent-roll of Todar Mal, where the Sarkār Madāran covers "a very long straggling strip of territory running from Birbhūm in the north to the junction of the Hughly and Rūpnarāyan rivers in the south," consisting of portions of Birbhūm, Bankura, Midnapore and Hooghly.¹ Haveli Madāran² (Jahānabad), which was comprised in this Sarkār, was near Goghāt (Arāmbāgh Subdivision), five miles west of the Dwārakeswar river, and is popularly known as Bhitargarh Mandāran. The western portion of the Sarkār Madāran may have roughly corresponded to the Aparā-Mandāra state. The principality of Uchchhāla may have been connected with Ujjimal in Birbhūm. But if the identification is due to similarity of names, there are other places which may claim to represent it on the same ground. The parganah

¹ JRAS., 1896, p. 105. Blochmann's Geographical and Historical Notes on the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions of Lower Bengal in W. W. Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 368. Blochmann describes the Sarkār Madāran as extending "in a large semicircle from Nagar in Birbhūm, over Rāniganj, Jahānābād, Western Hūgli, and Howrah, to Chitwā in Midnapur, and Mandalgāt in Howrah, and Mahishādal in Hijli, thus forming the south-west frontier of Bengal in 1582."

² JRAS., 1896, p. 106, Places of Historical Interest in Hughly District; Bengal, Past and Present, Vol. II, pp. 294-297; Proc. ASB. 1870, pp. 115-19.

of Ajhialghati, Ujjal Khali, belonged to the Sarkār Auḍambar,¹ *alias* Tāṇḍā, and extended alongside the right bank of the river Ganges southwards from the point where the Purniah (Purnea) sarkār ended to the city of Murshidābād, including a considerable part of Birbhūm. Kayaṅgala is modern Kajangal, near Rājmahāl, formerly called Āg Maḥal,² which was included in the Bengal Śūbah, according to the rent roll of Toḍar Mal, but is now a part of Bihār. This place was visited by Hiuen-tsang (Ka-chu-wen-k'i-lo) and in his time corresponded to the Rājmahāl district.³ In the days of Akbar western Bengal included in Śūbah Bangālah was distributed into several units, each called a sarkār, *viz.*, Purniah, Auḍambar, Sharīfābād, Sulaimānābād, Sātgaon and Madāran.⁴ The Sarkār Sātgaon was principally composed of places situated to the east of the Hooghly river in the present districts of the 24-Parganas and Nadiā.

¹ JRAS., 1896, p. 93.

² JASB., 1873, p. 218.

³ Watters, Vol. II, pp. 182-84.

⁴ JRAS., 1896, pp. 90-106. JASB., 1873, Pt. II, pp. 217-20; *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 360-70, 378.

SEC. B

EASTERN BENGAL (INCLUDING PART OF SOUTHERN BENGAL)

Traditions, Chinese accounts and literary sources.—Vaṅga as connected with Tāmralipta, Samatāṭa, Harikela, etc.—Data in the Delhi Iron Pillar-inscription of Chandravarman, the inscription of Kāntideva, the Ashrafpur plates, the grants of the Senas, Chandras and Varmanas, etc.—The relation between Vyāghratāṭi and Bagdi

Vaṅga, Harikela, Samatāṭa.

The earliest reference to Vaṅga is to be found, as we have seen in the first chapter, in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka (II. 1, 1)¹ followed by its mention in the legal treatises of the Vedic schools. In the conventional list of the *sixteen mahājānapadas*, given in the Buddhist literature, the Aṅguttara-Nikāya² makes mention of Vaṅga only once, and that in place of Vatsa, which seems to be the name intended in this connection.³ References to Vaṅga may be traced in the names of two Buddhist elders, Upasena Vaṅgāntaputta⁴ (son of Vaṅgānta or the end or frontier of Vaṅga) and Vaṅgīsa.⁵ They were persons of considerable distinction and are said to have been contemporaries of Buddha. The Ceylonese Chronicles refer to Vaṅga in the story of Vijaya's landing in the island of Ceylon. It is probable that several centuries before the Christian era Vaṅga began to take an active interest in colonising enterprises abroad. The traditional foundation of a kingdom in Annam in the

¹ Keith, AA, pp. 101, 200. (Veyasini: Vadhāvaradhāś = Cherapadaṣ.)

² Pt. 1, p. 213—PTS. (Vaṅgaṇṇi).

³ *Ibid.* III, LXX. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.* I, XIV. 3; Milindop. VI. 24; SBE., Vol. 36, Part II, p. 270; Aśvaghoṣa, Buddhacarita, XVII. 8.

⁵ AN., I, XIV. 3; also the Vaṅgīsaṇṇa of the Chullavagga. SBE., Vol. 10, Part II, pp. 57-60; Milindop. VII, 3, 42; SBE., Vol. 36, Part II, p. 322.

7th century B.C., by a hero called Lak-lang¹ who came from Vanlang, is regarded by some scholars as a landmark in the history of the colonial expansion of Vaṅga. The dynasty established by Lak-lang lasted till the 3rd century A.D. Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya, illustrates a *sūtra* of Pāṇini by making a reference to the Vaṅgas and their country.² The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya in a chapter dealing with the testing and classification of gems and various other articles to be admitted into the royal treasury (*Kośa-praveśya-ratna-parīkṣā*) mentions the white and soft fabric manufactured in Vaṅga (*Vāṅgakaṁ śretam snigdham dukūlam*) and declares that the cotton fabrics of Mathurā, Kāliṅga, Kāśī, Vaṅga, Vatsa and Mahiṣa to be of the best quality (...*Vāṅgakaṁ...kārpāsikaṁ śreṣṭham*).³

The Purāṇas⁴ speak of the Vaṅgas as allied to the Aṅgas, Suhmas, Puṇḍras and Kāliṅgas. The Vaṅgas, therefore, lived as neighbours of these tribes in the eastern part of India. Tāmralipta (modern Tamlūk in the Midnapore district) was in the immediate neighbourhood of Vaṅga. The Pāṇḍava chief in the course of his eastern conquests is said to have directly proceeded to the kingdom of Tāmralipta from Vaṅga.⁵ According to the Jaina Uṇṇāga, Prajñapana,⁶ which we have already quoted on several occasions, Tāmralipta once belonged to the Vaṅgas. But in the 6th century A.D., the city of Tāmralipta was regarded as situated in the territory of the Suhmas. According to the story of Raghu's *digvijaya*,⁷ as given in the Raghuvarṇā., the hero came to the Vaṅga country after having

¹ Pravaśi, Bhāṭṭa, 1328, pp. 632-33, 175; Navya Bhārata, Kārttika, 1317, p. 432; Col. Gerini, Researches on Ptolemy, pp. 339-340. Ships used to congregate in Vaṅga according to the Milindap. See SBE, 36, Part II, p. 969.

² Kielhorn, II, p. 282.

³ Arthaśāstra, II, XI.

⁴ MKP., p. 325, n.

⁵ Mbht., Sabha, XXX.

⁶ Ind. Ant., 1891, pp. 373-75.

⁷ IV, 36. (Vaṅgān=nikhāya tarasā netaḥ nau-vāḥan=odyānāḥ | nichakṣhān jaya-
stapabhaṇ Gaṇḍa-śrototaraṇu sah ||)

conquered the kingdom of the Suhmas. In this land were to be found islets scattered in the streams of the Ganges, where the people fought in their boats. Vaṅga's position was thus on the eastern side of the Hooghly branch of the Bhāgīrathi, the Suhmas living on the other side. From the short but significant description of the Vaṅga country, contained in the Raghuvaṁśa, it can be inferred that the poet referred to the yet undeveloped territory on the southern coast of Bengal, corresponding to a considerable part of the extensive area now known as the Sundarbans. The earliest epigraphical references to Vaṅga¹ are to be found in the second apsidal temple inscription (F.) at Nagarjunikonda (3rd century) and the Delhi Iron Pillar-inscription of Chandra(?) of about 400 A.D. (*Vaṅgeshu*, l. 1). In the former record Vaṅga is mentioned as having been converted to Buddhism by monks hailing from Tambapanna or Ceylon. In the *Bṛihatsamhitā*² and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* the position assigned to Vaṅga is in the south-east. In the latter work³ it

¹ CII, Vol. III, p. 141; Ep. Ind., XX, pp. 22-23.

² XIV. 8; mis. ref. V. 72, 73, 79; IX. 10; X. 14; XVI, 1; XVII. 18, 22; XXXII. 15; 'Vaṅgara,' a variant of Vaṅga, *ibid*, XI, 60.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar reads 'Sañvaṅgiyāṇam' in the Mauryan Brāhmī inscr. from Mahāsthān (in the Bogra district, North Bengal), which is evidently to be derived from 'Vaṅga.' As the question of the earliest inscriptional reference to Vaṅga is involved in the matter, it is necessary to examine in detail the grounds on which this reading and its interpretation have been defended. The reading in l. 1 of the text is 'Savagī(ā)ṇam' and that in l. 3 'Sañvagiyaṇam.' It is held that none of these is the correct form and that an anusvāra is to be inserted after 'va' in l. 31, on the supposition that the expression intended is Sañvaṅgiyāṇam. This is justified by referring to 'Pṇḍanagale' in l. 2, where a similar omission of an anusvāra is to be noticed between 'Pu' and 'ḍa,' there being no doubt that it stands for Pṇḍanagale. But this analogy has no force until it is definitely known that the expression is what the learned scholar suggests. This is, however, an altogether new word not found elsewhere. Thus the proposed reading is based on an assumption, while in the case of the other expression there is nothing to assume since Pṇḍra is known from numerous sources. The reading thus obtained is next shown to be a 'formation' similar to 'Sañvajji.' In explaining this, reference is made to Hsien-tsang's account of Fu-li-chih (Vrijji), supplemented by the commentator's note on it, saying that the North people called it Sam-fa-chih (Sañvajji) country. In connection with this subject Beal observes that 'the country of the Vrijjis or Samvrijjis, i.e., united Vrijjis, was that of the confederated eight tribes called the Vrijjis or Vajjis, one of which, viz., that of the Lācchhavis dwelt at Vaiḍālī.' Regarding the proposal of treating 'Sañvaṅgiyāṇam' as a case analogous to 'Sañvajji,' it is important not to

has been classed with such territories as Kalinga (extending up to Ganjam or Vizagapatam in the Madras Presidency) and Kosala

overlook that although the form 'Samvajji' or 'Samvijji' is not available from any Indian source, it is well known that the Vajjian confederacy has a history recorded in many Indian texts, while nothing is known from any source whatsoever about the 'Samvaṅgiya' confederacy except what is sought to be inferred from this fragmentary inscr. from Mahāsthān alone. This assumed 'analogy between 'Samvajji' and 'Samvaṅgiya' leads to the theory that some confederate clans in East Bengal were similarly conglomerated under the collective term of 'Samvaṅgiyas.' Of these clans, it is further stated that the 'most prominent' 'at the beginning' was the Vaṅgiyas. This implies that there were other clans besides the Vaṅgiyas whom Dr. Bhandarkar clearly regard as identical with the Vaṅgas. No suggestion is made as to who these were. What is meant by 'at the beginning' is also left unexplained. What happened to this confederacy after the period represented by the Mahāsthān inscr. ? Who took up the primacy enjoyed by the Vaṅgiyas ? The tribe that is known to us from various sources including probably the Aṭṭ Brāhṇ is throughout called Vaṅga. The MP. has 'Vaṅgeya.' This is proposed to be corrected to 'Vaṅgiya' for it occurs in the Mahāsthān inscr. 'which is earlier than any of these 'Purāṇas.' But it cannot be ignored that the same Purāṇa also mentions the Pravaṅgas. Dr. Bhandarkar takes them to have been connected with the Samvaṅgiyas. In that case it would have been consistent to suggest that the correct form was not Pravaṅgas as given in the MP., but Pravaggiya.

It is further concluded that the Puṇḍras also belonged to this confederacy and its capital was Puṇḍranagara referred to in the inscr. In other words the confederacy practically represented a completion of intertribal and political unity of Bengal in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. This is indeed a very bold conjecture to make when the evidence is so meagre.

The inscr. concerns itself with the distribution of relief in times of famine, when measures for helping the distressed people were to be taken with all possible rapidity and promptitude. Could it be possible to serve the needs of this vast confederacy from Puṇḍranagara which is alone mentioned ? According to the translation given by Dr. Bhandarkar it will appear that paddy 'was granted to the Samvaṅgiyas' 'from Puṇḍranagara,' for no other centre for the storage and despatch of articles of relief is mentioned. Presumably as the distribution of relief amongst people living in widely separated areas from a single centre is beset with obvious difficulties, he takes the Samvaṅgiyas in the present case as those 'who were settled in or about the town.' Having already indicated the comprehensive character of the Samvaṅgiya organisation he is now forced to interpret this particular reference to it in a most limited sense. Although Puṇḍranagara was the capital of the confederacy, not even all the people living in it belonged to the organisation. Who were then the other people in the town, who had not joined the Samvaṅgiya confederacy and who, it is implied, were excluded from the benefit of the relief measures mentioned in the inscr. ?

Thus the position taken up by Bhandarkar is far from clear. Probably the expression 'Savagḷy(ā)naṃ' in L. 1 has no geographical or tribal sense, referring on the other hand to those who dwell within a specified portion of Puṇḍranagara. B. M. Barua finds in the expression a reference to the Chhavaggiya of the Buddhist texts. See *IHQ.*, Vol. 10, 1931, pp. 57-666. For the Mahāsthān inscr. ed. by D. R. Bhandarkar see *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, Pt. II, p. 88 ff. also *Ind. Ant.*, 1933, pp. 177-78.

(Chhattisgarh), occupying the right forefoot of the tortoise, in which form India has been represented in this *Purāṇa*. The situation thus ascribed to Vaṅga gives an accurate idea of its geographical position. It lay to the east of the Suhma country (*cf.* *Kālidāsa*). It was, therefore, an eastern territory. As it was bordered by the Bay of Bengal, it was to be located in the south-east. A valuable datum regarding the eastern limit of Vaṅga is supplied by the lexicographer Hemachandra, who uses Vaṅga and Harikela as synonymous terms in his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*.¹ Now, I-tsing,² the Chinese traveller of the latter half of the 7th century A.D., speaks of Harikela (O-li-ki-lo) as the easternmost country of Eastern India. It marked in reality the easternmost limit of Bengal as was constituted in those days. Rājasekhara in his *Karpūramañjarī* refers to Harikeli.³ The name Harikela is known from several other sources, chief of which is the Rāmpāl copper-plate of Śrīchandra (9th century). An earlier reference is available from the Chittagong inscription of Kāntideva (8th century), where the name occurs in a slightly variant form :— Harikelā (-maṇḍala).⁴ From the Rāmpāl (in the Dacca district) grant of Śrīchandra, it appears that Chandradvīpa⁵ was a part of Harikela (*Ādhāro Harikela-rāja-kakuda-chchhatra-smitānām śrīyām yaś = Chandr = opapade ra (ba)bhūra nṛipatir = drīpe*—ll. 9-10, v. 5).⁶ Moreover, the grant was issued from Vikramapura whose location in East Bengal is supported by good reasons. Vikramapura is

¹ (IV. 23).

² *The Life*, Intro. XII.

³ Steu Konow and Lanman, *Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. IV, pp. 9, 227.

⁴ D. C. Bhattacharya and J. N. Sikdar, *Modern Review*, Nov., 1922, pp. 612-14; *Bhāratavarsha*, 1932 B. S., Ashādya, pp. 43-3; *IEQ*, Vol. II, 321-23.

⁵ It was one of the four Parganahe into which Sarkar Bakla was divided at the time of Toder Mā's settlement. Abul Fazl uses Bakla and Chandradvīpa as synonymous terms. See DG (*Bakarganj*), by J. C. Jack, Vol. XXXVI, p. 133; *JRAS.*, 1896, p. 130; *JASB.*, 1878, p. 226.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 136-142. An illustrated SK. Bud. Ms. (No. Add. 1643, A.D. 1015), reads *Harikela-dēse Sūta Lokanāthab* in introducing a miniature representation of Lokanātha, s. Bendall, *CBSM.*, p. 161; Foucher, *Étude sur L'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, Vol. I, pp. 106, 200, n. 55.

known to have belonged to Vaṅga from the evidence of the Edilpur (in the Faridpur district)¹ and the Madanapāḍā copper-plate² (in the Faridpur district) of Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena respectively (*Vaṅge Vikramapura-bhāge*, l. 47—Edilpur; l. 42—Madanapāḍā). In another grant of the latter ruler³ the inclusion of Vikramapura in Vaṅga seems to be implied (ll. 42, 51 :—this copper-plate was recovered from the Dacca district). In the east the Vaṅga country was bounded by the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, which was limited in the south by the Lakshya river, separated from the Brahmaputra.⁴ Thus portions of the present district of Mymensingh, which lie to the north of the Padmā or Dacca river, were comprised in Kāmarūpa. The river Meghnā, an estuary which lets into the Bay of Bengal the combined waters of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, as well as the main stream of the Brahmaputra, appears to have separated Vaṅga from Kāmarūpa in early times. According to the Yoginī Tantra, the country lying to the east of the Brahmaputra was called Kāmarūpa.⁵ Thus portions of northern and eastern Mymensingh (Serpur, Netrakonā, Kishoraganj) were, strictly speaking, outside the limits of Bengal. In the course of time, however, Vaṅga may have included portions of Bengal lying to the east of the Brahmaputra, such as northern and eastern Mymensingh, Comilla, Tippera, Noakhāli, and probably also Chittagong, up to which the Bengal Subah of Akbar extended in the east. In the days of Akbar, Sarkār Sonārgāon, the eastern limit of which is not known, extended from the north of the Dacca district to the Phenī (Fenny) river and the large islands at the mouth of the Ganges, chiefly comprising portions of western

¹ JASB. (N. S.), Vol. X, pp. 99-104.

² JASB., 1896, Part I, pp. 6-15.

³ IHQ., Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 77-86.

⁴ Martin, Eastern India, Vol. III, p. 405.

⁵ Kāmarūpe mahāpūjā sarva-siddhi-phala-praṇaṁ | Nepālasya Kāśchānādrim Brahmaputrasya saṅgamam | Karatoyāṁ samāśritya yāvad = Dikkaravāsinam | Uttarasyāṁ Kuñjagiriḥ Karatoyāṁ paścimam | Pitrtha-śreṣṭhā Dikṣhunadī pūrvasyāṁ Girikaṇṭhake | Dakṣiṇe Brahmaputrasya Lākṣhāyāḥ saṅgam = āvudhi | — Yoginī Tantra, ed. by Jīvananda Bhattacharya, 1897, p. 63. For a reference to Vaṅgaka in the work see p. 119. The affix 'ka' is not uncommon in the text. Cf. for instance Prayāgaka, p. 176.

Tippera and Noākhāli.¹ It is to be noted in this connection that Raghunandana, the Bengal jurist of the 16th century, and the commentary Jayamaṅgalā on Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra refer to Vaṅga as a tract of country situated to the east of the Brahmaputra.² The southerly course of the Brahmaputra, starting from Rangpur (25°47' 89°49'E.) continues for about 148 miles, under the name of Jamunā, through the plains of eastern Bengal as far as its junction with the Padmā, the Dacca branch of the Ganges, at Goālando (23°51' N. 89°46'E). The Jamunā seems to have been regarded as the western (more properly the north-western) limit of Vaṅga, but to a certain extent the main stream of the Brahmaputra also appears to have been meant in the passages quoted above. Thus Vaṅga, which at one time included Tāmralipta, is found to have comprised at least some part of the south of Bengal along the lower courses of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra (Bṛihatsaṃhitā), and gradually included practically the whole of eastern Bengal,³ though the name was sometimes used in a restricted sense. The efforts of Vaṅga towards expansion in the west may have resulted in the creation of "Pravaṅga,"⁴ as a similar movement in the south-eastern direction may have led to the appearance of Upavaṅga, (Vaṅga Minor, according to Kern) which probably represented Noākhāli and Chittagong (= Buddhist Vaṅgānta?), mentioned in the Bṛihatsaṃhitā as a country in the south-east division.⁵ In the course of time, however, Vaṅga's association with the eastern districts of Bengal became much closer than its original ties with places adjoining Rāḍha or Suhma on the west. But the old tradition that the tract of country lying

¹ JASB., 1878, p. 216; XLIII, 82; JRAS, 1896, p. 132.

² Vaṅgo Lohityāt pūrveṣa—Vāky. Sūtra, VI. 5. 25, p. 294, ed. by Dāmodara Govānī; Raghunandana—Lohityāt pūrveṣaḥ Vaṅgaḥ. Vaṅge Suvarṇagrāmādayaḥ. quoted by Svartṣeṇandara Rāya in his Suvarṇagrāmaḥ Itihāsa, 1891, p. 3, fo. pp. 3-6.

³ Geographical Dictionary, p. 22.

⁴ MEK., p. 225, n. "Those who are in front of the Vaṅgas, i.e., the Aṅgas" (Pargiter).

⁵ XIV 8.

to the east of the Hooghly once belonged to Vaṅga (Vaṅgāla) still lives in the popular memory. Vaṅgāla-*desa*, in the sense of eastern Bengal, has been used in the Tirumalai inscription of the first quarter of the 11th century. The expression 'Vaṅgālī' and 'Vaṅgāla' were familiar to the early mediæval poetry, of which specimens have been discovered by MM. H. P. Śāstri from Nepāl (*Ājī Bhūsu Vaṅgālī bha-ilī*).¹ In this connection notice may be taken of the Ablur Kanarese inscription [E]² which refers to Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla in the same verse, which has led some to use it as an evidence in support of their view that these originally represented two distinct portions of Bengal.³ It is, however, not clear that any material difference has been indicated in the record which simply says that the Kalachurya prince Bijjala 'ground Vaṅga in a mill' and fought and killed 'the king of Baṅgāla (ll. 53-54). Secondly, the author's treatment of the subject of Bijjala's military expeditions and triumphs seem to be more imaginary than truthful. Besides, the text although assigned by Fleet to c. 1200 A.D., bears evidence of modification by a person other than its original author. The reference to a Vaṅga king (*Yo Vaṅgarāja-rājyaśrī-viśrāma-sachivah śuchiḥ*, ll. 6-7) in the Bhuvaneswar inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva⁴ has been generally taken to apply to a ruler whose line was closely connected with eastern Bengal, making grants of lands from the victorious camp at Vikramapura in the Dacca district.⁵ The Belāva (in the Narayanaganj subdivision of the Dacca district) copper-plate⁶ of Bhojavarman was issued from the same place. The references to Vaṅga available from the Sena records, of which notice has already been taken, also tend to prove

¹ Charyā-Charya-Viniśchaya in *Bauddha-Gāṇ-o-Dohā*, ed. by H. P. Śāstri, p. 73 (49.1). The text also mentions Vaṅga, s. p. 60 (39.2).

² Ep. Ind., V, pp. 237-260.

³ Ray Chaudhuri, *Antiquities*, p. 189.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 213-07. On this, cf. Taylor, p. 92; CASR, XV, pp. 127-28.

⁵ For a lost copper-plate grant of Harivarman, see IB, p. 168; MAB, Vol. V, pp. 97-98; *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihās*, Vol. II, pp. 215-217.

⁶ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 37-43.

that Vaṅga in the 12th century corresponded to eastern Bengal. Unfortunately, place-names of eastern Bengal, mentioned in these documents, cannot all be identified in a satisfactory manner. In the 12th century Vaṅga had two principal subdivisions, viz., *Nāvyā* and *Vikramapura*. That *Nāvyā* was a part of Vaṅga is made clear through a copper-plate grant of Viśvarūpasena¹ (*Vaṅge Nāvyē*, l. 42). The village *Sāmasiddhi-pāṭaka*² was situated in this division (l. 42), with boundaries as follows:—*Varāha-kunḍa* (a spring or a well ?) on the south-west ; the religious endowment at *Devalhāra* on the east (*pūrvē Devalhāra-deva-bhoga-sīmā*, l. 42) ; the land, belonging to *Vāṅgālavaḍā* (a village) in the south ; a river on the west ; the same river on the north. *Devalhāra*, occurring in this statement of boundaries, appears again in line 44 of the same inscription (*Devalhāra-uttare*). Another village under the jurisdiction of *Nāvyā* was *Vinayatilaka* (-*grāma*), on the east of which lay the sea, on the south *Pranullībḥū* (a village), on the west a dyke (*jaṅgāla-sīmā*) and on the north it was bounded by its own limit (*uttare śā-sana-sīmā*, l. 48). This part of eastern Bengal, extending up to the sea (*pūrvē Samudra-sīmā*), seems to have enjoyed particular facilities as a centre of navigation (cf. *Nāvyā* = navigable). It may have corresponded to the tract of country lying along the lower course of the *Padmā*. It cannot be definitely stated if *Madhukshīrak* (lit. honey and thickened milk) = *āṇṇṇṇi* was a part of *Nāvyā*. It has been separately mentioned in line 65 of this inscription (*Nāvyā-Madhukshīraka-Vaṅga-bhāgeshu*). To this *āṇṇṇi* belonged *Navasaṅgraha-chaturaka* (a place where there was a stable for a new collection of elephants ?), in which was situated *Ajikulā-pāṭaka*. As its boundaries were well known, the grant leaves them undefined (*yathā-prasiddha-śca-sīmā* = *āvachchhinna*, l. 49). Besides *Nāvyā*, *Vikramapura* which was at this time another subdivision of Vaṅga. It occupied an important place in the military annals of Bengal

¹ IHQ., Vol. II, 1926, pp. 84-86.

² N. G. Majumdar reads the name as *Rāmasiddhipāṭaka*. See IB., p. 146, also n. 1.

for a fairly long period. Grants were issued from Vikramapura by successive rulers. The four grants of Śrīchandra (Rāmpāl,¹ Kedārpur,² Dhulīā³ and Edilpur⁴) were all made from the victorious camp at Vikramapura (a capital town?). Similarly, the two grants of Bhojavarman and Harivarman had Vikramapura for their place of issue. The fragmentary copper-plate inscription of Sāmalavarman⁵ recently discovered from Vajrayogini, a village in the Bikramapur Pargana of the Dacca district, appears to show that the grant recorded in it was also issued from the same centre. It may be added here that line 10 of this inscription contains an expression, which, as it is, should probably read *yad-Vāṅga* (derived from *Vaṅga*). All the grants of the Sena period, so far brought to light, with the exception of the Mādhainagar copper-plate of Lakshmaṇasena⁶ and the records of his sons Keśava and Viśvarūpa, were announced from this place. (The copper-plates of the Senas, issued from Vikramapura, are the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena,⁷ the Naihāti grant of Vallālasena⁸ the Ānuliā,⁹ Govindapur, Tarpaṇḍighi¹⁰ and Sundarban grants¹¹ of Lakshmaṇasena). According to the Edilpur copper-plate of Keśavasena (end of the 12th century A.D.)¹² Tālapaḍā-pāṭaka was situated in the Vikramapura-bhāga (l. 47). On its east was Satrakādvī village, on the south lay (the villages of?) Śāṅkara-pāśā¹³ and Govindakeli (*Śāṅkarapāśā-Govindakelino bhūh*, l. 48),

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 136-142.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, pp. 188-92.

³ IB, Appendices, pp. 165-166.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, pp. 182-90; Dacca Review, 1912, October.

⁵ N. K. Bhattachali, *Bhāraṇavarṇa*, B. S. 1340, Kārttika, pp. 674-81.

⁶ JASB. (N. S.), Vol. V, p. 47ff.

⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 279-83, *Sāhitya*, Vol. XXXI (1324 B. S.), pp. 81, ff.

⁸ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 156-68.

⁹ JASB., Vol. LXIX, Pt. I, pp. 61-65; *Antihāsika Chitra*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 277-300.

¹⁰ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 6-10; S. P., Vol. XVII, pp. 135ff.

¹¹ Rāṅgati Nyāyaraṇa's *Essay on Bengali Language and Literature—Vāṅgali-Bhāṣā-o-Sāhitya-Vishayaka Prastāva*, Third ed., App. Kha.; IB, pp. 169-72.

¹² JASB., N. S., Vol. X, p. 98ff.; IB, p. 118 ff.

¹³ There is a village of this name (believed to have been a place of some importance in the past), 8 miles to the S.W. of the subdivisional town of Habiganj in the Sylhet district s. ASB, 1928-29, p. 49.

on the west...Śaṅkaragrāma, on the north of Vāgulivittagada ...mānabbūḥ). The Madanapādā copper-plate of Viśvarūpasena (Keśavasena's brother)¹ mentions two villages belonging to the Vikramapura-bhāga, viz., Piñjokāstī (modern Piñjāri in the Kotālīpādā Pargana of the Faridpur district, near Madanapādā, where the grant was found) and Kandarpāśaṅkarā. The boundaries of the former village, as given in the grant, were the dyke of the village Athapāga (-grāma--*jaṅgālabhūḥ*, l. 42) in the east, the village Vārayīpādā in the south, the village Unchōkāstī in the west and the dyke of Vīrakāṭṭī (-*jaṅgāla-sīmā*) in the north. On the evidence of the Madanapādā inscription, it may be concluded that the Vikramapura-bhāga comprised at least a part of the Faridpur district to the west of Dacca. In the new grant of Viśvarūpasena² which is preserved in the Museum of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat, Lāuhaṇḍā-chaturaka has been assigned to the same division, which included Deūlahastī, with the river Rājahatā running along the east and the west (*Nadī-pūrrva-pāśchime Rājahatā sa eva*, l. 51). Several other places mentioned in this grant, including an island, may have belonged to Vikramapura. The island, the name of which cannot be correctly read (Kanyadvīpa, Kandradvīpa, Chandradvīpa : l. 56 ; l. 57), comprised Urāchaturaka and Pātīlādivīka. A place called Ghāgharakāṭṭī, lying to the east of Jayajāhadā, has been placed under Urāchaturaka (l. 56). In the concluding part of the grant these places have evidently been grouped under the Vikramakura-bhāga (ll. 65-67).

The geography of Vaṅga was intimately connected with that of Samatāṭa³ which is mentioned for the first time in the Allahabad Praśasti of Samudragupta as a border kingdom, grouped with Karttṛipura (Katarpur in the Jalandhar district, including Kumaun, Gharwal and Rohilkhand), Kāmarūpa,

¹ JASB., 1896, Pt. I, p. 6 ff. ; IB., 132 ff.

² IHQ., Vol. II, No. I, pp. 77-86 ; IB., p. 143 ff.

³ The Atharva Parīśiṣṭa refers to Samatāṭa (JBORS. 1919, p. 39). This is a late work.

Ḍavāka, and Nepāla (Samataṭa-Ḍavāka-Kāmarūpa-Nepāla-Kartṭipur = ādi-pratyanta-nṛpatibhir...v. 22).¹ In the topographical chapter of the *Bṛhatsamhitā*² Samataṭa appears as an eastern country. References to this land can be gleaned from several inscriptions, dating from about the 9th to the 12th century A.D., viz., the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (*Sat-Samataṭa-janmanā*)³ the Bāghāurā inscription of Mahipāla I (from the Tippera district),⁴ a Bodhgaya inscription of Viryendra-bhadra⁵ and the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena.⁶

These stray allusions to Samataṭa supplied by indigenous sources are largely supplemented by the evidence derived from the Chinese Records. In the 7th century Hiuen-tsang visited this country. According to the Records⁷ he came to Samataṭa, having travelled a distance of 1,200 li to the south of Kāmarūpa. From Samataṭa he proceeded to Tāmralipta, which lay to the west. As we have stated on a former occasion, his biographer⁸ gives a different account of the stages of his journey in Bengal, according to which his visit to Samataṭa was made not from Kāmarūpa but Kāṇasuvārṇa. The two versions, however, agree in regard to the journey from Samataṭa to Tāmralipta.

¹ C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 8.

² XIV. 6.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 304 ff.

⁴ Ep. Ind., XVII, pp. 358-55.

⁵ ASI., 1906-09, p. 159. Cf. *Sri Sāmataṭika*—the ins. refers to a great monastery at Somapura (pravarā-mahāyāna-yāyinaḥ Śrīmat-Somapura-mahāvihariya-vinayavit-athavira-Viryendrabhadra (= sya). *Tāranāth* informs us that Devapāla constructed a monastery at Somapura (Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, p. 366). This (Soma Pūri Vihāra) is also mentioned in the *Pag Sam Jon Zang* (ed. by Sarat Chandra Das, Part I, pp. 111, 118). Mr. N. Majumdar placed it in the Dacca district shown in Rennell's map. It is doubtful if eastern Bengal belonged to Devapāla. (N. G. Majumdar, SPP., BS., 1823, Pt. I, pp. 68 ff.) But see Paharpur Inscr. (Ep. Ind., XX, p. 69; also cf. *ibid.*, XXI, pp. 97 ff.). There is a village called Ompur, a mile to the south of the Paharpur mound (in the Rājshāhi district), which may have corresponded to Somapura where the Buddhist village of Dharmapāla stood. For inscribed images from Samataṭa, see N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 12-13; also Foucher, *Etude Sur L'Iconographie...*, Nos. 19, 59, pp. 108, 200 for mention of Samataṭa in a SK. Bud. MS. with illustrations bearing labels.

⁶ Ep. Ind., XV, p. 278 ff.

⁷ Beal, *Si-yu-ki*.

⁸ Beal, *The Life*, Bk. IV, pp. 182-183.

Samatāṭa¹ in the days of Hiuen-tsang had its frontiers bordering on the Bay of Bengal. It was a "*bas pays littoral*," as Lassen calls it. It must have extended to the furthest eastern limit of Bengal. To its north-east (a mistake for south-east?) was the country called Shih-li-chi-talo among the hills near the sea. From the Records and the Biography, describing the itinerary of Hiuen-tsang, the position of Samatāṭa in relation to the several countries situated in its neighbourhood may be thus indicated. It lay to the south of Kāmarūpa (in Assam) to the south-east of Karmasuvārṇa (in the Murshidābād district), and to the east of Tāmralipta (in the Midnapore district). Cunningham concludes from the details of route and distance supplied by the traveller himself that he must have started for Tāmralipta on the west from some such place as Jessore, and that the journey was a mixed one, partly by land and partly by water. In the opinion of Fergusson² Samatāṭa, referred to by Hiuen-tsang, should be taken as identical with the Dacca district, 'the former capital of which was Sonargaon' (= Sonagoura of Ptolemy?), while Watters considers its identification with the Faridpur district most likely. As a matter of fact all these different districts may have easily formed parts of Samatāṭa. As it was bordered by the sea, it must have included southern Bengal. I-tsing, a junior contemporary of Hiuen-tsang, speaks of Samatāṭa where Seng-chi, a priest and companion of Ling-wan, arrived from the southern sea-route from China.³ According to a statement made by him, Rājabhāṭa was the king of Samatāṭa in the 7th century A.D. If the Ashrafpur (in the Dacca district) copper-plates of Devakhaḍga are to be assigned to the line of rulers represented by Rājabhāṭa of Samatāṭa, a theory which seems to be acceptable to most scholars, it will appear that the capital of this kingdom was at Karmānta (*Karmānta-cāsakāt*), which has been identified, probably correctly, with the modern village of Bar-kāntā, twelve miles

¹ Watters. Vol. II, pp. 187-189.

² JRAS., 1878, p. 242

³ The Life, p. xii

west of the town of Comilla.¹ The Nārāyaṇa Image inscription of the reign of Mahīpāla² (10th century) found at Bāghāurā, a village near the subdivisional town of Brāhmanbāriā in the Tippera district, which mentions Samataṭa (l. 2), may be utilised as a contributory source of evidence, in the same way as the light thrown by the find-spot of an old relic should be in similar circumstances. Moreover, this inscription refers to a village called Vi(Bi)lakīṇḍaka as situated in Samataṭa, which may be identified with the modern Bilakīṇḍuāi, a village lying in the neighbourhood of Bāghāurā. Of the various places mentioned in the Ashrafpur copper-plates,³ at least two are believed to be situated in the Dacca district. Talapāṭaka (l. 8, Plate B) may be identified with modern Talapārā, and (Tīsanāḍajaya-) Dattakaṭaka (l. 10, Plate A) with Duttgāon, both under the Police Station of Raipurā in the Dacca district. Other names noted in these plates are A(?)talyōḍyānikataralā, Kodārachoraka (*cf.* Vyaghrachoraka of the Gḥaghrabati inscriptions), Re(?)latalaka, Paranāṭananāda-Varmi, Palaśata, Śivahradikāsoḡgavargga, Rollavāyika-Ugravo-(cho?)raka, Markaṭāsipāṭaka, Vatsanāḡapāṭaka, Navaropya, Paranāṭana (or nāṭaka?), Darapāṭaka, Dvārodaka, Vyāramuggukā. Besides the Ashrafpur copper-plates, the Bhārellā Nartteśvara Image inscription of the reign of Layahachandradeva from Tippera contains a reference to Karmānta. In this record⁴ (10th century) Kusumadeva is described as the chief of Karmānta. An attempt has been made to interpret the geographical details contained in the Gunaighar grant⁵ of Vainyagupta (507-08 A.D.) as applying to portions of Samataṭa, corresponding to the present district of Tippera. There is, however, no mention in the inscription of any of the familiar names of East Bengal,

¹ JASB. (N. S.), 1914, pp. 83, 88; Ep. Ind., XVII, pp. 353, 355.

² JASB. (N. S.), 1915; Ep. Ind., XVII, pp. 353-55.

³ Ashrafpur copper-plate grants of Devakhaḍga, ed. by Gangamohan Laskar, MAB., Vol. I, p. 85 ff.

⁴ JASB. (N. S.), 1914 p. 85 ff.; Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, pp. 349 ff.

⁵ IHQ., 1930, pp. 45-60; *ibid.*, 1933, pp. 786-88; 989-91.

current in the past. The fact that the village *Guṇekāgrahāra* which appears as a boundary-mark in respect of two plots of land may be identified with the modern Gunaighar in the Bardākḥāt or Baldakhāl Pargana, a village about 18 miles from Comilla town, is the chief reason for supposing that the geography of the grant had its setting in the region as indicated above. Gunaighar is reported to be an ancient site : besides the present inscription, it has yielded some Buddhist and Brahmanical images and there is also a mound in it, popularly known by the name Chūḍār Pār, which is believed to cover the remains of some old building. The inscription records the grant of several plots of land, details of which are given in a long account covering nearly 14 lines of the text. The facsimile of the grant supplied by the editor being blurred, and, hence, useless for a critical study, there is no other alternative at present but to adopt his own reading. Some of the names sound curious, and in places readings are doubtful. It will appear from what follows that the localities indicated were inhabited by a thriving population, endowed with advantages of transport and communication, and with Buddhist and Brahmanical institutions flourishing side by side. Plot I measuring seven *pāṭakas* and nine *dronarāpas* was bounded in the east by the village *Guṇekāgrahāra* and the field belonging to the carpenter (*cardhaki*-) Viṣṇu in the south, by the field of Miduvilāla (*vilāla*—Sk.,—an instrument, a machine; cf. *bilāla*—a cat used as a totem, or a combination of *bil* and *āl* ?) and the field belonging to the royal *vihāra* or monastery (*Rāja-vihāra-kshettraṇ-cha*) in the west, by the field of Sūrināśīram = pūrṇeka (?) in the north, the Doshibhoga tank (or the Devibhoga tank meant for the use of a female deity, or one excavated by or in memory of some princess ?) and the fields of Vampiyāka, Ādityabandhu and others. Plot II (28 *dronarāpas*) was bounded in the east by the village of *Guṇekāgrahāra*, in the south by the field of Pakku Vilāla, in the west by the field belonging to the royal *vihāra*, and in the north by the field of a *Vaidya* or physician. Plot III (23 *dronarāpas*) had the following

boundaries :—the field of Nakhaddārchcharika(?) in the south, the field of J(o)lārī in the west, the field of Nagījodāka (Two Nāgīs ?) in the north and a field (name not read) in the east. Plot IV (30 *droṇavāpas*) had the fields of Buddhāka, Kālāka, (S)ūrya and Mahipāla as its boundaries respectively in the east, south, west and north. Plot V (2 *pātakas*) was bounded in the east by the field of Khaṇḍaviḍ(u)ggūrika, in the south by the field of Maṇibhadra, in the west by the field of Yajñarāta, and the village Nādaḍadaka in the north. The boundary-marks of the low lands (*tala-bhūmer...*) belonging to the *vihāra* (cf. plots I and II) were as follows :—Jolā between Chūdāmaṇi and Nagaraśrī (*nau-yogayor=mmadhye*) where boats were used for conveyance (east) ; a water-course open to boats (*nau-khāṭah*), (joined) to the tank of Gaṇeśvara Vilāla (south), the end of the field belonging to the temple of Pradyumneśvara (west) ; the channel called Praḍāmāra fordable by boats (*nau-yoga-khāṭah*). The boundary-marks of the uncultivated (*Khila*) *hajjika* lands leading to the *Vihāra*, for which no additional tax was charged, were the field belonging to the temple of Pradyumneśvara in the east, the field and quarters of the Buddhist monk (*Sākya-bhikshu*) Āchārya Jitasena, who was the Head of the *Vihāra* (*Vaihārika*) in the south, the Ha(?)chāta Gaṅga in the west and the tank of Daṇḍa in the north. The localities named seem to have been comprised in Uttara-Maṇḍala including the village Kāntedadaka (*Uttara-Māṇḍalike...grāme*). This is supposed to have represented the southern portion of the district of Tippera. It is, however, useless to speculate in this manner on such insufficient data. The name *Uttara-Maṇḍala* suggests that there was possibly a *Southern Maṇḍala* also. It cannot be said how far the latter extended. The grant was issued from Kripura of unknown identity, where a camp was pitched and an army posted, complete in all its essential parts including a navy (*Mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-jayaskandhāvārāt Kripurād*—l. 11). The district of Tippera (Comilla) is full of large *khals* and *bils*, streams and waterways, 'the most general means of communication' being by

boat.¹ The Gunaighar grant points to a region where rivers and channels must have played an important part in the life of the people. There was probably a system of watercourses running towards the Meghnā river on the west, which empties itself into the Bay of Bengal.² About one hundred and fifty years ago, 'in the time of Major Rennell, the confluence of the Meghnā with the Brahmaputra was.....near the village of Bhyrab Bazar.' Along the course of this river much trade may have once passed, in which the surrounding tracts of country participated to their mutual advantage. The river Gumti flowing from the east towards the west finally loses itself in the Meghnā, regarding which Smart,³ writing in 1866, remarks that 'it is navigable for small boats throughout the year' but that during the rains it 'has a rapidity scarcely compatible with navigation upwards.' Bar-kāmta with which Samatata's capital, Karmānta, has been sought to be identified is near the northern bank of this river. There was plenty of natural facilities for internal trade. In a land like this, country boats, sloops and coasting vessels would be as much important for the purposes of communication, trade and transport, as fleet for military operations and manoeuvres. The name 'Gaṅga'⁴ referred to in l. 31 of the inscription is to be taken in the sense of a river (*cf.* gāṅg). We hear of a Burīgaṅgā falling into Titās; the river Dākātīa⁵ was also known by the name Sindurgangā. Then, there is the pargana of Gangāmandal⁶ (*cf.* Uttara Gangānagar comprising 27 villages; and Gangānagar Jolae having two villages,⁷ which Webster defines as an area of 154 square miles, containing 14 estates). All these names shew that perhaps it may not be impossible to trace the course of the Gaṅgā of the Gunaighar grant among the existing rivers of

¹ J. E. Webster, D.G. (Tippura), 1910.

² G.R. Smart, Geographical and Statistical Report on the District of Tippura, 1866, p. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴ IHQ, 1930, p. 49.

⁵ Geographical and Statistical Report, p. 6.

⁶ DG. (Tippura), p. 112.

⁷ Geographical and Statistical Report, p. 17.

these two districts of eastern Bengal. The name “*Sataṭa-Padmāvatī-vishaya*,”¹ which occurs in the Edilpur plate of Śrīchandra-Deva, issued from Vikramapura, may be an abbreviated form of *Samataṭa-Padmāvatī-vishaya*. It may be just as well that the expression as it stands is complete, signifying that this district of Padmāvatī was situated on the banks of a river. Gangamohan Laskar deduces from the name the inference that it “was probably a district on the banks of the Padmā river.” If *Sataṭa* is to be taken as a contraction of *Samataṭa*, the district, on whichever side of the Padmā river it may have been situated, will appear to have been regarded as a part of this territory. To this *Padmāvatī vishaya* belonged a *maṇḍala* (an administrative subdivision), called *Kumārātālakā*, which had a village of the name of *Leliyā*.²

It has been already noted that according to Hiuen-tsang and his biographer *Samataṭa* was bounded on one side by the sea, which must be the Bay of Bengal in the south. This may naturally lead to the inference that the districts of 24-Parganas, *Khulnā*, *Backergunge*, etc., standing near the sea, were incorporated into *Samataṭa*. In the Barrackpore grant of Vijayasena³ it is stated that an assignment of land was made in the *Khāḍī vishaya*, which was measured according to the standard prevalent in *Samataṭa* (*Samataṭīyanalena*. I. 33). This makes it highly probable that the *Khāḍī vishaya* was a district that lay within the jurisdiction of *Samataṭa*. In the Sundarban copper-plate of Lakshmapasena *Khāḍī* is given as the name of a *maṇḍala*. In the Diamond Harbour subdivision of the 24-Parganas there are still a village⁴ and a Pargana, both known by the name of *Khāḍī*. In the *Dākārṇava Khāḍī*⁵ is mentioned as one of the 64 sacred places of the Śāktas.

¹ In the *Brahmaṇḍa* section of the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa* Varendra is described as lying to the east of *Padmāvatī*, see *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 420.

² *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 189.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 273 ff.

⁴ In the *Chandraprabhā* by Bharatamallikā (1675 A.D.), there is a mention of *Khāḍī-rāma* (ed. by Vinoda Lala Sena Gupta, p. 11). Hunter's *Statistical Account of the 24-Parganas*, pp. 106, 235. For *Antiquities of Sundarban*, see Kālidās Datta's serial and illustrated articles, *Vasumatī*, *Jyāishṭha*, *Kārttika*, *Māgha*, 1334 B.S.; *Annual Report of the V. R. Society for 1928-29*; *V. R. Research Society's Monographs*, No. 8, pp. 1-18; *ibid.*, No. 4, pp. 1-17.

⁵ *DCSM.*, Vol. I, 1917, p. 92.

The copper-plate grant of Śrī-Maḍommaṇapāla¹ from Sundarban, dated S. 1118 (=1196 A.D.), refers to a village named Dhāmahithā situated in the eastern part of Khāṭikā (ll. 3, 7), which is probably to be equated with Khāḍī. It is likely that the chief town of this area was Dvārahataka where formal approval of the grant was secured. There was a Buddhist monument outside the village Dhāmahithā (*ratna-traya-vahī*). In the Barrackpur grant of Vijaya-sena a village called Ghāsasambhogabhāṭṭabādā (=Bhāṭpādā?) has been assigned to the Khāḍī *riṣhaya* (l. 32), which was partly bounded on the north, west and south by the stream of Tikshahāṇḍa (*Khāḍī-riṣhaye Ghāsasambhogabhāṭṭabādā-grāme Tikshahāṇḍi-jal-ārdha-sīmā-dikṣiṇa-pūschim-ottaranti*, ll. 31-32). According to the lost Sundarban copper-plate, some land (in Muṇḍalagrāma?) stated to have been given to a Brāhmin, was situated in Kāntallapurachaturika, which belonged to the Khāḍī-muṇḍala. A part of the Chitāḍī canal is said to have been its southern boundary (*Dakṣiṇe Chitāḍī-khāt-ārdham sīma*). There is still a canal of this name (Chitāḍī khāl) in the Khāḍī pargana of the Diamond Harbour Subdivision.² The fact that both the Khāḍī-*riṣhaya* and the Khāḍī-muṇḍala have been assigned to the Pauṇḍravardhana-bhukti in the two grants need not necessarily mean that they were geographically comprised in the territory known as Pauṇḍravarddhana. In the same way Vaṅga is found relegated to the Pauṇḍravardhana-bhukti. Cunningham's theory that Samatāṭa "included the whole of the present Delta, or triangular tract between the Bhagirathi river and the mainstream of the Ganges" was very near the truth, but we have now to give a careful consideration to the necessity of revising this view in the light of recent researches which suggest that Samatāṭa extended beyond the eastern limit proposed by that scholar. A part of Samatāṭa in the delta of the Ganges, till recently infested by the 'Royal Bengal' tigers, of which Sundarban is still a

¹ B. C. Sen, *IHQ*, 1934, pp. 329-331.² Bhāratavarsha, 1322 B.S., p. 623.

remnant, probably used to be called Vyāghrataṭi from about the 8th to the 12th century. It is mentioned in the Khālimpur grant¹ of Dharmapāla, the Nālanda inscription of his son and successor Devapāla² (*Vyāghrataṭi-maṇḍal-ādhipatiḥ*, v. 51) and the Ānuliā copper-plate of Lakshmapasena. In the first of these documents the Mahantāprakāśa-*rishaya* is said to be attached to the Vyāghrataṭi-*maṇḍala* (*Vyāghrataṭi-maṇḍala samva(mba)ddha-Mahantāprakāśa-risa(sha)ye*, l. 31), and under this *rishaya* there was a village called Krauñchaśvabhragāma. There is a complicated account of the boundaries of this and three other villages, which is difficult to understand in some places. The name Gaṅginikā, as we have noticed elsewhere, is contained in the Khālimpur, Vappaghoshavāṭa and Nidhānpur inscriptions. These different references may or may not be applicable to the same river, but the suggestion that in Jayanāga's Plate River Jalangī in the Nadia district is meant has been challenged by R. D. Banerjee. Bounded on the west by Gaṅginikā, the village Krauñchaśvabhra had a temple of Kādambarī³ and a palm tree in the north (*uttareṇa Kādamva(mba)ri-devakulikā kharjjūra-rīkshaś-cha*, l. 32); a dike constructed by the Rājaputra Devata (*pūrrv-ottareṇa rāja-puttra-Devata-kṛit-ālīḥ*, l. 32) to the north-east, which extended as far as a citron-grove (?) where it entered Vijapūraka(-*n-gatrā pravishṭā*, l. 33). On its east lay the Viṭaka dike, which entered a waterway (*pūrrveṇa Viṭakālīḥ lhātaka-yānikā(m) gatrā pravishṭā*, l. 33) and overtaking one Jambū (a rose apple tree)-track, reached another such pathway (-*yānikām = ākramya jamvū[mbū]-yānika[m] gatā*, ll. 33-34). Having issued thence it went to a half of the Puṇyārāma pool (*tato = pi ni[h] sṛitya puṇyārāma-vi[bi]lc-ārdhaśro[sro]tikā[m]*) attached to the Puṇyārāma (a garden), whence issuing again, it passed to the northern end of Nalacharmmaṭa (*tato-ni(niḥ)sṛitya Nalacharmma-*

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 243 ff.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 310 ff.

³ Kādambārī (= Śarasvatī), devakulikā (= devula, a temple); GLM., p. 26 n.

(*t-o*)*ttarāntam gatā*]. The boundaries to the south of Nalacharmmaṭa, given in a passage of obscure meaning, are difficult to follow. It contains a series of names, probably denoting interesting objects of the locality concerned, throwing light on its cults and the ethnic character of its population, such as Khaṇḍa-muṇḍamukha, Nāmuṇḍikāpiha, Khaṇḍamukha, Vedasavi(bi)lvika (the Vedasa pool, l. 35). The last of these names is connected with Rohitavāṭi (lit. the Red House), which is bounded by Piṇḍāravāṭi-joṭikā [*Vedarit(bi)lvikāto rohitavāṭiḥ piṇḍāravāṭi-joṭikā-sīmā*, l. 36]. This was the southern limit of Uktārajoṭa as well as of the village pool [...*dakṣiṇāntaḥ grāma-ri(bi)lvasya cha dakṣiṇ-āntaḥ(m?) | devikā sīmā riṭi | dharmamāyo-joṭikā* |, l. 37). The temple of a goddess served as the boundary of Viṭi and Dharmamāyo-joṭikā (the translation is very doubtful). Another village called Madhāsāmmala (*cf. Mayūrasālmali*—Nidhānpur Plates), appears to have belonged to the same division (*cram-Mādhā-sāmmali nāma grāmah*). To the north of it lay Gaṇḍinikā, thence on the east along its half stream it reached a half of the mango-track(?) (*ataḥ pūrreṇ-ārdḍhaśro[sro]tikayā āmra-yāna-kol-ārdḍha-yānikān=gataḥ*, l. 38). Thence, again, in the south lay the Kālikā pit (*ato-pi dakṣiṇena Kālikāśrabrah*, l. 39). Issuing as far as Śrīphalau(bh)ishouka, to the west of which it entered Gaṇḍinikā through the stream that lay at the head of the pool (*ri[bijraṅgo[bilraṅgo?]rādha-śro[sro]tikayā Gaṇḍinikām pra-rishṭā*, ll. 39-40). The third village, apparently included in the Vyāghrataṭṭimaṇḍala, was Pālītaka. Its boundaries were in the south the Kāṇā island (*dakṣiṇena Kāṇā drīpikā*, l. 40), in the east the Konṭhiyā river (*pūrreṇa Konṭhiyā srotah*, l. 40), in the north Gaṇḍinikā and in the west Janandāyikā.

In the Ānuliā copper-plate of Lakshmaṇasena, Vyāghrataṭṭi is not specified as a *maṇḍala*. It had a village named Mātharaṇḍiyā, in which the land granted had for its northern limit a banyan tree with a marshy ground (*Jalapilla*=an accumulation of water) in the south, the Śāntigopī village in the west, and Mālāmañchavāṭi in the north (ll. 35-38).

One of the traditional geographical units of Bengal is Vāgaḍī.¹ Vāgḍī, Vāghḍī or Bāgḍī can be explained as the Bengali form for Vagghaḍī or Vagghaḍī,² which represents in Prakrit the Sanskrit form *Vyāghrataṭī* which is at least as old as the time of Dharmapāla (8th century or early 9th century A.D.). It has been supposed that *Vyāghrataṭī* (=Bāgḍī)³ corresponded to the whole delta between the Ganges and the Brahmaputra including the present city of Calcutta. The actual geographical limits of the region denoted by this name cannot be ascertained in the absence of definite proof. What may appear to be the only clue on this point is supplied by the Khālimpur record⁴ making a reference to a certain *Gaṅginikā* (=Jalangi?). But too much reliance cannot be placed on this alone, as there is no evidence from which it may be permitted to conclude that the same river is meant in the different records in which this term occurs. The *Vyāghrataṭī-maṇḍala* was a political division during the reign of Dharmapāla, and even if *Vyāghrataṭī* may

¹ Ballāla Charitam by Ananda Bhāṭṭa, ed. by H. P. Sastri, Bib. Ind., I, 8.

² S. N. Majumdar, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III, Orientalia, Pt. 2, pp. 423-24. The name is sometimes connected with the Sanskrit *Vaka-dvīpa*. S. K. Chatterjee holds that this is phonetically inadmissible—HODBL., p. 74, n. 1.

³ *Vaṅga* in this limited sense seems to have been known to the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nāṣiri* who refers to it (by a Bengali connection with the descendants of the Setas who lived there about 1260 A.D., see Raverly, pp. 267, 151. Before the Muhammadan conquest Bengal is said to have been divided into five districts: (1) Rājha, (2) Bāgḍī, (3) *Vaṅga*, (4) Varendra, (5) Mithilā. Bāgḍī denoted the delta of the Ganges, while *Vaṅga*, the country to the east of and beyond the delta. See JASB., 1873, XLII, Pt. 2, p. 211; Francis Buchanan (Hamilton), *A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of the District of Dinajpur*, p. 21. The latter appears to have been right in regarding the eastern portion of the delta as comprised in *Vaṅga*. See "Buchanan Records," CR, 1894, July, p. 2. Pargiter defined *Vaṅga* as an area constituted by the modern districts of Murshidābād, Nadia, Jessore, parts of Rājshahi, Pabna and Faridpur. See JASB., 1897, LXVI, Pt. I, p. 97. This does not seem to be quite an accurate description, see Cunningham's Report of a Tour, ASI, Vol. XV, pp. 145 ff. The boundaries of Bāgḍī, given by Cunningham, are the Jalangi, the Meghna and the sea on the south. He takes it as roughly corresponding to Samatāṭa, while *Vaṅga*, according to him, practically comprised only the present districts of Dacca and part of Mymensingh. For *Vaṅga*, as he says, was bounded on the west by the Brahmaputra, the Ganges (=Padmā) on the south, the Meghna on the East and the Khassia hills on the north. Also see Martin, *Eastern India*, 1835, Vol. II, pp. 613-614.

⁴ Ep. Ind., IV, p. 242 ff.

have literally meant the whole Tiger-coast, it is quite possible that politically its boundaries were different. In the 11th and 12th centuries, when Vaṅga generally corresponded to eastern Bengal, the eastern part of Vyāghrataṭī, as understood by some scholars, may have been comprised in Vaṅga or Harikela which in the 11th century exercised control over Chandradvīpa. According to the interpretation put upon Kālidāsa's account of Raghu's exploits this region formed part and parcel of the Vaṅga country. The same was the position in the time of Varāhamihira, when the whole region may have been divided between Vaṅga and Samatāṭa. In the days of Hiuen-tsang the coastal territory belonged to Samatāṭa. Although 'Bāgdī' and 'Vyāghrataṭī' seem to be akin to each other from the linguistic point of view, it need not be regarded as certain that Bāgdī of later times was the exact geographical replica of the Vyāghrataṭī of the earlier period. It is necessary to refer in this connection to the commentary on the Rāmācharita (II, 5), which mentions a principality comprising Devagrāma and its surroundings "washed by the waves of the rivers of Bālabalabhī" (*Devagrāma-pratibaddha-vasudha-chikrābala-bālabalabhī-taraṅgarahala*—). The latter name is to be found also in the Bhuvaneśwar *Prāśasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (11th century?) where he has been styled *Balabalahī-bhujāṅga* (l. 21).¹ This title is further known from the two works written by Bhavadeva, the *Tantravārttikaṭikā*² and the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa*.³ H. P. Śāstrī in his Introduction to the Rāmācharita has identified Bālabalabhī with Bāgdī and placed Devagrāma in the Nadia district without adducing any grounds in support of his proposal.⁴ As from the commentary it appears that the place abounded in rivers, R. D. Banerjee suggests that Bālabalabhī may have been situated in eastern or southern Bengal. The

¹ IB, p. 35.

² Aufrecht, Cat. Cat., Pt. II, p. 180.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 203-207.

⁴ MASB, III, pp. 14, 36.

mention of Devagrāma in itself is of no practical use in the determination of its site. R. D. Banerjee has already stated that 'Devagrāma' is a common place-name in Bengal.¹ It is interesting to note that the Bādal *Prasasti* of Guravadeva² (9th century) refers to a place called Devagrāma where his mother was born (v. 17). There is no reason why this Devagrāma should be taken as identical with the Devagrāma of the Rāmacharita commentary, as has been done by Śāstrī. One reference to a Vṛiddhabalabhi, situated in Gauḍa (*Gaudeshu*), has been found in a manuscript of the Trivikrama Sūri's Sarvadeva-pratishṭhāpaddhati.³ Thus there seem to have been some divisions of Valabhī in Bengal. It may be useful to know that Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's grandfather was a minister under a Vaṅga king (v. 10.—Bhuvaneśwar *Prasasti*), and that he himself was long associated with a Varman king named Harivarman (v. 16), probably identical with a *mahārājādhirāja* of this name who issued a grant from Vikramapura,⁴ in the Dacca district. Hence there is some probability that Bālavālabhī was situated in Vaṅga.

One or two general remarks may be allowed on the inter-connection between the geography of Samatāṭa and that of Vaṅga. From the different data already examined, it follows that the area denoted by Samatāṭa⁵ was not greatly different from the tract of country, called by the name Vaṅga, during the various periods of time, to which they are respectively to be assigned. Both contained portions of Lower and Eastern Bengal, though the evidence regarding each does not always belong to the same age. But there was one important difference

¹ Bāṅglār Itihās, 2nd ed., p. 238, against Rājanya Kāṇḍa, p. 198.

² GRM., p. 74.

³ DCSM., Vol. III, pp. 528-30.

⁴ MAB., Vol. III, pp. 97-98.

⁵ See Radhagovinda Basak's note on the geography of Samatāṭa, Samatāṭer Rājadhāni in the Bengali Journal Sāhitya, Aśvina, B.S. 1321, pp. 464-77, for arguments against taking Karmānta (= Baḍ-kāmtā?) as a geographical name.

between the two. While Vaṅga, whatever its origin may be, has throughout remained a geographical name with varying significations during different epochs, Samatāṭa, an essentially descriptive term, has long passed out of vogue. The latter was an appropriate name for the "country of which the rivers have flat and level banks, of equal height on both sides." In the 16th century its successor was 'Bhāṭī' (a country subject to tidal action), which, according to Abul Fazl, extended nearly 400 kos from East to West, and 300 kos from North to South, from Tibet to the sea.¹ The Bhāṭī-deśa may be defined as having comprised the Sundarbans with 'all the neighbouring low lands, even Hijli' in the Midnapore district on one side and the region along the Meghnā on the other. It is interesting to note that according to Hiuen-tsang Samatāṭa was a low and moist country which had a "soft and agreeable climate."²

¹ Blochmann, JASB, 1873, p. 226. Blochmann notes that the name Bhāṭī was applied by Muhammadan historians to the coast strip from the Hooghly to the Meghnā, see *Ā'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 342 fn.

² Beal, *The Life*, p. 132.

SECTION C.

*Puṇḍra, Pauṇḍra, Puṇḍra- or Pauṇḍra-vardhana, Varendrī,
Gauḍa.*

NORTH BENGAL.

Puṇḍravardhana, its geographical limits.—Kotivarsha in inscriptions, etc. Its identification.—Data from Dāmodarpur, Bāngarh and Angārdihī copper plates.—Gauḍa, Varendrī and Nivṛiti as portions of Puṇḍravardhana.—Varendrī from Belava, Sāmapur, Kamauli, Mādhānagar, Tarpaṇḍighi grants, the Deopara and the Kotivarsha inscriptions.—Vijayapura and the Pavanadūta.—Gauḍa, Lakṣmāṇavātī and Pāṇḍokṣīnaka.—Concluding remarks on Puṇḍravardhana and its capital.

Puṇḍravardhana, as the name suggests, was a settlement of the Puṇḍras. Before we proceed to discuss the historical connection between Puṇḍra and Puṇḍravardhana, we should try to form a correct idea as to the geographical implication of the latter, which is a comparatively modern name. The earliest literary reference to Puṇḍravardhana¹ is probably the one to be traced in the Buddhist work, the Divyavadana,² where it is mentioned as the easternmost city of India. It was the name of a large territorial division in the possession of the Guptas from the second quarter of the 5th to about the middle of the 6th century A.D., as proved by the Dāmodarpur (in the Dinājpur district) and Dhanāidaha (in the Rājshahi district) copper-plates dating from 143 to 224 of the Gupta Era. It was an important province of the Pālas from the time of Dharmapāla, the greatest sovereign of the dynasty, to that of Madanapala, who was

¹ The third Śākhā of the Jaina Godaṇḍa-Gaṇḍa Sthavira is called Puṇḍravardhaniya in the Kalpasūtra; another is designated Kotivarshiya, the appellation being derived from Kotivarsha, name of an ancient subdivision of Puṇḍravardhana. See *BBE.*, Vol. XXII, p. 288.

² T. W. Rhys Davids, *JRAS.*, 1904, p. 68 (Puṇḍravardhana).

probably the last of his family to rule over it. Not unlike other parts of India, it witnessed political vicissitudes of different dynasties during a period extending from the 8th to the 12th century A.D. This explains its mention in the inscriptions of the Chandras, the Varmans, and lastly, of the Sena dynasty. In the epigraphy of Bengal the name Puṇḍravardhana was changed into Paṇḍravardhana in the early part of the 12th century, when it occurs for the first time in the Manahali grant of Madanapāla. Thereafter till the end of the Sena rule the name Paṇḍravardhana¹ was throughout used in the inscriptions of the successors of the Pālas in Bengal. The geographical limits of Puṇḍra-, or Paṇḍra-Vardhana in the 7th century can be ascertained with a fair degree of certainty from the Chinese biography and the itinerary of Hiuen-tsang. He came to this country from Kajaṅgala,² near Rājmaḥāl, and it lay on the other side of the Ganges. On the east, again, the country of Puṇḍravardhana was bounded by a river which the Chinese pilgrim had to cross before he was able to arrive in Kāmarūpa. 'From Pun-na-fa-tan-na the pilgrim travelled east...crossed a large river, and came to Ka-mo-lu-p'o.' This river is probably to be identified with the Karatoyā³ (the modern Kurattee), a branch of the Brahmaputra. It is stated in the Yoginī Tantra that the river Karatoyā was the western boundary of Kāmarūpa (*Karatoyā tu paśchime-Pātala* XI).⁴ Thus the Puṇḍravardhana visited by Hiuen-tsang was bounded by the main stream of the Ganges

¹ In an illustrated Buddhist MS. (A.14. 1643) in the Cambridge University Library there is the label which reads : Puṇḍravardhana Trisaraṇa - Buddha bhāṭṭarakṣa dvitīy-ārīṣa-sthāna -, A. Foucher, *L'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, p. 193, Pl. III, fig. 4.

² Watters, II, p. 184.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁴ Śaṅkara regards the Vedic Sadānirā (R. Gaudak - Eggeling ; ..Bāpti - Pargiter) as identical with the Karatoyā. In the *Amarakośha* Sadānirā is given as another name of the Karatoyā (*Karatoyā Sadānirā Śubhā Sailavahini* (I, X, 33). see edn. by Punlit K. R. Ananta-rām Śāstrī, pp. 106-108. Karatoyā is referred to as a sacred river in the Mbht., see *Bhishma-P.* IX, 313 ; *Vana-P.*, LXXXV, 8143. Francis Buchanan (Hamilton) makes important observations on the rivers of Northern Bengal, especially the Karatoyā and its branches, in his *Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of the District of Dinajpur* (1833), pp. 11-15.

⁵ SPP. (Rangpur Śākha), Vol. III, Pt. ii, p. 58.

on the west and the river Karatoyā on the east. As Samatata corresponded to Lower and Eastern Bengal, and Karpasuvārṇa lay to the south-east of Puṇḍravardhana, this area included Malda, Dinājpur, Rājshāhi and portions of the Bogra and Rangpur districts, situated to the west of the Karatoyā. The limits of Puṇḍravardhana can be further ascertained with the data obtainable from other sources. In the Gupta inscriptions, already referred to, mention is to be found of a subdivision of Puṇḍravardhana called Koṭivarsha (Koṭivarsha-*cishaya*). Varāhamihira speaks of Koṭivarsha apparently as a country (Koṭivarsha-*urīpa*). The name was probably known to the Jaina Prajñapanā.¹ In the Vāyu Purāṇa there is a reference to a city of the name of Koṭivarsha (Koṭivarshaṇi...nagaraiṇi).² A reasonable identification of Koṭivarsha in Puṇḍravardhana has been made possible with the guidance of Hemachandra,³ who gives Devikoṭa, Umāvana, Bānapura, and Śoṇitapura as synonyms of 'Koṭivarsha.' Purushottamadeva, the author of the Trikaṇḍaśeṣa, also uses these names in the same manner.⁴ During Akbar's reign Dīb-koṭ, Devikoṭ or Dīw-koṭ (wrongly read as Dihikoṭ in the Ā'in-i-Akbarī) was a maḥal under the Sarkār of Lakhnautī (Lakhanawātī).⁵ Bāṇanagara or Bānapura, used as a synonym for Devikoṭa by Hemachandra, is no doubt represented by Bāngarh in the Dinājpur district, where are still to be seen the extensive ruins of a citadel, now known as Damdamah which once stretched along the left bank of the Pūrṇabhavā river for a distance of two miles. Popular tradition points to this ruined fort at Devikoṭ as associated

¹ It should be pointed out that if Koṭivarṣam, referred to in this work, was at all situated in Bengal, about which there is some doubt, it must have belonged to its western part, as the name is applied to a place situated in Lāḍhā or Lāḍā.

² Vol. I, Chap. XXIII, v. 196.

³ Pp. 146, 147.

⁴ Prominent notice was taken by Rennell of Debicote in his Survey. See Sheet VA-VB (Illustrative Maps of the Physical Geography of Bengal, 1926).

⁵ P. 16. (Devikoṭo Bānapuram Koṭivarsham Ushā[mā?]vanam ; syāt-Śoṇitapuram ch-ātha....)

⁶ JRAS., 1896, p. 112 ; Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 181 ; JASB. (N.S.), Vol. V, pp. 215-216 ; Raverty, pp. 502, 585-86, 591n. (the name of a city).

with the exploits of the mythical king Bāṇa. A copper-plate grant¹ of Mahīpāla I (11th century) was recovered from Bāngarh. An inscription of the Kāmboja clan² belonging to the latter part of the 9th century was discovered in this old fort near Dam-dama,³ which (Dumdummah) Buchanan identified with Devikoṭ. The Dinājpur district has further presented us with two more records of the Pāla dynasty, viz., the Āmgāchhi grant⁴ of Vīrabapāla III (11th century) and the Manahali⁵ grant of Madanapāla (12th century). Koṭivarsha may have gradually extended its jurisdiction, comprising the southern part of the Dinājpur district, the northern portion of Rājshāhi and probably also the eastern tracts of the Bogra district. The three Pāla copper-plates found at Bāngarh, Āmgāchhi and Manahali all make mention of the Koṭivarsha-*rishaya*.

The Dāmodarpur copper-plates⁶ furnish us with the names of several places which belonged to the Koṭivarsha-*rishaya*. Palāśa-vṛindaka is mentioned in Plate 3 of the series belonging to the time of Budha-Gupta (I. 2). R. G. Basak reports that there are two villages of the name of Palāśbāree⁷ within a radius of sixteen miles to the north-east of Dinājpur town. Another place, called Palāśdāngā, exists at a distance of about eleven miles south-east of Dinājpur town. All the three lie in close neighbourhood of Dāmodarpur, where these plates were recovered. Palā-savṛindaka may have been much larger than an ordinary village

¹ Kielhorn, JASB., 1892, LXI, Pt. 1, p. 77 ff.

² JASB. (N. S.), VII, p. 615 ff.

³ Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p. 50; JASB., 1873, p. 211. For the local tradition about Baṇṛāja, see Buchanan, pp. 19, 50-51. The tradition noted by him (p. 19) that the district of Dinājpur was called Matsyadeśa associated with the memory of Virāṭarāja is wrong, see AGI., p. 1. It may be noted that there is a place with four or five large mounds and other antiquities, called Birāt in the South-eastern corner of the Rangpur district in North Bengal, see ASB., 1925-26, p. 113.

⁴ Ep. Ind., XV, p. 293 ff.

⁵ GLM., p. 147 ff.

⁶ R. G. Basak, Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 113 ff.; SPP., V, p. 164.

⁷ In Rennell's time Palasbary appears to have been a large and important area. See sheet VA-VB (Illustrative Maps of the Physical Geography of Bengal, 1764-76, 1926). Palasbari is also the name of a village in the Kāmrūp district, Assam, see Imp. Gaz., Vol. XIX, 855-856.

as the word *vrinda* (i.e., a group) seems to show. The village of *Chañḍagrāma* (*Chañḍagrāmaka*, l. 3) mentioned in the same plate, cannot be satisfactorily identified. The fifth record of the series (dated 224 G. E.) supplies us with the names of *Svachchhandapātaka* (l. 15), *Sātuvanāśramaka* (lit. the hermitage of *Sātuvaṇa*, l. 16) and *Paraspatikā* (l. 16). The fourth mentions *Ḍoṅgāgrāma* (ll. 5, 6) in *Himavachchikhara* (lit. the top of a snowy mountain).¹ Names of places noted in the descriptions of boundaries in these plates are *Ḍoṅgā* (Plate I, l. 11.—*Ḍoṅgāyā uttara-pāścīna[mo]ddeśe*) ; *Vāyi-grāma* (Plate 3—*Vāyigrāmāk=ottara-pāścīnyāire*, l. 9) ; *Pūraṇavṛindikaharī* (*Pūraṇavṛindikaharā(re) pātaka-pūrvvā*—Plate V, l. 17) which is taken to represent *Brindakoorce*, fourteen miles north of *Dāmodarpur* in the *Dinājpur* district. *Jambū(pū)-na(dī)* of Plate 5 (l. 17) may have been the name of a river, but the reading *nadyāḥ* is doubtful, although the sign for *visarga* is distinct.

To this list must be added the names of three *Maṇḍalas* and some villages, which were under the jurisdiction of the *Koṭivarsha-rishaya* during the *Pāla* period. The *Bāngarh* inscription² of *Mahīpāla I* says that the *Gokalikā-maṇḍala* belonged to the district of *Koṭivarsha* (*Koṭivarsha-rishaye Gokalikā-maṇḍal=āntahpātī*...ll. 30-31) and that in the former division was comprised the village of *Kuraṭa-pallikā*, a part of which was called *Chūṭa-pallikā* (*Chūṭapallikā-varjjita-Kuraṭa-pallikā-grāme*, ll. 31-32). The *Āmgāchhi* grant of *Vigrahapāla III*,³ dated in the 12th year of his reign, assigns the *Brāhmaṇī-grāma maṇḍala* to the same *rishaya* (*Koṭivarsha-rishay-āntahpātī-Vrā[Brā]hmaṇī-grāma-maṇḍala*, ll. 24-25). Some locality, known by the name of *Vishanapura*, which included *Daṇḍa(?)traheśvara* (a temple) is stated to have been situated in this *maṇḍala*

¹ Banerj translates : " the summit of the *Himālaya*," *op. cit.*, p. 140.

² R. D. Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 324 ff.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 298 ff.

(*Danḍatraheśvara-sāmela-Vishamapur-āṁśe*, l. 26). The Manahali grant of Madanapāla (early 12th century) gives the name of a third *Maṇḍala*, that of Halāvartta, belonging to the Koṭivarsha-*rishaya*.

A copper-plate of the Gupta period (year 128), which was discovered in the course of the re-excavation of an old tank at Baigram¹ in the district of Bogra (North Bengal), gives the following place-names: Pañchanagarī, Vāyigrāma, Trivṛita(tā) and Śrīgohālī. Of these the last two belonged to Vāyigrāma (*Vaṇṇigramika-Trivṛita-Śrīgohālyohī*). The identification of Vāyigrāma with the present Baigram where the copper-plate was found will suggest itself as most probable. Excavations here which have not yet been completed have already in a sufficient measure brought to light the historical importance of the site. It may be remembered that Plate 3 of the Dāmodarpur series belonging to the reign of Budha-Gupta also refers to a Vāyigrāma, the northern boundary of which bordered on the south, west and east of a certain piece of land in Chaṇḍagrāma. As already mentioned, Palāśavṛindaka, referred to in that plate, may be located in the Dinājpur district, where also Chaṇḍagrāma will have to be consequently located. Thus if the Vāyigrāma of the Baigram Plate and that of the Dāmodarpur inscription were identical, it could not have been far from the boundary between the districts of Dinājpur and Bogra. It may be doubted whether Palāśavṛindaka and Chaṇḍagrāma in the Dinājpur district were under the Koṭivarsha-*rishaya* in the reign of Budha-Gupta, for there is no reference to that district in his Dāmodarpur Plate, where it would have been quite proper for the purpose of a precise indication of administrative jurisdiction. Similarly, there is no mention of the Koṭivarsha-*rishaya* in the Baigram Plate. On the other hand the *Kumārāmātya* of this plate communicated with the authorities of Vāyigrāma from Pañchanagarī, which appears to have been the headquarters of the area administered by him.

¹ Ep. Ind., XXI, pp. 78-83.

The non-mention of Koṭivarsha in the two inscriptions suggests that this *Vishaya* in the fifth century may not have included the whole of the Dinājpur district, and that it surely did not comprise that portion of the Bogra district at least, where Pañchanagarī (cf. Ptolemy's Pentapolis,) evidently was the centre of a separate administrative division.

In the early part of the 5th century the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana probably possessed another *vishaya*, besides the one already mentioned. We cannot be very definite about this point as the name of the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* is not to be actually found in the record, but it should be noted that the inscription came from a place Dhanāidaha in the Natore subdivision of the Rājshāhi district (in Puṇḍravardhana) and that the portion of the record, where the name is expected, is in a very mutilated condition. The political limits of the Bengal Province of the Gupta empire cannot be accurately made out from the existing materials. It is difficult to say if the *Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti* like the *Bhukti* of Gaṇḍravardhana of later times, already designated then from the political and the administrative point of view a wide tract of country far in excess of the geographical limits of Puṇḍravardhana. The *Vishaya* mentioned in the Dhanāidaha copper-plate¹ is to be doubtfully assigned to the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*, and its location in Northern Bengal is only probable and not to be regarded as certain. The name of the district cannot be read with certainty. It may be either Mahā-Khushāpara, Khāda-(ā)pāra, or Khūsaspara (l. 7).

According to the Trikāṇḍaśeṣha, Varendri and Gauḍa were integral portions of Puṇḍravardhana (*Madhyadeśoṭha-Puṇḍraḥ syur-Varendrī-Gauḍa-Nivṛiti*).² Let us take up the case of Varendra or Varendrī³ first. The inclusion of Varendra or Varendrī in

¹ JASB. (N.S.), Vol. V, pp. 459-461; Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 345 ff. and Plate. ² P. 15.

³ Vārendrī or Varendrā occurs in some of the labels to be found in a MS. preserved in the Cambridge University Library. See Foucher, L'Iconographie Bouddhique, pp. 191, 199, 200 (mentioning Dedapura, apparently a place-name), 202. Nivṛiti (Nirvṛitti) according to tradition, comprised Dinājpur, Rangpur and Koch Bihār, see JASB., 1878, Pt. I, 295.

Puṇḍravardhan, as mentioned in this dictionary, can be proved by epigraphical evidence also. The Tarpandīghi grant of Lakshmaṇasena (12th century) assigns Varendrī to Pauṇḍravardhana (the name contained in this inscription is in the form Varedyān, l. 33, which is evidently a mistake for Varendryām).¹ The name is correctly given in another document of the same king, viz., the Mādhanagar grant (*Śrī Pauṇḍravardhana-bhukty-antahpati-Varendryām*, ll. 39-40), in a still earlier record, the inscription from Silimpur (in the Bogrā district) of the time of the Kamarūpa king Jayapāla, which refers to Varendrī as belonging to the country of Puṇḍra, and the Kamauli Plate of Vaidyadeva, who in the 12th century made a grant to a Brāhmin family hailing from Varendrī. The Vishnu image-inscription discovered from Keoār, about three miles to the south-east of Rāmpal in the Dacca district, which may be assigned to the 13th century on palaeographic grounds, also gives the form Varendrī (*Varendrī-Taṭakīyana*, l. 3).² The Deopara inscription of Vijaya-sena, the grandfather of Lakshmana-sena, speaks of a guild of artists, which flourished in Varendra (*Varendrikā-Silpigoṣṭhi*). In the *Devī-Purāṇa*,³ mention is to be found of Varendra as a seat of Śākta worship. Tāranath, the Tibetan historian of the 16th century, informs us that Devapala, who was the third sovereign of the Pāla line (9th century) brought Varendra in the east under subjection. There is no evidence to show when this name first came into use. The Vārendras constitute an important division of the Brahmin community in Bengal. Buchanan notes a tradition, according to which twelve persons of very high distinction came from the west and settled at Mahāsthān (in the Bogra district). Cunningham connects the name Varendra⁴ with the establishment of the twelve chiefships by these influential people, whose names are said to have generally ended with 'Pāla' in the tract of country lying to the north of the Ganges and to the west of the Brahma-

¹ IB., p. 102, n. 4. ² Varendryām, v. 22. ³ Ep. Ind., XVII, pp. 355-356.

⁴ Chap. 42, v. 9.

⁵ CASR., Vol. XV, p. 147.

putra. There is no historical basis of the story, the tradition itself being of a vague and indefinite character. In this connection it is useful to remember that the earlier form of the name was probably Varendrī, as found from epigraphical sources; the form of Varendra seems to have been a later innovation, used mainly in the genealogical works which cannot vie in antiquity with our inscriptional documents.¹

Varendra must have occupied a large part of Puṇḍravardhana. The extensive tract of country on the confines of the districts of Dinājpur, Malda, Rājshāhi, Bogra and Rangpur, from the Ganges and the Mahānandā to the Karatoyā on the east,² is to-day known by the name of Barind, which reminds one of the ancient Varendra country. In fact it corresponds almost to the whole of the present Rājshāhi division, including a portion of the Pabna district, thus practically indicating the limits of the whole country, which in earlier times was called Puṇḍra- or Paṇḍra-vardhana. We can recover the names of several places which are mentioned as comprised in Varendrī in the three inscriptions already referred to. From the Mādhānagar grant³ of Lakshmaṇa-sena (12th century), we learn that in Kāntāpura-*āvrīti* in Varendrī was situated a place called *Dāpaṇiyā-pāṭala*. There seems to have been a lake or tank called *Rāvaṇa* (excavated by the Kaivarta leaders in the 12th century?) in the neighbourhood of this village (*Śrī Puṇḍravardhana-bhukty-antaḥpālī-Varendryām Kāntāpura-āvrītau Rāvaṇa-sarasi...* l. 40). The grant was bounded on the

¹ JASB. (N.S.), 1914, pp. 427-28. D. R. Bhandarkar equates the Pārjūda (Hultzsch, p. 24) of the Gīrnār version of the 13th Rock-Edict with the 'Barendras,' s. Asoka, pp. 36-37. Variants of the former are Palaḍas and Palidas at Kālaś and Shabbāzgarhi respectively. If this equation is supported on the ground that 'ka' and 'va' are interchangeable, it may be held then that other names, such as Paṇḍa (for Pāṇḍya), Pīṭinka, used in the same record, should not also be taken as they are, but in forms modified in accordance with that principle, which has not been suggested anywhere. On Pārjūdaś, see Hultzsch, p. 48, n. 14.

² See F. J. Monahan's article on 'Varendra' in JRAS., 1914, pp. 97-105, which gives an account of the main rivers of Northern Bengal. "The traditional boundaries of Varendra," he says, "are the Mahānandā River on the west and the Karatoyā on the east," p. 98.

³ JASB. (N.S.), 1909, p. 467 ff., Plates XXIII, XXIV. R. D. Banerjee translates 'near Kāntāpura,' which is accepted by N. G. Majumdar, s. 1B, p. 108. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 115.

east by the western portion of *Chaḍaspāsā-pāṭaka* (*pūrvve Chaḍaspāsā-pāṭaka-paśchhimabhūḥ sīmā*, l. 40), on the south by the northern part of *Gayanagara*, on the west by the eastern side of *Guṇḍisthirā-pāṭaka*, and on the north by the southern section of *Guṇḍi-Dāpaṇiyā*. According to the evidence of the *Tarpandīghi* grant¹ of *Lakshmanasena*, the village of *Velahisṭī* (l. 38) belonged to *Varendrī* (*Varedyān*, l. 33), of which the boundaries were the dike marking the eastern limit of some land conferred on the deities of a Buddhist monastery (*Buddharīhārī-devatā-nikara*-, ll. 33-34) on the east, the *Nichadabāra* tank on the south, *Nandiharipakuṇḍī* on the west and *Mollāpakḥādī* (*Molyapakḥādī?*) on the north (ll. 34-35). An important place in *Varendrī* in the 11th century was the village of *Vāla*(*Bāla*)-*grāma* in the *Puṇḍra* country of which it is referred to as an ornament in the *Silimpur* stone-slab inscription of the time of *Jayapāla* (*Varendrī māṇḍanā grāma*, v. 4).² This village was separated from *Tarkūrī* (vv. 3-4) by what appears to have been a river of the name of *Sakaṭī*.³ The *Kannauli* plates of *Vaidyadeva* mention a village called *Bhāvagrāma* belonging to *Varendrī*.⁴ (*Bhāvagrāme...śāsan-ogre Varendryām*).

The district of *Rājshāhi*, which is at present a part of the *Barind* area, can boast of several places of antiquity details of which can be gathered from epigraphical records as well as other sources to be mentioned below. The *Belāva* copper-plate grant⁵ of the *Yādava* king *Bhojavarman* (11th century) mentions the *Adhahpattana-maṇḍala* as situated in the *Paṇḍra-bhukti* (l. 27) and the *Kauśāmbī-ashtaḡachchha-khaṇḍala* as included in the former subdivision (ll. 27-28). According to the commentary on the *Rāmacharita* (12th century),

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 6 ff. and Plates.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 288 ff.

³ I doubt very much if *Tarkūrī* was situated in North Bengal, see N. G. Majumdar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 210; B. C. Sen, *JMBS.*, 1930, pp. 117-20.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, v. 22, p. 352.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 37-43 and Plates; *JASB. (N. S.)*, Vol. X, 1914, Plates XVIII-XX.

one of the principalities which acknowledged the suzerainty of Rāmapāla during the latter's struggle with the Kaivarta rebels was called Kauśāmbī (Com. on II, 6). Despite the fact that no details are given in the work regarding its position, it is not improbable that this Kauśāmbī and the Kauśāmbī of the Belāva grant corresponded to the same region.¹ In the Rājshāhi district a pargana is called Kusambi,² and there is still a village known as Kusumba or Kusambī³ in the Naogaon sub-division, three miles south of Munshā. The area thus denoted is taken by some as representing the site of Kauśāmbī in North Bengal, referred to by the two independent records of nearly the same period mentioned above. The village of Upyalikā lay within the boundaries of the Kauśāmbī-*asṭāgachchha-khaṇḍala(-sambaddha-grāma*, I. 28). The boundaries of this village have been left unspecified in the Belāva grant. Deopārā in the Rājshāhi district, from which has come an inscription of Vijayasena,⁴ composed by Umipati, the renowned poet of the 12th century, and engraved by an artisan from Varendra, probably marks the site where the Sena king built a lofty temple of Pradyumneśvara (*Dik-śākhā-mūla-kāṇḍam gaganitāla-māhāmboṭhi madhyāntariyam bhānoḥ prāk-pritya-g-adri-sthiti-milid = utayāsitasya madhyāhna-sailam* | *Ālam-ba-stambham-ekam tribhuvana-bharanasyaikaśesham girinām sa Pradyumneśvarasya vyadhita Vasumatī-rāsavaḥ saudham-uch-chaiḥ*, v. 262), the erection of which forms the principal theme of this record. A large tank is said to have been excavated in front of this temple. The Padumshar tank⁵ which

¹ JASB. (N. S.), Vol. X, pp. 124-126.

² W. W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. VIII, pp. 120 (under Rājshahi district with an area of 38.25 sq. miles), 301 (under Bogra with an area of 4.38 sq. miles). Coosumby is shewn prominently in Rennell's map, Sheet XIII-XIIB (*Illustrative Maps of the Physical Geography of Bengal*, 1764-76, 1926).

³ MAB, V, p. 90.

⁴ A posthumous inscription of Gopāla III was found at Manda, see MAB, Vol. V, p. 102.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 305-15.

⁶ ASR., 1918-19, p. 7; 1920-21, p. 34.

has yielded many valuable relics of the past is practically the only survival of the greatness of this place, upon which so much attention was bestowed by Vijayasena, the founder of the Sena empire. Another historic site was undoubtedly the region round Pāhārpur in the Bādalgāchhi district of Rājshāhi. It was a European scholar who reported more than a century ago the existence of an immense 'steep heap of bricks' surrounded by a square rampart, each side measuring about 400 yards in length, which he took to represent the ruins of a temple, rather than a fort.¹ Recent excavations² at Pāhārpur (Pāhāḍpur) have brought to light striking remains of religious buildings, numerous Brahmanical and Buddhist bas-reliefs and terracotta-plaques, dating from the later Gupta period, besides two inscriptions of the 5th and the 10th century A.D. respectively. The main building at Pāhārpur which has been unearthed by the Archaeological Department once stood as a most impressive temple now towering above all the surrounding ruins, having a length of 361' from North to South and a breadth of 318', thus constituting one of the largest and most extensive monuments of antiquity in Eastern India. The temple is broken into three terraces above the basement with a circumambulatory path, *Chaityāṅgana*, round the central part of the structure in the first and second storeys. Here one can recognise a distinctive stratum pervaded by different Brahmanical faiths, as attested by the large number of images of Viṣṇu, Śiva and other Hindu deities found here, specially the numerous terracotta-plaques illustrating figures and episodes of the Purāṇas. But the Buddhist ascendancy was established here by the 6th or the 7th century, to which period are to be assigned the votive terracotta tablets inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters peculiar to that age, and many of the plaques containing figures of Buddha and Bodhi-

¹ Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. II, pp. 669-670; Westmacott, JASB., Vol. XLIV, Pt. I, p. 189; John Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum*, Part II, pp. 250-251; Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

² ASR., 1922-23, pp. 115 ff; 1925-26, pp. 107-13; see also CR., 1928 (May), p. 233, for a third inscription.

sattvas, for instance the stone-image attached to the south basement of the temple is that of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi. The main fabric of the temple is believed to have been completed between the 7th and the 8th century from which date onwards the entire establishment remained under Buddhist control. The construction of the gigantic *Vihāra* which in its ruins bear definite indications of the existence of at least 120 rooms in its completed form is to be attributed to the Early Pāla rulers. Inscriptions on clay-seals found here in the course of the excavations mention either Dharmapāla or the community of monks resident in the *Vihāra* at Somapura ¹ (=modern Ompur near the Pāhārpur ruins), built by that king. The upper portion of a Pāhārpur sealing is occupied by the wheel of the law with a deer on either side (*cf.* the seal attached to the Khālimpur copper-plate of Dharmapāla). According to Tāranāth it was Devapāla who built a temple at Somapura. Although the date of the earliest monastery at this site is to be placed in the concluding years of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century, it has been evident from a close study of the ruins that alterations, repairs and restorations were carried out in three successive epochs. What was undertaken by Dharmapāla may have received finishing touches during the reign of his successor Devapāla, which probably accounts for the statement made by the Tibetan chronicler, attributing the construction of the temple to this monarch.

The Pāhārpur inscription of the 5th century A.D., which has been edited by Mr. Dikshit of the Indian Archaeological Department, is dated in the year 159 of the Gupta era (l. 20), when Budha-Gupta is known to have been in the occupation of the Gupta empire. The inscription probably refers to the city of Puṇḍravardhana (*-ād-guktakakāḥ*) ² as an administrative centre. It mentions several places, *viz.*, Prishthima-pottaka (ll. 2, 8, 14), Goshāta-puñjaka (ll. 2, 8, 15), Nitva-Gohālī (ll. 3, 9, 15), Palāśātṭa (l. 2) and Vaṭa-Gohālī (ll. 2, 6, 12), besides a subdivision called Nāgiraṭṭa

¹ ASR., 1926-27, p. 149; 1929-30, p. 139; Ep. Ind., XX, p. 60.

² Ep. Ind., XX, pp. 59-64.

(*Nāgiraṭṭa-māṇḍalika*, ll. 2). It further refers to Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa or Nāgiraṭṭa Proper which may have been the chief town of a *Maṇḍala* of this name. Its neighbourhood to Nitva-Gohālī mentioned above is indicated in the expression *Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa-prāveśya*... (ll. 2-3). The other places, Priṣṭhima-pottaka, Goshāṭapuñjaka and Palāśaṭṭa seem to have been situated along the *rīthi* of the southern division (*dakṣiṇ-āśaka-vīthya*). A part of Vaṭa-Gohālī was probably called Jambudeva (*Vaṭa-Gohālī-Jambudeva-prāveśya*, l. 2). Mr. Dikshit suggests that Vaṭa-Gohālī is identical with the village of Goālbhīṭā where the Pāhārpur temple, during the excavation of which the present copper-plate was discovered, is partly situated. The mound at this site was formerly known to the people of the locality as *Goālbhīṭār Pāhār*. The modern village of Bijaynagar (near Godāgāri), seven miles to the south of Deopārā, and about ten miles to the west of Rāmpur-Boaliā, is considered by R. P. Chanda¹ to be identical with the Vijayapura mentioned in the poem Pavanadūta, composed by Dhoyīka, a poet of the 12th century, as a capital of the Sena dynasty. In verse 27 he refers to Subhadesa on the Ganges and in verse 33 to a place where the Yamunā issues from the Bhāgīrathī (*Bhāgīrathyās = tapana-tanayā yatra niryyāti derī*). Next in verse 36 he speaks of the flourishing capital of the name of Vijayapura (*skandhā-rāraṁ Vijayapuram = ity-unnatām rājadhānīm*). From the indications thus given in the Pavanadūta, M. Chakravarty² arrives at the conclusion that Vijayapura was another name of Nūdiāh, the capital of Rāe Lakhmanīah, at the time of the Muhammadan conquest.³ On the ground that the poet speaks of the Bhāgīrathī and the Yamunā in the verse quoted above, a theory has been advanced that the place must have been situated in the Hooghly district in the neighbourhood of Tribeni and Sātgaon.⁴ But the inference that Vijayapura is to be located in

¹ *Gauḍa-Vivaraṇa* (*Gauḍa-Rājamāla*), Itājshālī VRS., p. 75; JRAS., 1914, pp. 101, 105.

² JASB., 1905, p. 45; N. N. Ray, SPP., B. S. 1330, Pt. I, p. 17 ff.; H. P. Sāstri, *ibid*, Vol. V.

³ Raverty, pp. 554, 559 n. 2.

⁴ JDL., Vol. XVI, p. 23.

Suhma does not necessarily follow from the text of the Pavanadūta, where no such explicit statement has been made. Chanda's suggestion is based on the obvious similarity of names, and also on the fact that Bijaynagar is an ancient place as may be inferred by its proximity to Deopara. It is not improbable that Dhoyika's Vijayapura lay not far away from an upper course of the Bhāgīrathī. Chanda refers to the local tradition connecting Bijaynagar with a king called Vijaya who, he is inclined to believe, was Vijayasena (11th or 12th century). Ancient Indian tradition sometimes mentions the Pravijayas or the Vijayas as an eastern people.¹ Is it possible that they were connected with some part of Rājshāhi ?

Besides Varendrī, Gauḍa was under the jurisdiction of Puṇḍravardhana. For several centuries it was one of the most important cities of Bengal, but to-day it is represented by a depopulated area in the district of Malda, mostly covered with jungles and unhealthy swamps.² The main stream of the Ganges once flowed past its western side, but the river has receded several miles from its early course, a phenomenon which is mainly responsible for its downfall as a seat of human activity. It was a thickly populated and prosperous city in the middle of the 16th century, as described by Manoel de Faria y Souza,³ but soon after this in 1565 A.D. the decay of the city set in, necessitating the transfer of the capital to Tāṇḍā (Sarkār Auḍambar),⁴ a few miles higher up the Bhāgīrathī. Its unhealthy climate, which was the natural consequence of the change in the river-course, has been put down as the cause of its desertion, but Reuben Burrow, who visited Gauḍa in 1787,⁵ recorded on the authority of Firishta that the ruin

¹ MKP., Canto LVII. 43; Mateya-P., CXIII, 44.

² On Gaur, see CASR, Vol. XV, pp. 41 ff.; H. Creighton, *The Ruins of Gour with a topographical map* (1817), pp. 3-10. DG. (Malda), by G. E. Lambourn, Vol. XXXV, pp. 14, 86.

³ Cf. Campos, p. xxi.

⁴ JRAS., 1896, pp. 92-96; Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 129 fn. 6; Rennell, *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, pp. 55, 56. 1788.

⁵ Creighton, *Gour*, pp. 5-7. Epidemics broke out in Gour about 1576 A.D. taking a heavy toll on human life, as mentioned by the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, see Elliot, V, 895; Stewart, *History of Bengal*, 1813, pp. 44.45 n., 161-62.

of the city had been hastened by a devastating pestilence. Judging from the present ruins of Gaur, it may be surmised that the city on the old bank of the Ganges was about fifteen miles in length and two or three miles in breadth. It was known to the Indians as *Lakshmanāvati*,¹ and as *Lakhnauti* to Muhammadan writers. (Rennell spells the name as *Lucknouti*.) The mention of *Lakshmanāvati* in the *Bappabhaṭṭa-charita*² as the capital of *Dharmapāla*'s kingdom has led M. Chakravarty³ to conclude that the city of *Gauḍa* existed under this name as early as the 8th century A.D. But it should be noted that the *Bappabhaṭṭa-charita* and other Jaina works, which mention *Lakshmanāvati*, were written in the 13th or 14th century. These works can hardly be regarded as a reliable source of information relating to a period about five centuries or more earlier than the time of their composition. Some of the ruins of Gaur are traditionally associated with the names of *Vallālasena* (cf. *Ballālbāri* to the north of the city ; the ramparts near *Sadullāpur*, and the *Sāgardighi* tank, one of the largest and the most ornamental of its kind in Bengal, about one mile in length and half a mile in breadth), *Lakshmanasena* and *Ādi Śūra*. The name '*Lakshmanāvati*' may have been connected with the memory of the Sena king *Lakshmanasena*, just as the historic city of *Rāmāvati* is reminiscent of its founder *Rāmapāla*. It is moreover a debatable point whether the *Pāla* dynasty had any fixed capital before the time of *Rāmapāla*. No definite answer can be hazarded regarding the time of the foundation of *Gauḍa*. But its position on the bank of the

¹ *Lakhnauti* (the same as Gaur, later called *Jannat-ābād* during *Humāyūn*'s reign) was under *Sarkār Lakhnauti*. See *Jarret*, II, pp. 131, 132, 148; *Elliot*, Vol. V, p. 201. In the English translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* the name is given as *Lakṣṇāwātī* which is a close approximation to the Sanskrit form (Raverty, pp. 587-88). *Merutunga* in his *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi* says that *Lakshmanāvati* in the country of *Gauḍa* was the capital of *Lakshmanasena*, see *Tawney*, Translation, p. 181.

² See the *Bappa Bhatta Charita* and the *Early History of the Gurjara Empire* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Univ. of Madras, Reprint, p. 105 ff.; *JASB. (N. S.)*, Vol. IV, p. 281, fn. 6.

³ *JASB. (N. S.)*, Vol. IV, p. 281.

Bhāgīrathī, near the eastern boundary of Bihār, and leading on the one hand to the heart of northern Bengal and on the other to the busy centres of life along the southern course of the river with its different tributaries, must have forced the recognition of its importance to rulers and traders alike in early times. The district of Malda, in which Gaur stands, may have risen into prominence in the 4th or the 5th century A.D., as the Maladas were familiar to the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas.¹ They were probably known by the name Molindae² in the 4th century B.C., but all that can be gathered about them is that they were an eastern tribe, and we are only left to guess some connection between them and this district in Bengal, which seems to have been called after them. Gauda was not merely the name of a city but of a far wider area whose limits possibly varying from age to age have not been yet thoroughly ascertained. It may be that the Gauda people came from outside and made Bengal their chief outpost in the course of time. In its widest sense the term Gauda corresponds to the greater part of Northern India, in which are included Sārasvata (Punjab), (2) Kānyakubja (Kanauj), (3) Bengal, (4) Mithilā (Dārbbhāṅga), and (5) Utkala (Orissa). This five-divisioned (Pañcha-Gauda) Gauda world is frequently mentioned in the mediaeval literature of Bengal.³ As this popular explanation of the term Pañcha-Gauda refers to the Punjab,⁴ it may be of some interest to know that Ptolemy⁵ speaks of a territory called Goryaia, which is traversed by the river Gouraios, identical with the modern Ghor—an affluent of the Kabul river or Landaī, formed by the junction of the Pañjkora and the Swāt. Arrian in his Anabasis⁶ informs us that Alexander

¹ Māladās :—VP., Vol. I, XLV. 122; Mbht., Sabbhā, XXIX, 1081-2; Drona-P., VII, 183; CASR., XV, 77.

² Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 137 (1877).

³ D. C. Sen, History of the Bengali Language and Literature, 1911, pp. 385-386. Ballālā Charitam by Ananda Bhāṭṭa, p. 85. (Bib. Ind.): Sārasvatāḥ Kānyakubjāḥ Gaudā Mithilak-Utkalāḥ | Pañcha-Gaudā iti-khyātāḥ Vindhasy-ottara-vāsinaḥ ||

⁴ The tradition as recorded in literature is not earlier than the 12th century A.D.; see CR., 1930, April, p. 42.

⁵ McCrindle, Ptolemy, pp. 110-112, (1927).

⁶ Bk. IV, XXV.

entered the territory of the Assakenoi (in the Punjab) having crossed the river Gouraios flowing in the country of the Gouraians. The Gouraios is the same as the Pañjkora which unites with the Swāt to form the Landaī. The name is supposed to be derived from 'Ghori,' the appellation of a tribe still to be found on the Pañjkora on both sides of the Kabul River at its junction with the united stream of the Pañjkora and the Swāt. The river was situated between the territories of the Gouraians and the Assakenians.¹ The Mahābhārata (VI) groups the Gaurī with the Suvāstu (the Swāt River). Beyond the obvious similarity of names, to which attention is drawn above no definite evidence has been advanced that may warrant us in deducing the conclusion that the Gaudas emigrated to India from the land of the Gouraios. The 'Ādi Gauḍa'² of tradition, or the country originally so called, includes Hariyani, Kalpi, Panipat, Kurukshetra and Hardwar—on the banks of the Jumna and of the Ganges in its upper parts. Alberuni in the 11th century refers to modern Thanesar (Sthānyīśvara—the capital of the Kanauj kingdom in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.)³ as Guḍa. The author of the Bṛihatsamhitā mentions the Guḍas as an eastern tribe, probably identical with his Gaudas.⁴ Thanesar may have thus been one of the settlements of this people, before they pushed further to the east. Then, again, in the Matsya⁵ and Kūrma Purāṇas⁶ it is stated that a king named Śrāvastī or Śrāvasta, the son of Yuvanāśva of the Solar race, founded a city after his name in the Gauḍa-deśa. This city is supposed by Cunningham to be the same as that mentioned in the last book of the Rāmāyaṇa,⁷ and the Vāyu Purāṇa,⁸ where, however, it appears as

¹ McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, as described by Arrian*, etc., 1898, p. 66, n. 1. ² Cf. *Eastern India*, Vol. I, p. 151.

³ Alberuni, Vol. I, p. 300. A ferry of Gour on the Chambal (1505 A.D.) is mentioned in Elliot, V, 100. ⁴ XIV, 3. ⁵ King Śrāvastī, city Śrāvastī, see chap. XII, p. 21.

⁶ *Tasya putro' bhava l-viraḥ Śāvastir-iti viśrutaḥ | Nirmitā yena Śāvastīḥ Gauḍa-deśe mahāpuri |* Bib. Ind. ed., p. 221 and n.

⁷ *Uttara-Kāṇḍa*, Chap. 108, Bombay edition, 1888.

⁸ *Jajñe Śrāvastako rājā Śrāvastī yena nirmitā*—Vol. II, p. 264 (Oanto 26, verse 27).

situated in Uttara Kośala (Oudh). From this evidence it has been inferred that Gauḍa was a subdivision of Uttara Kośala. The ruined city of Sahet-Mahet, close to Bahraich and Gonda in the United Provinces, has been taken to represent the ancient site of Śrāvasti, while the Gauḍa-deśa referred to in the two above-mentioned Purāṇas was identified by Cunningham¹ with the Gonda of the maps. In this connection it was suggested that the name Gauḍa might have been connected with the river Ghāgrā, on the left bank of which stands the Gonda district of the present day. In the Central Provinces the name Gond is frequently Sanskritised into Gauḍa.² As the Silimpur³ stone-slab inscription alludes to a place called Śrāvasti, which is understood by some to have been situated in the Varendrī country (North Bengal), R. G. Basak has boldly suggested that Cunningham's identification of Śrāvasti, mentioned in the Matsya and the Kūrma Purāṇa, is no longer tenable, and that it should be located somewhere in northern Bengal in accordance with the evidence of the new epigraph. This he alleges was distinct from the other city of the same name, references to which are to be found in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Vāyu Purāṇa, because in these works it has been clearly assigned to Uttara Kośala. But it is necessary to bear in mind that the Silimpur inscription which is supposed to throw doubt on Cunningham's theory is not earlier than the 11th century A.D., as its palaeography shows, and that no link is available connecting this '*Śrāvasti of the Varendrī country*' with the Purāṇic legend that describes the foundation of Śrāvasti in the Gauḍa-deśa. Dr. Barnett remarks that "possibly the passages in the Purāṇas on the foundation of Śrāvasti were written at a time when Gauḍa dominated Oudh." As to the Silimpur inscription, its evidence is not clear enough to show indisputably that a city of this name flourished in Varendrī. Even if such a city really existed the Gauḍas may have given the name of one of their earlier

¹ AGI., pp. 467-469.

² Imp. Gaz. of India, Provincial Series, Central Provinces, p. 158; CR., 1937, April, p. 42.

³ Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 283 ff.

outposts to a place situated in this province. But all this is problematic as the movement of the Gaudas is not yet known as a historical fact with its bearings well-ascertained. Already when Pāṇini wrote his grammar, Gauda seems to have been known as situated in the east. His Sūtra VI, II, 99, refers to the east and the following Sūtra (VI, II, 100) makes an allusion to Gauda (*Arishṭa Gaṇḍapūrve. Arishṭa-puram Gaṇḍapuram*).¹ The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra² shows its acquaintance with the name Gauda (*Gauḍikam Kāmanālam Kabakam chākṛavālikam cha rūpyam*). Although the earlier history of the Gaudas is involved in obscurity, it is certain that from about the 4th or 5th century A. D. onwards they were throughout regarded as an eastern people, if not from the time of Pāṇini. Daṇḍī³ in his work on Poetics refers to the style of composition used by the Gaudas (*Gauḍīya*) in the east (6th century). In the topographical chapter of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* the Gaudas are mentioned as an eastern people. Though the reading of the text is 'Gauḍaka,' Kern gives 'Gaura' in his translation. He next wrongly identifies the Gauras with 'the whites,' supposed to live in *Svetadvīpa*.⁴ Bharata, the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*,⁵ knew of a particular way of hair-dressing which prevailed among the Gauda women (*Gauḍinām*). The connection of the Gaudas with Bengal in the middle of the 6th century A. D. can be definitely established on the evidence of the *Harāhā* inscription of *Iśānavarman*, which says that the *Maukhari* king compelled them to live on the sea-shore.⁷ The reference to the Gaudas in this record must be interpreted in the first place so as

¹ Böhtlingk, Vol. I, p. 429 (1839).

² Ed. by J. Jolly, Vol. I, p. 51.

³ II, 13, 31.

⁴ *Kāvya-darśa - Parichchheda* 1, 40, 42, 43, 46, etc. (BS.).

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, 1833, p. 178. *Parāśara* to whom *Varāhamihira* is indebted for the 14th chapter of his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* similarly locates *Gauḍaka* in the east along with *Utkala*, *Paṇḍra*, *Kurvaṭ*, *Saundara* and *Uḍra*. See *Diveḍi's* ed. of the BS., Vol. I, p. 287; also Kern, BS., Intro. p. 32; *Alberuni*, Vol. I, p. 301 (*Gauraka*).

⁶ Chap. XXI, 48.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 110 ff.

to apply to an eastern people, consistently with the information derived from some of the earlier sources. The supremacy of the Gaudas during this time probably extended up to the south of Midnapore, bordering on the Bay of Bengal, or the northern part of the Orissan coast. The Gauda territory is shortly afterwards known to have included Kārṇasuvarṇa, ruled by Śaśāṅka, with his capital at Rāṅgāmātī (in the Murshidābād district), from the combined testimony of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the court-poet of Harshavardhana, and the Chinese traveller Hiuen-tsang (7th century A. D.).¹ The territories of this Gauda king extended from Rohtāsgarh in Bihār to Ganjām in the south. Names of villages, waterways and tanks in the districts of Burdwān, Hooghly and Midnapore appear to preserve the memory of Śaśāṅka or his kingdom (*cf.* village Rāṅgāmātī in Burdwan on the other side of the Dāmodar; another village called Sasāṅka, not far from it; Sasāṅkadīghi in the Midnapore district; another tank bearing probably a vulgarised form of this name at Bogra; [Sosong Dīghi]; Kānsonā canal² in the Hooghly district, etc.) The tradition about Tirhut being a part of the five-divisioned Gauda world may not be a mere fiction, as a part of Bihār was included in the Gauda dominions governed by Śaśāṅka. Since the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* speaks of the Gaudakas as an eastern people, living beyond Oudh, which is probably the eastern limit

¹ HC., VIth Uchchhvāsa; Watters, Vol. I, p. 313; Vol. II, pp. 43, 92, 115, 116, 192; CIL., Vol. I, p. 253; Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 143.

² N. Vasu's *Vaṅglār Jātiya Itihāsa—Rājanya Kāṇḍa*, Vol. I, pp. 73-74; CASR., XV, p. 102. For the Kānsonā khāl or the Kāna Dāmodar, a principal branch of the Dāmodar, see Stat. Ac. B., Vol. 3, p. 261. "This Kān Sona channel of the Damuda," wrote Waddell in 1892, "is a small narrow silted up creek or *khal* which debouches into the Hooghly about one mile above the village of Ulubaria in Howrah district." He takes this name to be a Prakritised form of the word 'Kārṇa-Suvarṇa.' The name Kāna is applied to some of the old channels of the Damuda and "doubtfully to an old channel of the Adjai in Birbhum district." It also must be within the area of Kārṇa-Suvarṇa. He next identifies Kānchannagar in the Burdwān district, about 70 miles N. N. W. of Tamlūk (23°14'10" N lat. 87°53'52" E long), with Kānson-nagar or Kārṇasuvarṇa. See L. A. Waddell—Discovery of the Exact Site of Asoka's Classic Capital of Pataliputra, 1892, Appendix, pp. 25-27, Plate III. The name, however, is, Kārṇasuvarṇa, and it is difficult to see how 'Kānchannagara' can be equated with it.

of Varāhamibira's *Madhyadeśa*, it is likely that in his time the Gauḍas were distributed over an area which comprised Magadha. A close connection between Bihār and Gauḍa is also suggested in the Āphsad¹ inscription of the so-called Guptas of Magadha (7th century), which was engraved by a native of Gauḍa (*Sūkshma-śireṇa Gauḍeṇa praśastir-ccikat-āksharā*). In the early part of the 8th century Yaśovarman, the king of Kanauj, defeated and killed a Gauḍa lord, an episode alluded to in Vākpatirāja's Prakrit work entitled the *Gauḍavaho*.² It may be inferred that this unfortunate monarch must have held besides Magadha a considerable portion of Bengal, once under the possession of Śaśāṅka, as otherwise the epithet "the lord of Gauḍa" would not have been applied to one who flourished about a century after the latter's demise. The Gauḍa kings referred to in the mediaeval inscriptions of the Hindu period were, as far as can be ascertained, members of the different ruling dynasties of Bengal. Gauḍa practically became a synonym for Bengal. Originally Vaṅga may have been outside the region denoted by this name. In the *Gauḍavaho* a Vaṅga king is separately mentioned (vv. 419-421). If the disputed reading 'Bṛihadvaṅga' (Great Vaṅga), an expression supposed to be used in the Sāgarī inscription of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Bhoja,³ who flourished in the 9th century A. D., is correct, the name probably denoted Gauḍa and the rest of the Pāla empire, as constituted during the period. Varendra (*Gauḍe Śrī-vidite Varendra-rishaye*⁴ and *Rādhā*⁵ (*Gauḍam rāshṭram-anuttamam nir-upamā tat-āpi Rādhā*) are clearly mentioned to have been comprised in the Gauḍa kingdom.⁴ The Pāla sovereigns of Bengal were styled 'Gauḍendra,' 'Gauḍādhipa' or 'Gauḍeśvara,'⁶ and the Sena rulers, after they had succeeded

¹ CII, Vol. 1, p. 206.

² Edn. by Shankar Pāṇḍurang Paṇḍit (1887), pp. xlii-xlix. In this work the Gauḍa king is taken to be the same as the lord of Magadha, cf. vv. 417, 635-37.

³ ABR, Vol. III, 1903-04, p. 277.

⁴ Aufrecht, Bodleian Library Cat., p. 87.

⁵ PCN., p. 49, Calcutta, 1885.

⁶ Cf. 'Gauḍendra' and 'Gauḍa-rāja,' vv. 96, 101 in the Pavanadūta, and Gauḍa-deśa in v. 6.

in driving out the former from the province, assumed the same title or titles indicating their mastery of the country. The adoption of such symbol of supreme sovereignty on the part of the Sena rulers must have dated from their conquest of North Bengal (cf. *āsīd Gauḍeśvara-Śrīhaṭha-haraṇa-kalā*, l. 19.—Mādhānagar copper-plate of Lakshmanasena). Gauḍa thus became the name of the Bengal empire, the beginnings of which are to be traced to the time of Śaśāṅka with its culmination attained during the Pāla period. It was probably in this sense that Kalhaṇa used the expression 'Pañcha-Gauḍa,'¹ the overlordship of which according to a story narrated by him was acquired for Jayanta, the ruler of Paundravardhana, by a king of Kashmīr in the 8th century. To the Kashmīr historian we perhaps owe the first literary reference to Pañcha-Gauḍa. The genuineness of the legend has been doubted, and Kalhaṇa probably gives a comparatively modern setting, as a representative of his own age, to a legend, which, if true, was concerned with a period several centuries earlier than he. The meaning, which may be put upon the 'Pañcha-Gauḍa' mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, may thus be different from the sense in which it is understood in orthodox tradition applying to vast areas outside Bengal, which it was the policy of the imperial Pāla and Sena rulers to control. That Gauḍa in the early Muhammadan period denoted the more or less homogeneous area is apparent from the statement in which Minhāj-ud-Dīn seems to define it in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*.² "The parts round about the state of Lakaṇawaṭī," according to the chronicle, were "Jāj-nagar, the countries of Bang, Kāmṛūd, and Tīrbūt," and "the whole of that territory," seems to have been named Gaur. It appears therefore that Gauḍa in his time included Tīrbūt, Bengal, 'ssam and Utkala or Orissa. Jāj-nagar is identified by Blochmann with Jajpur, near Cuttack. The traditional definition of 'Pañcha-Gauḍa' omits Assam, but includes Kanauj and the Punjab, which may

¹ Stein, *Rājat.*, IV. 466.

² Raverly, pp. 587-88.

be significant from the historical point of view, probably throwing light on the vexed question of the original habitat of the Gaudas and their distribution over a wide tract of country.¹

The geography of Puṇḍravardhana itself must have been closely connected with the development of the Puṇḍras. A tribal movement in the case of the Puṇḍras seems to have been more than probable. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, where the Puṇḍras are mentioned for the first time, they are grouped among others with the Pulindas and the Andhras. There are various stories regarding the Pulindas and their origin in the different branches of Indian literature, but they are generally associated with the Vindhya region. In the Matsya² and the Vāyu Purāṇa,³ for instance, their connection with this part of India is expressly stated, since they are found to form a group with the Vaidarbhas (of Western Berar) and Daṇḍakas (of Mahārāshtra) as in “*Pulindā Vindhya-Pushikā (or Mūlikā) Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakair saha.*” According to Bühler the Pulindas are again mentioned with the Andhras in the XIIIth Rock-Edict of Aśoka as established on the frontier of his dominions, but this reading is perhaps wrong. In the story of Udayana, given by the author of the Bṛhatkathā, the kingdom of the Pulindas is located in the Vindhya region in alliance with Kauśāmbi (modern Kosām near Allahabad).⁴ The neighbours of the Pulindas were the Andhras, who are known to have inhabited the territory watered by the Godāvarī and the Krishnā. It therefore stands to reason that the Puṇḍras, who are classed with these peoples in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, must have lived in some region not very distant from the lands occupied by them. But in some period of their history they appear to have come

¹ For a detailed study of ‘Gauda,’ see Haran Chandra Chakrabarty, Social Life in Ancient India : Studies in Vātsyāyana’s Kāmasūtra, pp. 66-73. On the Gauda problem, s. JRAS., 1905, pp. 163-164; 1906, p. 442; Ind. Ant., 1911, p. 22, fn. 75; p. 151; JASB. (N.S.), IV, pp. 280-231; Geographical Dictionary, p. 63.

² 114, 48.

³ Vol. I, canto 45, 126.

⁴ P. O. Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, p. 89.

into contact with the Vaṅgas, Suhmas, Aṅgas and Kaliṅgas, with whom they are combined in the Purāṇic tradition. The Purāṇas frequently place them in the east along with the Aṅgas, the Vaṅgas and the Suhmas (Tāmraliptakas).¹ Patañjali² in the 2nd century B. C. evidently repeats this tradition as he mentions them together in one passage in his *Mahābhāṣya*. As far back as the time of the composition of *Kotikārnāvadāna*, a story incorporated in the *Divyāvadāna*, the Puṇḍras must have already established a settlement in Northern Bengal, for its reference to Puṇḍravardhana as an eastern city belonging to Aśoka³ proves their association with this province beyond any doubt. Puṇḍāri or Pūḍo, the name of an important caste, seems to bear an affinity to the ancient word Puṇḍra or Puṇḍa of Austro-Asiatic derivation. The *Mahābhārata* gives different forms of what seems to be the same name:⁴—Paunḍra, Paunḍraka and Paunḍrika. This kind of multiplication of names may be a mere poetical device. Bhīma is said to have led an expedition against the Paunḍra king after his conquest of Modāgiri (Monghyr).⁵ Between this country and Vaṅga lay the kingdom of Kāuśika-kachchha. The evidence of the great epic seems to suggest that the Puṇḍras were different from the Paunḍras. They are separately mentioned in a chapter of the *Bhīṣma-Parvan*, which enumerates the different tribes of India.⁶ But no distinction between Puṇḍra and Paunḍra could have existed at least in later times. Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* combines the Paunḍras with the Naipālikas⁷ (the people of Nepāl). Northern Bengal, which is

¹ Important Purāṇic references may be noted here—*Mūl.* Adī—4210, 4221; 4453; *Sabbā* 584; 1872 (Puṇḍrikas and Puṇḍras), VII. 3340, VIII. 296, XIV. 892, 2464; V. P. II, 8, 15; *Bhāgav.*-P., IX. 23, 5 (Puṇḍra); II. 7, 34; XII. 12, 39 (Paunḍraka); see *Ind. Ant.*, XXVIII, 1899, p. 4).

² *Mahābhāṣya*—on Pāṇini's Sūtra IV. 2, 52 see Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 292.

³ IX. 2. 6.

⁴ Cf. S. Sørensen, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, pp. 547, 567; *MKP.*, p. 829 n.

⁵ *Sabbā*-P., XXX.

⁶ Chap. IX. 858, 865.

⁷ XIII, 82-84. See also Rājasekhara who connects them together in *Chap.* XVII.

called Pundra in the Silimpur stone-slab inscription, is called Paundra in the records of the Chandras and Varmans. In the age of the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā* there seems to have been no distinction between Pundra and Paundra, for in its topographical portion the Paundras¹ only have been mentioned, while the Pundras² are referred to on other occasions. There was no vestige of a Paundra country in the days of Hiuen-tsang except the well-known territory of Puṇḍravardhana. The reference to a Pundra king³ in the *Kaṭhāsarit-sāgara* should therefore mean a ruler of Northern Bengal. Thus the names 'Pundra and Paundra' both came to be applicable to this part of the country. The theory that while 'Pundra'⁴ corresponded to Northern Bengal, the Paundras have to be placed in the south, as held by some scholars, is obviously untenable, if it is simply based on an assumed distinction between the two terms. For it should be noted that the place of the Pundras in association with some southern tribes, mentioned in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, has been taken by the Paundras in the post-Vedic legends of the *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata*. In the latter works they frequently form a connected group with the Udras or Odras (of western Midnapore and its neighbourhood), allied geographically to the Utkalas (of the southern part of Chotā Nāgpur and the tract from Balasore to Lohārdāgā and Sarguja, the northern tributary states of Orissa and the Balasore district), the Mekalas (the region round the Mekala hills on the west and north of Chhattisgarh), the Kaliṅgas and the Andhras.⁵

¹ XIV. 7. Also mentioned in *ibid.* V. 74-80.

² LXXX. 7; V. 70; IX. 15; X. 11; XV. 13 (*Puṇḍradhupa*), XI. 58.

³ Mention is made of the daughter of a king of Paupdra (Vol. VIII, 84); the law of Paupdra (*Paupdra-desa*) in VII. 15, and *Paupdravardhana* in II, 69 (a city), 74, 75, 79 (a city), 86.

⁴ This view is supported by some scholars. See Cunningham, *AGI.*, p. 734; Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian*, p. 86. Pargiter distinguishes Puṇḍra from Paupdra on the evidence of the *Mahābhārata*, see *JASB.*, 1897, p. 101. He defines the Paupdra region as comprising the modern districts of Santal Parganas and Birbhum and the northern portion of the Hazāribāgh district.

⁵ Cf. *Mbht.*, III. 1989; VI. 842, 845; VII. 133; VIII. 833 and II. 1374 (with the *Tamraliptas*).

In the Vishṇu Purāṇa the Paṇḍrakas are associated with the Kōśālas, the Auḍras and the Tāmraliptakas.¹ If the Purāṇic literature drew any distinction between Puṇḍra and Paṇḍra, it was probably for the purpose of keeping alive the memory of the earlier southern associations of the Puṇḍras, after they had already moved to a different world. The means thus adopted was not a happy one, being the source of much of our confusion in settling the geographical question bearing on the history of this tribe. The original Puṇḍra or Paṇḍra land, which can be determined with some accuracy from the general indications contained in the old texts, must be distinguished from the colony founded by them in Bengal, which they called after their mother-country. The neighbours of the former, as already noted, were the Oḍras, the Andhras, etc., and to their east lived the Suhmas and the Vaṅgas. The original Puṇḍra territory seems to have been situated within these limits. The southernmost boundary of their region abutted on the land of the Utkālas with whom they are sometimes mentioned, and on the south-east it approached Oḍra, which included the western part of Midnapore. The present Chotā Nāgpur division,² excluding its southern part which belonged to the Utkālas, answers well to this description of its physical situation. The Puṇḍras appear to have been a powerful people almost from the beginning of their recorded history. At one time their authority is said to have extended up to the river Chambal in the west.³ From their home in Chotā Nāgpur they moved in the direction of the north-east, and gradually established themselves to the east of the Bhāgīrathī, in the northern part of Bengal, which they named after their own tribal appellation (Puṇḍra and Paṇḍra). They must have made an appreciable progress in this direction before the 3rd or

¹ IV. 28. 18. The Brihatsaṁhitā (V 74) also combines the Paṇḍras with the Auḍras, two other forms of the latter name being Uḍra and Oḍra. See Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian, p. 84.

² MKP., p. 229 n.

³ Ibid.

2nd century B. C. Here they became close neighbours of the Aṅgas on one side and the people of Prāggyotisha on the other, while the Suhmas and the Vaṅgas held their ground in the rest of Bengal. In later times the greatest fabric of political power that Bengal ever witnessed in the pre-Muhammadan period was built up in the Puṇḍra colony at the head of the delta. The city of Puṇḍra-, or Pauṇḍra-Vardhana has been referred to by several sources, viz., the Divyāvadāna, the Rājatarāṅgiṇī,¹ the Sangli Plate² of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda IV, and probably also in the Pāhārpur inscription of the time of Budha-Gupta. The earliest epigraphic reference to it (Puṇḍanagala) is contained in the Mauryan Brāhmī inscription from Mahāsthān. Hiuen-tsang does not mention the name of the capital of Puṇḍravardhana, but he says that 20 li to the west of it was a magnificent Buddhist establishment, which was called the Po-shih-po (P'o-kih-p'o of the D text of the Life, Po-kih-sha of other texts) monastery. Now, there is an old village of the name of Bihār on the east bank of the Nagar River in the Bogra district, which contains a 'mound of brick ruins, 700 ft. in length by 600 ft. in breadth,' and a large tank 'surrounded by high embankments.' The locality can be recognised in Rennell's Atlas (1779, Plate V), where the name given is Bhāsu Bihār. At a little distance from these ruins there is the village of Bhāsu Bihār; 'opposite this village on the west' still stands a solid brick mound of 30 ft. in height, which may represent the *stūpa* visited by the Chinese traveller in the 7th century. On the right or west bank of the Karatoyā river, seven miles to the north of Bogra, and only four miles to the east of Bhāsu Bihār,³ (Bhāsvat?) lies Mahāsthān, once a fortified city as attested by an oblong mound, 15 ft. above the surface of the country with ramparts rising to 35 ft. at

¹ IV. 421.

² Ind. Ant., XII, 251; Brihatskāthamāñjarī, Lamb, III, Story 3, vv. 237, 265.

³ C. J. O'Donnell, JASB., 1876, Part I, pp. 189-186.—Note on Mahāsthān near Bagurā (Bogra). Pauṇḍravardhana-nagara is referred to in the Avadāna Kalpalatā of Kṣhemendra (11th cent.), S. P. ed., Ch. 98.

the corner bastions, and other brick mounds within an area of 4,500 ft. in length from the north to the south and 3,000 ft. in breadth. The fortifications appear to have been protected by a ditch on the north, south and the west, while the Karatoyā, now an attenuated and lifeless stream, flowed along the east with its ancient mound and fortifications overhanging the sacred bathing-place at Śilā-dvīpa, locally known as Śilā-Devī's Ghāṭ, to which the gate of the fortified city led in the east on the Karatoyā river. Mahāsthān, with which Cunningham first identified the capital of Puṇḍravardhana on the ground mainly¹ that the distance between this city and Po-shi-p'o as recorded by Hiuen-tsang exactly agrees with that between Mahāsthān and Bhāsu Bihār, is, as Beveridge puts it, "the most widely-known antiquity in Bagurā,"² on the east of which flows the Karatoyā that separated Kāmarupa from Bengal in the Hindu period. Bardhan Kuṭi,³ which is the same as the Bardhankot of the Muhammadan historian Minhāj, and is situated at a distance of only twelve miles to the north of Mahāsthān,⁴ was a part of this historic tract. Popular tradition connects the ruins of an old fort and extensive brick-remains, to be found seventy miles to the north of Bardhan Kuṭi, respectively with the names of Dharmapāla (?) and Devapāla. And again, at Amari,⁶ a mile to the south-west of this site, were to be found, as reported by Buchanan, the brick-remains of what the local people believed to be the palace of Mahīpāla. Place-names, such as Mahigunj, Mahinagar, Mahīpur, Mahī-santosh, Nayanagar, etc., are probably reminiscent of the associations of the Pāla dynasty

¹ CASR., XV, pp. 102-4.

² H. Beveridge, *The Antiquities of Bagurā*, JASB., 1878, p. 80. ff. (p. 91).

³ Cf. B. L. Mitra, *The Pāla and Sena Rājas of Bengal*, JASB., 1878, XLVII, Pt. I, pp. 384 ff., p. 395.

⁴ Cunningham's theory has received fresh support from the discovery of an inscription of the 2nd or 3rd century B. C. from Mahāsthān, in which there is a clear reference to Puṇḍra-nagara and also from the fact that the Karatoyā-Māhātmya, a book of 84 verses, dealing partly with the topography of Puṇḍra-Kṣhetra, alludes to Mahāsthān—(samāt khyātāṁ sakala-jagatām Śrī-Mahāsthānam-etat, v. 59).

⁵ Eastern India, Vol. II, p. 660; JASB., 1878, Pt. I, p. 826.

producing rulers called Mahīpāla and Nayapāla. According to Westmacott, whose view is not acceptable now, Bardhamkot should be identified with Hiuen-tsang's capital of Puṇḍravardhana,¹ but this name is applied to the Rājbarī or the King's palace, 12 miles to the north of Mahāsthāngarh. A well-planned scheme of excavation has already been put into operation at Mahāsthān² by the Archaeological Department, and the results of its progress are being keenly awaited. The deserted town of Pānduā, Hazrat Pānduā or Firozābād³ in the district of Malda,

¹ E. V. Westmacott, *On Traces of Buddhism in Dinajpur*, JASB., 1875, p. 188.

² Among the many objects of antiquarian interest to be found in Mahāsthāngarh and its neighbourhood some deserve special attention. Mr. P. C. Sen refers to a mound which he calls Māṅkhalir Dhāp, about 400 ft. to the north of the Khudār-Pāthar Dhāp in Mahāsthāngarh (V. R. Society's Monographs, No. 2, pp. 7-8). This must be the same mound described by Cunningham under the name Man-Kali-Ka-Kunda (CASR., XV, pp. 106-9). The mound certainly marks an old site, as various ancient relics were found here, such as carved bricks, mouldings of cornices, terracotta alto-relievos, bronze figures of Gaṇeśa and Gaṇaḍa, and a fragment of a blue stone-pedestal with the end of an inscription in mediaeval Nāgari characters, which was read as Nāgrahāra (*ibid.*, p. 109). The name adopted by Mr. Sen suggests to him the probability of some association between this site and the Ajivika leader Mankhaliputta Gosāla, a contemporary of the Jaina saint Mahāvīra. This may be regretted as an instance of crude philology. The tradition recorded by Cunningham connecting the site with a Rājā Man Singh, who preceded the legendary Paraśurāma, father of Śilā Devī, gives a popular explanation of the name in a slightly variant form. Another mound which Mr. Sen calls Skander Dhāp (VRS. Monographs, No. 2; pp. 9-10; IHQ. 1933, p. 725) situated in Mouza Baghopara, 2 miles from Mahāsthān, is taken to represent the site of the temple of Skanda referred to in the Karatoyā-Māhātmya, and the temple of Kārtikeya mentioned in the Rājatarānginī. It is further suggested that the same place was known to the author of the Rāmacharita by the name Skandanagara (III. 9). If, as Mr. Sen supposes, the mound marks the site of a temple of Skanda in Skandanagara, that temple could not have been the same as the one that stood in Puṇḍravardhana-nagara. The same mound is called Skand Ghat in JASB., 1878, p. 91. This and the mound Gobind Ghat are situated in the village Gokul. A point to consider is whether the description of Mahāsthān as situated between Skand Ghāt and Gobind Ghāt would be quite accurate, taking these to represent the temples of Skanda and Govinda mentioned in the Karatoyā-Māhātmya. (*Skanda-Gorindayor-madhya bhūmih Samakṛita-vedikā*). Regarding Mr. Sen's proposal to identify Gokul with Gopagriha mentioned in a Mahāsthān inscr. of the 9th century, it may be pointed out that Mr. Haridas Mitra rightly doubts whether this can be taken as a place-name. See JASB., 1922, pp. 430-43. For the antiquities of Bogra, see also DG(B), pp. 156-159, and P. C. Sen, Bagudār Lihās.

³ Elliot, Vol. III, p. 298. This name does not represent Puṇḍravardhanapura, but is an abbreviated form of Pāṇḍu-nagara, as shown by coin-legends of the 15th century, see N. K. Bhattachali, *The Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal*, pp. 109, 118-20, 122-23.

was in a flourishing condition during the early Muhammadan period. The remains at this place, on the east of the Mahānandā, leave little room for doubt that the city was rebuilt by the Muhammadans on the ruins of the Hindu period. The site has been pointed out by some as the capital of Puṇḍravardhana visited by Hiuen-tsang.¹ But the claim of Pānduā, as well as that of Gauḍa in the Malda district seems to be negatived by what the Chinese pilgrim says about the distance of the capital of Puṇḍravardhana from Kajaṅgala, whence he started for this country. The distance between Gauḍa and Pānduā on the one hand and Kajaṅgala on the other is less than 600 li. There may have been different seats of government in northern Bengal during the various periods of its history, and it is quite possible that Mahāsthān, Pānduā, Gauḍa, Devīkoṭ (Deokot) and Rāmavati (on the Bhāgīrathi)² may have attained prominence as centres of administration in the different epochs of its annals. Probably Pāhārpur in the Rājshāhi district, where excavation work was conducted some time ago, cannot be added to this list of ancient political seats of northern Bengal, for the relics hitherto recovered at this place, including the inscriptions, are all of a religious character. On the eve of the Muhammadan Conquest Gauḍa or Lakhnautī was the capital of the Sena dynasty. It may have gradually risen into importance with the decline of the other notable places of Upper Bengal. Rāmavati which we have already mentioned was founded towards the close of the 11th century A. D. by Rāmapāla in commemoration of his victory over the Kaivartas. It was situated at the junction of the Karatoyā and the Ganges³ (*apy=abhito Gaṅgā-Karatoyā.....*). In the 12th century his

¹ See S. N. Majumdar, note, AGI., p. 724.

² Chap. III, vv. 10, 31 (Rāmavati-mahāsthān...), 48. This chapter contains references to the famous Jāgaddala monastery (v. 7), to Skandanagara (v. 9), and probably also to Śoṇitapura (v. 9), which is known to be a synonym of Bārapura or Devīkoṭ, and the river Panarbhavā (Apanarbhavā in v. 10). See MASB., III, pp. 47, 49, 50.

³ JASB., 1900, LXIX, Pt. I, p. 71.

son Madanapāla who appears to have been the last of the Pālas in Bengal issued his Manahali grant from this new capital (*Śrī Rāmāvatī-nagara-parisara-samāvāsita-śrīmaj-jaya-skandhāvārāt*, ll. 30-31).¹ In the 16th century it was known to the Muhammadans by the name of Ramrauti, which constituted one of the circles under the jurisdiction of the Sarkār of Lakhnauti belonging to Akbar.² In the latter part of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century³ the Kaivarta rebels of North Bengal founded the suburban town of Damara (upapuram), which has been identified with Damaranagar, close to the ruins at Rāmāvatī in the Malda district.⁴ The old rampart called Bhīmer Jāṅgal, which still extends alongside of the western bank of the Karatoyā,⁵ points to the area which received the special attention of Bhīma, the leader of the revolt. The location of a principality named Sankatagrāma,⁶ to which the Rāmacharita commentary refers, cannot be regarded as definitely settled. In the Ā'in-i-Akbarī mention is to be found of a place called Sankatā,⁷ assigned to the Sarkār of Panjarā⁸ comprising portions of the modern district of Dinājpur, with which this place may be tentatively identified. In this connection Beams refers to Sagunā, a pargana in the north-western part of the Bogra district, which Grant locates in this Sarkār.

¹ GLM., p. 153.

² Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 131.

³ Com. on Chap. I, v. 27.

⁴ MA+B., Vol. V, pp. 1-92.

⁵ Tradition connects these remains with the Pāṇḍava hero Bhīma.

⁶ MASB., Vol. III, Chap. II, v. 5.

⁷ JRAS., 1896, p. 123.

⁸ This word, according to Westmacott (JASB, XLIV, 8), represents the old Hindu name, Pauṇḍra, which J. Beames considers probable, see JRAS., 1896, p. 132.

SECTION D.

SOME UNSOLVED GEOGRAPHICAL PROBLEMS.

Vārakamaṇḍala, Navyāvakāśikā, Phalgugrāma, Haradhūma, (?) Ayodhyā—identifications uncertain. Changes in river-courses and other factors explaining disappearance of evidence of ancient sites.

In the course of our study of the various sources of information relating to the geography of Bengal, we have come across names of several places including some of considerable areas, which, in the absence of reliable evidence, we have refrained from assigning to one or other of the different subdivisions of the province, on which our scheme of reconstruction is based. Among these the foremost degree of importance is to be attached to Vārakamaṇḍala, which in the 6th century A.D. was under the rule of three kings, each styled a *Mahārājādhirāja*. The four copper-plates¹ belonging to their reigns were discovered from the district of Faridpur. Three of them are stated to have come from the *pargana* of *Koṭālīpādā* in that district, though the exact find-place cannot be determined,² and the fourth one, dated in the 14th year of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Samāchāra-Deva was recovered from Ghagrahāti, a *mouza* close to Pinjāri (cf. Piñjok-āshṭhī, which was probably its earlier name, as found in Viśvarūpa-sena's grant from Madanapādā under P. O. Pinjāri)³ on the Ghagar river, which flows from north to south along the western part of the fort of Koṭālīpādā, a *pargana* in the district of Faridpur. A number of gold coins of the imitation Gupta type⁴ have been

¹ For the three Faridpur grants of the time of Dharmāditya and Gopachandra ed. by Parpiter, see Ind. Ant., 1910, pp. 193-216; also see Hoernle, Ind Ant., 1891, 44. The copper-plate of the time of Samāchāra-deva was first read by T. Bloch in ASR., 1907-8, p. 255; afterwards (under the title: The Kotwal-pāra Spurious Grant of Samāchāra Deva) by R. D. Banerjee in JASB., 1910 (N.S.), pp. 423-436. For Parpiter's reading and English translation of the text see JASB., 1911, p. 475 ff. For N. K. Bhattasali's reading of the text with translation and notes, see Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 74 ff.

² Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 75, fn.

³ JASB., 1896, Pt. I, p. 6; IB., p. 182.

⁴ Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 85.

recovered from the neighbourhood of the fort. On this evidence this part of the Faridpur district may be looked upon as having an ancient history of its own. The history of the Koṭālipādā fort has been forgotten, but one writer believes that in the Ghaghrahāṭi Plate of Samāchāra-Deva there is a reference to this fort under the name of Chandravarman-koṭa (l. 19—*Paśchimāyām Chandravamma koṭakoṇaḥ*).¹ The reading 'vamma' as well as 'koṇaḥ' is not free from doubt. Chandravarman referred to here, according to the same scholar, is identical with the hero of the Susunia (in the Bankura district) inscription, which has been assigned to the 4th century A.D.² The fort, therefore, is to be taken to be as old as the 4th century. As the reading of Chandravarman's name is doubtful, and as there is no evidence beyond this to connect the present fort with the memory of that ruler, it would not be proper to assert in a categorical fashion that this fort is mentioned in the Ghaghrahāṭi Plate, and on the strength of this to place its origin in the 4th century A.D. It may be interesting to know that there is a tank, known as Jāṭiābāḍi, about "half a mile to the north-west from the north-east corner of this fort," which represents, according to N. K. Bhattasali, Vidyādhara Joṭikā * lying to the south of the land granted by the Plate. But the theory does not seem to be well warranted, for what is referred to under this name cannot be gathered from the text. It may also be added here that a Prākṛit form corresponding to 'joṭikā' is 'joḍiā' and not 'Jāṭiā.' In Copper-plates A and C of the series belonging respectively to the time of Dharmāditya (l. 16) and that of Gopachandra (l. 22) there is the mention of a place called Dhruvilāṭi. It appears to have been a village of respectable size, and was probably the capital of a district. Pargiter proposed to identify it with modern Dhulat in the Faridpur district (long. 89°28½', lat. 23°43½', about 28 miles W.N.W. of Faridpur town),³ but he was not himself sure about the correctness of this identification. The fact of the discovery of these plates in the Faridpur district has been, it seems, chiefly relied upon for the

¹ Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp. 77, 85.² Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 188 f.³ Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 86.⁴ Ind. Ant., 1910, p. 216.⁵ Ibid.

purpose of settling the geography of the *Vāraka-maṇḍala*. That the Faridpur district was part and parcel of the *Vāraka-maṇḍala* may be probable, but this cannot be said to be proved yet in a satisfactory or convincing manner. The view that the name 'Vāraka' is derived from the same root as 'Varendra' is subject to controversy. Pargiter, who offered this suggestion, himself distinguished Varendra from Vāraka. In his opinion Bāṛind¹ was the northern limit of Vāraka which corresponded more or less to Samatāṭa, as defined by Cunningham, consisting of the 'delta formed by the Ganges and the River Karatoyā and other rivers from North Bengal,' when, of course, the condition of some of these rivers was different. It is apparent that the limits of Vāraka have not been ascertained from indisputable data. Bhattasali takes '*Maṇḍala*' out of the name '*Vāraka-maṇḍala*' as meaning a group or 'a collection of small areas,' but this interpretation of the term is different from the meaning in which it is generally found to be used as denoting an administrative division related to a *vishaya*. The terms '*Maṇḍala*' and '*Vishaya*' have also been employed together in these copper-plates from Faridpur. Vāraka, according to him, is to be taken in the sense of "the deltaic land that obstructs and alters the current of a river," so that *Vāraka-maṇḍala* should denote a group of deltaic areas. Supposing this interpretation to be correct, one cannot form a definite idea about the extent of a territory which has been so vaguely defined. Which portions of the delta were included, and which were not? The name '*Vāraka-maṇḍala*,' as understood in the above sense, does not suggest any positive answer to this question. Even if *vāraka* is to be derived from a root that means 'to obstruct,' it can only be an adjective qualifying '*maṇḍala*,' in which case the literal meaning of '*Vāraka-maṇḍala*' would simply be a *maṇḍala* that obstructs, and not what has been read into it. And yet it appears as if this explanation is to be regarded as unassailable and no argument demanded for supporting the conclusion that "Anyway, Vāraka-

¹ *Ipd. Ant.*, 1910, p. 200.

maṇḍala would be the district round Kotālipādā in the present district of Faridpur, almost in the heart of what was anciently known as Vaṅga.' Three of these copper-plates refer to a place named Navyāvakāśikā, which seems to have been the headquarters of the government of the Vāraka-*maṇḍala*. Hoernle interpreted it to mean 'a new or recent interval, a kind of interregnum.' Plate A,¹ belonging to Dharmāditya, does not mention the name of this divisional centre, but the other plate of his time does.² It existed during the reigns of Gopachandra and Samāchāra-Deva. According to the dictionaries the word '*Avakāśa*' has different meanings, such as place, pace, room, occasion, interval, aperture. Navyāvakāśikā can, therefore, stand as the name of a place which was founded 'on a recent occasion.'³ Bhattasali thinks that as one of the meanings is 'aperture,' the name was given to a place provided with a canal. An aperture is not, however, the same thing as a canal unless it is of an extraordinary type. It is next suggested that Navyāvakāśikā could only correspond to Sābhār in the Dacca district, where some coins of the 'Imitation Gupta' type have been found. Besides, the place possesses a fort and a watercourse connected with the river Baṅgsāi, part of which is artificial. The name 'Sābhār' is proposed to be derived from '*sambhāra*,' meaning wealth, affluence, etc. Therefore, this must have been a very prosperous area. These in short are the grounds advanced in support of the above identification.⁴ It may be admitted that Sābhār, equipped with a canal, was a flourishing place in early times. It may be a mere guess though not contradicted here that its antiquity can go back to such a remote period as the 6th century A.D. But what cannot be claimed to be proved from the evidence, summed up above, is the definite inference that Sābhār must have been identi-

¹ Ind. Ant., 1910, pp. 195-196.

² *Ibid*, p. 200.

³ Dr. Barnett's note on the above is "probably Navyāvakāśikā means 'a place of new clearing,' i.e., a place recently cleared of jungle, etc., and built on. *Avakāśa* = open space." Cf. Kāśika in the Pāṭharpur copper-plate, 159 G. E.—(Vajra-Gobhāṣya-m-a(e)v-āśyāt — Kāśika-pañcha-stāpa-nikāyika).—l. 6.—Ep. Ind., XX, p. 62, also n. 8.

⁴ Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 85.

cal with Navyāvakāśikā. While it is seriously maintained that Vāraka-*maṇḍala* was the area round Koṭālipāḍā in the Faridpur district, the seat of its government is placed in the Dacca district, which does not appear to be a reasonable solution of the problem.

It is apparent from the foregoing discussion that the geographical perplexity, to which the Faridpur Plates give rise, has not yet been finally solved. From an analytical study of the palaeography of these inscriptions, it may be shown that Vāraka-*maṇḍala* was not as progressive a district as Puṇḍra-vardhana in the 5th or 6th century, but that comparatively speaking it represented a definitely backward area in the country. It moreover appears to have formed only a portion of the kingdom under the rule of Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāra-Deva respectively, each styled a *Mahārājādhirāja*. A coin attributed by Bhattasali to Samāchāra-Deva was found at Muhammadpur in the Jessore district. It is not improbable that the territory in the possession of these kings was fairly extensive. If the *provenance* of the coin and the find-place of the inscriptions are to be taken into account, the kingdom of Samāchāra may be supposed to have included portions of Jessore and Faridpur. It may not be out of place to mention here that there is a river of first-rate importance for navigation called Barāk,¹ with its source among the Cachar mountains, which waters the southern valley of the Assam province, consisting of the districts of Cachar and Sylhet. It has two offshoots, the Surmā and the Kusiyrā, ultimately losing itself in the Meghna near Bhairab Bazar. As the geography of Vāraka-*maṇḍala* is still unsettled, the knowledge of the existence of such an important river as the Barāk may not altogether be without some value. The region as known from the Plates was near the eastern sea or the Bay of Bengal, for it is said that land used to be sold here according to a fixed rate, which obtained along the *eastern sea* (*Prāk-samudra-maryyādā*—Pl. A, l. 10; ² *Prāk-pravṛitti-maryyādā*—

¹ IG, VII, p. 266. XXIII, pp. 175-176.

² Ind. Ant., 1910, p. 196.

Pl. C, l. 16; ¹ *Prār(k) = kriyamāṇaka-maryyādā*—Pl. B, l. 13.² It was noted for its trading and commercial activities, which required the appointment of a special officer concerned with stocks of commercial goods (*Vyāpārā-Kāraṇḍaya*,³ Pl. B, l. 5; cf. also *nau-daṇḍaka*—Pl. B, l. 23—a ship [a mast or a boat's pole]). The *maṇḍala* itself was wider than the *vishaya*, contrary to their known relative proportions, or it may be that it fell within the jurisdiction of a district officer (*Vishayapati*). It may have reached the sea in the south, comprising Noakhālī, and was probably not far from the Brahmaputra (cf. *Lauhittya* ⁴ -sagottra = *brāhmaṇa Somasvāmi*—Pl. B, l. 11). Among the place-names which can be gathered from the Faridpur Plates (Pl. A, l. 16; Pl. II, 22, 25)⁵ are (1) Dhruvilāṭi, and (2) the village *Silākuṇḍa* (*paśchimasyām Silākuṇḍa-grāmasīmā*, l. 23, Pl. C). The latter is regarded by Pargiter as different from *Silākuṇḍa*, mentioned in grant A of the time of Dharmāditya (*Silākuṇḍas-ch* [?] = *uttareṇa*, l. 24) on the ground that in the latter inscription it is not referred to as a village (*grāma*).⁶ But if they were not the same, the two inscriptions would not have further agreed in mentioning Dhruvilāṭi (Pl. C, l. 22). (3) The third name is *Karaṇka*, probably a village—its eastern boundary being Dhruvilāṭi (MS. of the *Haricharitakāvya* by Chaturbhuja⁷ assigns the village of *Karaṇja* to Varendrī), and (4) the fourth is *Vyāghrachoraka* given in the grant of Samachāra-Deva's time. The grant, situated in the last-named place, had for its boundaries a *parkati* tree, haunted by goblins, on the east, *Vidyādharaṇḍikā* on the south, *Chandra Champa*—

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

² Read *Frāk-vikṛiyamāṇaka*, see *ibid.*, p. 200; no. 87-88.

³ Pargiter reads *Vyāpara-Kāraṇḍaya* in Pl. B (*Dharmāditya*—l. 5) and *Vyāparaṇḍaya* (l. 8) in Pl. C. (*Gopachandra*). The former gives a good sense (see *ibid.*, p. 213). The Sanskrit form may be *Vyāpāra-Kāraṇḍaka*.

⁴ Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 253 n. 3. This may also be a gotra-name.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, 1910.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1910, p. 216; also *fn.* 65 on p. 198.

⁷ M.M. H. P. Śastri, —*Śrīmān Karaṇja iti Vandyatamo Varendryām*—Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected Paper MSS. in the Darbar Library of Nepal, p. 134.

kota-kena¹ or the fort of Chandravarmā on the west (Bhattasali reads *Chandravamma koṭakoṇaḥ*—the corner of Chandravarmā's fort), and the boundary of the village Gopendrachoraka on the north (from *char*_g = an alluvial formation at the side of a river-bed?). The proposed identification of the last-named place with the village of Govindapur in the Faridpur district is a mere guess unsupported by any evidence.²

Another territory of respectable dimensions, the identity of which remains unsettled, is *Suvvuṅga-vishaya*. The name is given in three places of the Tippera copper-plate³ grant of Lokanātha (ll. 1, 21, 31), but is best preserved only in line 1. R. G. Basak and Dr. Bloch read the name as *Suvvuṅga-vishaya*, but the first 'u' sign is not clear and distinct. A part of this region was a tract of forest-area in the 9th century, to which the Plate may be assigned (*aṭavi-bhūkhaṇḍe*, l. 22), *aṭavi-bhūkhaṇḍa(h)*, l. 25). It was outside the pale of human habitation, where there was no distinction between natural and artificial (*kṛit-ākṛit-āviruddha*—l. 22, and l. 25 [where the words are partly lost], and l. 31), infested by wild animals and poisonous reptiles, and covered with forest-outgrowths (*mṛiga-mahisha-varāha-vyāghra-sarīṣip-ādibhir- yath-echchham* = *anubhūyamāna...gahana-gulma-latā-vitāne*, ll. 21-22). The grant, situated in this forest-region, was bounded on the east by the Kaṇāmotikā hill, on the south by the two villages of Paṅga and Vāptka (the reference is probably to a single village, the name ending with " *āśraya*," l. 31), on the west by a piece of land—the endowment of Jayeśvara (*Jayeśvara-tāmrapaṭṭa-bhūkhaṇḍa* l. 30, read by Basak as *Jayeśvara-tāmrapatha* (?)

¹ Pargiter, JASB., 1911, p. 477. Banerjee reads *Chandravarmā-Kogakena*—JASB., 1910, p. 436.

² JASB., 1911, p. 488.

³ Pargiter thinks that the site described in the Ghazrahaṭi Plate of the time of Samācharadeva was connected with the River Ghāgara in the south-east corner of the Faridpur district, see JASB., 1911, p. 489.

⁴ Bloch's note, ASR., 1903-04 p. 120 f.; Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 301 ff.

ra-khaṇḍa), and on the north by a tank (*pushkariṇī*)—belonging to Mahattara Paṇasubha. The copper-plate of Lokanātha was discovered in the district of Tippera, but this alone cannot take us far in locating 'Suvvūṅga.'

It is held that a nobleman (*kulaputra*, l. 6) from Oudh purchased some land in the jurisdiction of the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* in 554 A.D., when the last of the Dāmodarpur copper-plates was engraved.¹ In this inscription Amṛitadeva has been described as *Āyodhyaka-kulaputraka* (l. 6). R. G. Basak surmises that this *Āyodhyāka* Amṛitadeva was a subject of the Gupta ruler, in whose reign the transaction was completed, else "why should he make such a large gift of land in Puṇḍravardhana (a Gupta territory), so far distant from his own native land?" The inference drawn by him from this introduction of the buyer that Ayodhyā formed a part of the dominions of this Gupta ruler does not follow logically. It is probable that Amṛitadeva was really not a foreigner in Bengal. There is a place of the name of Ayodhyā, a "considerable trading village" in the district of Burdwan (lat. 23° 35' 10" W. ; long. 37° 32' 20" E.), whence this nobleman may have gone to Northern Bengal. There is no proof, however, that it is an ancient place. One Ayodhyā is mentioned again in the Sundarban copper-plate, dated in the Śaka year 1117.² At any rate, it is not possible to aver that the reference in the Dāmodarpur Plate must undoubtedly be to modern Oudh.³

The Rāmpāl copper-plate of Śrīchandra⁴ is supposed to contain a reference to Nānyamaṇḍala which belonged to the Paṇḍrabhukti (l. 17). As Paṇḍravardhana gradually came to acquire a political meaning not controlled by its geographical

¹ Ep. Ind., XV, p. 144, ref. 2.

² IHQ., Vol. X, No. 2, 1934, pp. 323 ff.

³ There is another Ayodhyā, six miles from the capital of the Nilgiri State in Orissa, to the east and south of which flows the river Ghargharā, see N. N. Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja*, Vol. I, p. 87.

⁴ Ep. Ind., XII, 138-142 and Plates.

limitations, it may be a mistake to hold without sufficient evidence that any place assigned to this *bhukti* in a formal manner must have been situated in Northern Bengal. The reading of the name is doubtful. There seems to be more reason that the name should read 'Nāvyamaṇḍala.' The loop attached to the left side of the vertical of 'n' is similar to the semi-circle at the left end of the vertical of 'v' (cf. 'vishaya-' l. 21). In the present case the semi-circle is slightly angular in shape. If the reading 'Nāvyamaṇḍala' is adopted, the difficulty of locating it is considerably reduced, for the fact of Nāvya having been a part of Vaṅga is evidenced by the Sena inscriptions referred to in a previous section of this chapter.

It has been recently claimed by one writer that the theory propounded by him explains the geographical details contained in the grant from Nidhānpur¹ (in the district of Sylhet, Assam) with complete success and accuracy, and that consequently, the controversy which has raged round the question for some years should now be regarded as closed. But an analysis of the different guesses attempted, including his own, will betray the weakness of the arguments on which they are based, and the insufficiency of the existing material for the purpose of arriving at an acceptable solution of the problem will still be felt. The Nidhānpur Plates have not yet been found in their complete form, but the document as it is, though incomplete, furnishes names of 205 donees with $166\frac{1}{6}$ shares of land allotted to them, which must have represented an area of far larger dimensions than usually known from such grants. The suggestion that it measured about 5 miles by $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles² in extent may not, therefore, seem to err very much on the side of exaggeration, though it must be understood that too much mathematical accuracy in this respect cannot be vouched for. As regards the history of these Plates, all that can be gathered is that the grant recorded in them was renewed by Bhāskaravarman, the king of Kāmarūpa (7th century) from Kārṇasuvarṇa, to take the place of

¹ Ep. Ind., XII, pp. xix, pp. 115 ff.; pp. 245 ff. ² JASB., Letters, 1906, p. 420.

the one originally issued from an unknown place by his great-great-grand-father Bhūti-varman, which had been destroyed by fire. Now, in settling the identification of the site mentioned in the grant, the caste-affiliations of the donees, the fact of its discovery from the Sylhet district, and traditions said to be current about Sylhet's connection with Kāmarūpa in ancient times, have by some writers¹ been taken into special account, and given an emphasis which is far in excess of what they may deserve, for it is patent that no conclusion of a definite character can these considerations be pressed to yield. More important is the fact, if true, that the Plates² were found only 3 inches below the surface, and this indeed is not a strong point on the side of those who persist in supposing that this document was originally concerned with that district. The passage quoted below gives the topography of the grant: *Yad-etaṭ Kauśik-opachita-kshetram* (l. 126). *Yat-tu Gaṅgiṇy-upachitaka-kshetram tad-yathā-likhitaka-brāhmaṇai (ḥ)-(l. 128)-sīmāno yatra pūrveṇa śushka-Kauśikā* (l. 129) *pūrva-dakṣiṇeṇa s-aiva śushka-Kauśikā dūmbarī-chekheda-samvedyā. Dakṣiṇeṇāpi dūmbarī-chekheda(h) . dakṣiṇa* (l. 130) *paśchimeno Gaṅgiṇikā dūmbarī-chekheda-samvedyā 11 Paśchimen-ādhunā sīmā-Gaṅgiṇikā . Paśchim* (l. 131) *ottareṇa Kumbhakāra - garttas s-aiva cha Gaṅgiṇikā prāg-bhujyamāna* (no.). *Uttareṇa Vrihajāṭālī . l. 132. Uttara-pūrveṇa ryarahāri-Khāsoka-pushk(a)riṇī s-aiva śushka-Kauśikā ch-eti.* The Mayūra-Sālmal-Āgrahāra containing the assignments formed out of the silts of the Kauśikā and the Gaṅgiṇī, as mentioned in the above passage, was comprised in the Chandrapurī-nishaya, which is referred to in an earlier passage of the grant (*Chandrapurī-nishaye....Mayūra-Sālmal-āgrahāra-kshetram* (ll. 49-51). The area denoted by the grant was bounded on the east

¹ *Ibid.* Ind. cult., Vol. I, No. 4; IHQ., 1930, Vol. VI, p. 80 ff.; No. 3, p. 508, cf. Ind. Ant., 1932, pp. 43-44. For criticism, see Ind. Cult., No. 8, pp. 431 ff.

² Found in a tank at Sapātalā, see. to JASB, 1935, p. 419. P. Bhattacharya's testimony need not be doubted, see Jour. Assam Res. Soc., Vol. IV, No. 3 (1936), pp. 58-66.

by the *śushka*-Kauśikā, and on the west by the Gaṅginikā. On the south-east, and the north-west the *śushka*-Kauśikā was represented respectively by *ḍumbarī-chchheda* and a tank of the *vyavahārin* Khāsoka. On the south it was marked by 'ḍumbarī-chchheda' again, and the same sign represented the Gaṅginikā on the south-west. On the north-west where once stood the Gaṅginikā, there was now a potters' pit, and on the north there was a large *jātāli*. If these hints are followed, the Kauśikā may be envisaged as having once flowed along the east, south-east and the north-east, while the Gaṅginikā in its better days passed along the west, south-west, and the north-west, with the area assigned by the grant originally under these streams, but emerging into view and becoming fit for occupation with their recession. The name *gaṅginikā* and the epithet *śushka* show that even on those sides where some traces of these were still to be seen, they were clearly in a state of decay, if not on the verge of extinction. These are the internal data from which real guidance is to be sought in any attempt to solve the geographical problem connected with the grant. The identification of the *śushka*-Kauśikā with the *Marā* Kusiyāra¹ of Pañchakhanda in the Sylhet district cannot be accepted, as the equation does not rest on a satisfactory philological basis. The identification of Lulā Gāṅg lying on the west of Pañchakhanda with the Gaṅginikā is also unconvincing, for as the word *Gāṅg* is commonly used to denote any river without distinction, and *gaṅginikā* (*Gāṅginā*) any dried-up river in the same general way, there is nothing to prove the connection of a river called by the former name with a phenomenon designated by the latter. Thirdly, the interpretation of the expression *ḍumbarī-chchheda* in the sense of 'pools or sections of a dried-up river, which retained water in the shape of figs, i. e., circular or irregularly circular sections' is far-fetched in the extreme. Why a fig of all things should be selected as representing the shape of a pool of water, and how can a rigid uniformity in that

¹ The Sylhet theory is championed by N. K. Bhattachali, see JASB., Letters, 1935 pp. 419-427 (with a map).

shape be produced and maintained for ages ? How again can such pools of water exist for 1,300 years and still keep strong ? It is held that the *dumbari-chchhedāh* on the south-east are the present Gulchi *bil*, the Sakati *bil* and the Biya *bil*, those on the south are the Galāṭikar *bil* and the Tilchhibi *bil*, and another such *bil* on the south-west. There is, however, no reference to these names in the inscription itself. It is to be observed that they are found spread over a considerable area with intervals of land separating one another, and it is curious how these can be imagined to have served the purpose of a definite boundary-mark. Fourthly, the dictionary-meaning of *Jāṭalī* being forest, it cannot be taken as the name of 'the big Chātal bil,' although the author of the suggestion finds that a forest is 'perishable and shifting,' implying thereby that unlike the *bil* it cannot be treated as a boundry-mark, and further assures himself that the 'two words sound alike, and *Jāṭalī* to Chātal is not a big jump for 1,300 years.' Fifthly, though the tank of Khāsoka is not traceable to this day, it will be difficult to share the belief that the memory of this person is preserved in the names of two villages Khasa and Khasir. Indeed so much weight cannot be conceded to the slightest affinity that one name may bear to another ; besides, there is no reason given as to why it should be assumed that Khāsoka was such a famous man in his time that he would be remembered by the several generations that have followed him. Traditions concerning Nāgar Brahmins have been freely imported into this discussion of the topography of the Nidhānpur grant, but there need be a clear understanding that these traditions do not remember either Bhūtivarman or Bhāskaravarman, nor do they preserve any history of the donees named in the grant, or the other particulars mentioned in it. The only point in the theory that may seem to carry some weight is the information that there is a "flourishing village Chandrāpur on the left bank of the 'living' Kuśiārā, 5 miles directly to the west of Supātalā."

No reason has been offered why the identification of the Kauśikā or Kauśikī with the Kosi, established long ago, should not be upheld in the present case also. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa¹ refers to the river Kauśikī after mentioning the Gaṇḍakī as flowing from the slopes of the Himālayas. The Vāyu Purāṇa² and the Mahābhārata³ too are aware of the existence of the Kauśikī: in the former the passage in question reads *Kauśikī cha tritīyā tu*, and in the latter the name is preceded by the expression *trisotha*. Obviously, these should mean that there were three rivers, known to their authors, which were called by the same name. But Pargiter⁴ proposed to emend the reading in the former passage as either *Kauśikī Karatoṃ tu* or *Kauśikī cha trisoṭās tu*; in the event of the latter reading being accepted, the reference is to be understood as applying to the modern Tistā. The river Kosi which now flows in the Purnea district is believed to have gradually retreated to its present position from an eastern direction along which its courses formerly ran. 'The sapta Kauśikās⁵ of Sanskrit works' include the main river and its tributaries from the north, named respectively the Tambar or Tamrā, the Aran or Eran, Dudh Kosi, Likhu Kosi, Tambā Kosi and the Bhotiā Kosi. Shillingford⁶ writing in 1895 referred to the Loran as the main Kosi since 1893, while its 'authentic channels' in different times beginning from the east had been the Kālī or Kāri Kosi, with its upper reaches called Kamlā and which in Nepāl is known by the name Kājli or Kājri, the Dhām-dābā Kosi (the main Kosi, according to Hamilton, 1807-11), the Hiran main Kosi of the Revenue Survey Maps of 1840-41, and the Daus the Main Kosi from 1873 to 1893. These are concerned with the movements of the Kosi that have

¹ Canto XLV, 96.

² Canto LVII, 16.

³ Vana-p, adhyāya 222, v. 14291.

⁴ MKP., p. 293.

⁵ JASB., 1895, Part I. pp 1-24 (with a map).

⁶ Ibid, p. 8.

taken place in comparatively recent times. Regarding its activities in the remote past investigators are unanimous that the Kosi formerly flowed in Bengal to the east of its present position. According to Fergusson¹ the Kosi proceeded eastward to meet the Brahmaputra, into which river the Urasāgar carried the combined waters of the Kosi, the Mahānanda and the Atri. According to Buchanan Hamilton² the Kosi in the remote past was joined to the Mahānanda, and the former being united to the Ganges released a volume of water which found its passage through the Padmā, with 'the old channel of the Bhāgirathī from Songti to Nadiyā' 'left comparatively dry.' In the opinion of W. W. Hunter³ the Kosi and the Mahānanda formerly joined the Karatoyā, on the banks of which a river nymph called Kauśikī used to be worshipped. The Kosi of about 1600 A. D. contributed towards bringing about that change in the physical condition of Gaur which occasioned its depopulation. 'Leaving its eastern courses' it passed through the Kalindri, 'a deep and wide channel still known as the Marā Kusī,' i.e., it rushed into the Ganges which then stood in front of the western ramparts of this great city. The numerous marshes⁴ lying near Malda are supposed to bear the traces of the Kosi in this position. Shillingford⁵ observes that 'At about the time the main Ganges flowed into the sea by the first of these channels (i. e., the mouth of the Hooghly), and the Brahmaputra, flowing past Maimansingh, joined the Megnā, and found an exit into the sea through the third channel (i.e., the Megnā channel), we have the Kusī probably flowing eastwards towards Pabna, and it seems not unlikely that the Harinaghāṭṭā is the channel, by which the Kusī waters, swelled by many tributaries at present flowing into the Brahmaputra, found their way into the ocean.' Such a phenomenon 'would account for the great depth and size of the Madhumatī river, and the extent of the Harinaghāṭṭā Estuary.' F. C. Hirst⁷ defines the Kosi as a river

¹ Quart. Journ. Geo. Soc., London, Vol. XIX, 1868, p. 345.

² Eastern India, Vol. III, p. 15.

³ Stat. Acc. Beng., Pures, 1877, p. 282.

⁴ JASB., 1895, Part I, p. 92.

⁵ Ibid, pp. 10-11.

⁶ Ibid, p. 19.

⁷ JASB., 1908, p. 476.

which 'has operated at different times over all the land between the debatable area along the junction of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra plains and roughly Longitude 87° East' and concludes by being more specific about its course when he suggests that 'the sphere of action of the Kosi, ... since the Tista, Attri, and other rivers, before the Tista last returned to the Brahmaputra, apparently filled up fairly solidly everything east of Longitude 88° may be defined as a rectangle made by the intersections of Longitudes 87° and 88° and Latitudes $25^{\circ}20'$ and $26^{\circ}20'$ respectively,' and that 'of this area all, except on each side of Longitude 87° appears to have been dealt with by the Kosi in its older stages or by similar streams issuing from the hills north of Purnea.'

From the opinions quoted above it is easy to realise how difficult it is to determine the earlier courses of this river with precision, and also to make any definite observation about its position at a given time in the past. P. Bhattacharya¹ apparently under the influence of Cunningham's theory that the great river crossed by Hiuen-tsang in the 7th century on his way to Kāmarūpa was the Tistā, identified by him as an eastern channel of the Kosi, holds that the Nidhānpur grant refers to some area to the west of this river in the district of Rangpur. He draws attention to the Tezpur² Grant of Vanamāla (8th century) where a Chandrapari on the Tista is mentioned (*Trisrotāyāḥ paśchimataḥ*). The reading Chandrapari is proposed to be corrected to Chandrapurī,³ which is to be identified with the Chandrapurī-*vishaya* of the Nidhānpur grant. It is forgotten that the latter inscription refers to a dying Kosi, while the Tezpur grant, if it refers to the Tistā, does not say anything about the condition of that river. The very identification of the Tistā with the Kosi has not been accepted. The Tezpur grant being missing, it is not possible also to test the accuracy of the proposed reading. In support of his location of

¹ Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvali, p. 5.

² Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvali, p. 64 ff.; cf. *ibid.*, p. 64, n. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-6 and n. 2 on p. 5; Jour. Assam Res. Soc., Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 67.

the Nidhānpur grant in the Rangpur district he seems to assume that for the Kāmarūpa king expansion of power to the east of the Tistā would have been most natural and feasible. How was it then possible for Bhāskaravarman to have pitched a military camp in Kārṇasuvarṇa so far away from Kāmarūpa ? What was possible for this king may not have been impossible for his ancestor, provided that he had the requisite energy, ambition and military resources, and provided also that his political antagonists were not too powerful to be overcome.

The scene of the Nidhānpur grant, according to K. L. Barua,¹ was in the Purnea district near an old channel of the Kosi which was noticed by Rennell. He identifies this channel (a Marā Kosi) with the *śushka*-Kauśikā of the grant, but the theory ignores firstly, the fact that a channel which was in a state of decay in the 7th century could not have possibly struggled for 1300 years and remained in a position meriting an identical description, and secondly, the accumulated evidence of many scholars and observers pointing to an earlier career of that river in certain positions in this province.

As there is no sure hint regarding the identification of the Gaṅgiṇī, the mere mention of it in the grant may not take us nearer to the solution of our problem. The Khālimpur grant and the Vappaghoshavāṭa grant also use the term *gaṅginikā*, but this, as stated elsewhere, has a general signification which may be applied to any river that is in a state of being silted up. The Khālimpur grant refers to a place called Mādḥā-Sāmmalī, but it is not the same as Mayūra-Sālmala-Agrahāra of these Plates, for the simple reason that Mayūra and Mādḥa cannot be made to correspond to each other. What may be interesting to know is that the Vappaghoshavāṭa grant which uses the word *gaṅginikā* more than once in its topographical portion, and which like the Nidhānpur grant was also issued from Kārṇasuvarṇa, refers to the Audumbarika *Vishaya*. The Nidhānpur grant in defining the boundaries of the

¹ Early History of Kāmarūpa, p. 5. Cf. JASSB., 1895, Pt. I, p. 4. (Many channels of the Kosi were known to Hamilton as Būhi or Marā Kosi.)

land given away uses the expression *ḍumbarī-chchhedu*, as already noticed, to indicate the boundary-marks on three sides, viz., south-east, south and south-west. Now, it may be pointed out that the accepted meaning of *ḍumbarī* is the same as that of *udumbara* (fig tree). Whether the expression employed means only 'cut down fig trees,' or that the Chandrapurī-*vishaya* touched the borders of the ancient Uḍumbara district on these sides, is a question which may be difficult to answer finally unless in the first place particulars are available for determining the boundaries of that district in the 7th century. The land given away by Nārāyaṇa Bhadra of the Vappaghoshavāṭa grant had for its northern and eastern boundaries a Gaṅginikā or a river-bed included in the Uḍumbara-*vishaya*, while a Gaṅginikā stood on the west of the land donated by the Kāmarūpa ruler. Thus if it is assumed that the two Gaṅginikās were one and the same, the Uḍumbara-*vishaya* lay partly to the west of the Chandrapurī-*vishaya*, and partly to the south-south-east, and south-west where either the *śushka*-Kauśikā, or the Gaṅginikā intervened separating the former district from the latter. But the boundaries of the Uḍumbara-*vishaya* were not those of the land donated in the Vappaghoshavāṭa grant, nor could the boundaries of the land donated in the Nidhānpur grant coincide with those of the Chandrapurī-*vishaya*, but an accident may have led to the discovery of two grants concerning lands which were nearly along the boundaries of two neighbouring districts.¹

It has not also been possible to remove the uncertainty regarding the identification of the Sthālīkkaṭa-*vishaya* referred to in the Khālīmpur grant of Dharmapāla. This inscription knows another *vishaya* called Mahantāprakāśa, which by reason of its association with the Vyāghrataṭī-*maṇḍala*, has been tentatively assigned to Bāgḍī, one of the traditional subdivisions of Bengal. These are two *vishayas* in which were situated the

¹ As regards Chandrapurī-*Vishaya* it may be pointed out that the *Bṛhatasāhitā* mentions (XIV, 6) the *Chāndrapuras*, i.e., the inhabitants of the city of Chandrapura (in the poet), see IA., 1938, p. 176.

villages endowed by the king. If like the other *vishaya* the *Sthālikkaṭa-vishaya* were comprised in the *Vyāghrataṭi-maṇḍala*, this would have been surely mentioned in the text. It may be permitted to guess that the one was in the neighbourhood of the other, as the priests to whom the donations were made would have found it difficult to manage estates in widely separate areas. It appears that the *Sthālikkaṭa-vishaya* contained the *Āmrashaṇḍikā-maṇḍala* where was situated the village Goppipālī, bounded on the east by the western boundary of the *Udragrāma-maṇḍala*, on the south a *Jolaka* (a marshy land?), on the west the *Vesānikā Khāṭikā*, on the north a cattle-path lying along the boundary of the *Udragrāma-maṇḍala*. If the *Khāṭikā* of this inscription can be equated with *Khāḍī*, it is possible that a certain part of it was known by the name *Vesānikā* (-ākhyā—(l. 43) ; it is also possible that the *Ud(?)rāgrāma-maṇḍala* was so called because of the predominance of the *Oḍra* element in its population. Nothing definite can be said about the identification of *Śubhasthalī* (l. 50) where stood the temple whose deity and priests were benefited by the liberal donātion of *Dharmapāla*. In the latter part of the 12th century the *Madanapāḍā* grant of *Viśvarūpasena*¹ and the *Edilpur*² grant of *Keśāvasena* were issued from a place called *Phalgugrāma* (*Phalgugrāma-parisara samāvāsita-Śrīmaṣṭajayaskandhārāt*, l. 31—*Madanapāḍā* ; l. 38—*Edilpur*). *K. P. Jayaswal*³ is inclined to hold that it was situated on the bank of the river *Phalgu* in the district of *Gayā* in *Bihār*. But the connection of these *Sena* rulers of *Bengal* with *Bihār* has not yet been conclusively proved. The mere similarity of names cannot be regarded as a strong proof in this matter. Another place-name is *Dhāryyagrāma*, whence *Lakshmanasena* announced the *Mādhaiṇagar* grant⁴ in the 12th century (*Dhāryyagrāma-parisara-samāvāsita-Śrīmahārāja*—I, 25). No topographical detail is given regarding this village, and even the reading of its name can be disputed.

¹ *JASB.*, 1896, Pt. I, pp. 6-15.² *JASB.* (N. S.), Vol. X, pp. 97-104.³ *JBOBS.*, Vol. IV, p. 270.⁴ *JASB.* (N. S.), Vol. V, p. 467 ff.

According to R. D. Banerjee, the Amgāchhi Plate of Vigrahapāla III was issued from his victorious camp at Haradhāna. (l. 23). The name was tentatively proposed to be Mudgagiri by Hoernle,¹ but this suggestion was not accepted by Dr. Kielhorn.² It is difficult to accept Banerjee's revised reading. As the letters in the beginning of line 23, where the name of the place occurs, are partly defaced, Banerjee himself is not sure about his own reading. The last letter of the name appears to be 'r,' as found by Hoernle, but there is no trace of an 'i' mark. The sign can hardly be confused with 'm,' which is Banerjee's reading. The letter preceding 'r' is 'g,' according to Hoernle, but it may be 'p' with an 'u' mark, attached to its right vertical, which is still partly visible. Banerjee seems not to have noticed the trace of a letter between the sign, which he reads as 'r' and the one which is proposed to be read as 'p.' Hoernle took it to be 'g,' as a part of the conjunct 'dg,' but this may represent 's.' Judging from the last three letters, we may venture to say that the name might turn out to be 'Vilāsapura,' where Mahīpāla I was staying at the time of issuing his Bāngarh grant. In that case it would have no place in the geography of Bengal.

The physical aspect of Bengal offers a problem which is far too complicated to be solved merely with the help of literary and epigraphical material available to us. The province has been gradually rescued from water ; it is pre-eminently a product of fluvial action that has been operative since the dawn of history. The rivers in this country have constantly changed their courses, resulting on the one hand in the continual emergence of new land, and on the other complete or partial devastation of areas which had formerly been important centres of trade and government. Some of the rivers, once noted for their volume and size, have gradually

¹ Cent. Rev. ASB., pp. 212, 214-15; Ind. Ant., XIV, p. 167.

² Ind. Ant., XXI, p. 97.

been silted up, or reduced to the shape of small streams, standing as strange and disappointing relics of their former grandeur and majesty. Materials for a historical study of the river-system in ancient Bengal are scanty, but almost phenomenal changes are known to have taken place in the course of the last three or four hundred years. It may not be out of place here to refer to some of the more striking instances of the alteration of the river-courses which the province has witnessed during comparatively recent years. The district of Murshidābād, which with Nadiā and Jessore, forms the most fertile region connected with the delta between the Hooghly on the west and the Meghuā on the east, must have been one of those areas most affected by fluvial action.¹ The present channel of the Bhāgīrathī represents the ancient course of the Ganges, but it is now almost on the verge of extinction, the silting up of the river having been already noticed in 1666 A.D. by the French traveller Tavernier. Murshidābād abounds with old river-beds; doubtless these are traces of the ancient water-courses which had been connected with the Bhāgīrathī in its glorious days. Gaur in the district of Maldā was subject to the operation of similar adverse forces that led to its downfall. The western rampart of this city at one time used to be washed by the main stream of the Ganges, now represented by the channel of the Little Bhāgīrathī. The stability of Gaur as a political seat as well as a centre of inland trade and commerce was dependent on its strategic position, not due in a small measure to its river-system. But with the withdrawal of the Ganges² from its former course

¹ L. B. S. O'Malley, D.G. (Murshidabad), p. 2. The Upper Hooghly is called the Bhāgīrathī. The Bhāgīrathī on which stood Gaur 'was the main Ganges until the 16th century A.D.' See Report on the Nadiā Rivers (1925), by Major F. C. Hirst (The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot), 1916, Chapter VIII, pp. 24-28.

² Ralph Fitch—England's Pioneer to India and Burma—His companions and contemporaries, etc., by J. Horton Ryley (1899). (Fitch sailed from the Thames in 1593 A.D.). Referring to the country of Gauda he observes that "the old way which the river Ganges for wont to run, remaineth dry, which is the occasion that the city doth stand so far from

by at least ten miles, and the marked deterioration of its currents, Gaur lost its natural advantages, and was soon converted into a desolate place. Similarly, the silting up of the Saraswatī—a branch of the Hooghly—formerly the main stream of the Ganges, which was quite a large river in the middle of the 16th century, and still shown as a large offshoot in François Valentyn's map drawn by Vanden Broucke¹ in 1726,² is pointed to as the cause of the decay of Sātgaon which had been, before this process worked itself out, a commercial city of considerable importance. Tamlūk owed not in a small measure its enviable position in the history of maritime activities of Eastern India to its close proximity to the Bay of Bengal,³ to which it was joined by a channel of the Rūpanārāyan river, a branch of the Hooghly, the upper portion of which is called the Dhalkisor and the Dwārakeswar. This south-easterly channel can be easily traced in the maps drawn in the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century, but it was soon silted up in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The disappearance of the channel linking Tamlūk to the sea, which made the island more or less joined to the mainland, had a far-reaching effect on the history of Bengal, and was largely responsible for bringing about the downfall of this seaport town through which this province had been able for centuries to keep up a living contact with the world outside, including China, Ceylon, Burma and the Eastern Archipelago. Regarding changes in the course of the Brahmaputra in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, it is a known fact that since the time of Rennell's survey many square miles of country between the

the water."—P. III; CASR., Vol. XV, p. 37. See also *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* by Richard Hakluyt—Hakluyt Society Extra Series, Glasgow, 1904, Vol. 5, pp. 465 ff.

¹ Keurlyke Beschryving van Choromandel, Pegu, Arrakan, Bengala, etc., Map facing p. 117.

² But it "silted up as a perennis' channel" during the 10th century, see F. C. Hirst, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

³ In some of the Purāṇas the proximity of Tāmrālipa to the sea in the 4th century A.D. is referred to (Tāmrālipān samudrān), see PTDEA, p. 54.

Brahmaputra and the Tistā have been swept away by the former river, which is still breaking away westwards. The river Tistā, also second only to the Brahmaputra in point of importance among the rivers in the Rangpur district, has considerably deviated from its course. At the time of Rennell's Survey the principal stream of this river 'flowed south instead of south-east as at present.'¹ This change took place during the floods of 1787 A.D., which caused a great havoc in the district of Rangpur. One of the noticeable effects of this diversion in the movement of the river towards the east was the complete annihilation of the original site of Gorāmārā, a centre of commercial transactions in the district. That the Tistā has frequently changed its direction in the past is testified to by the existence of innumerable water-courses and marshy areas in the Rangpur district as memorials of the different stages of its wanderings.

It is useless to multiply such examples ; from those already cited, it will be clear that within the last four hundred years the main streams of the delta and their various tributaries have mostly altered their courses with a perceptible diminution of strength and size in many cases. In the process of the transformation through which the province has naturally passed, it is more than probable that several ancient places, mentioned in the inscriptions and other early documents, have been either completely destroyed or reduced to obscurity, now lying far away from populous towns or villages and the highways of trade and commerce.

¹ Stat. Account, Vol. VII, p. 166 : Major F. C. Hirst, *op. cit.*, Appendix A.

Part II

CHAPTER I

GLIMPSES INTO THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF BENGAL FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE 3RD CENTURY A.D.

Inadequacy of historical material.—The supremacy of *Āṅga* and *Magadha*.—Traditional references to Bengal's connections with *Ayodhya*, *Avanti* and *Magadha*.—Independent existence of *Vaṅga* and *Rāḍha* in the 6th century B.C.—Annexation of *Āṅga* by *Magadha* and its effects.—Handicaps to the political growth of Bengal.—Ancient coins found in Bengal.—An independent territory but friendly to *Magadha* during *Alexander's* invasion.—Later an alliance with *Kaliṅga*.—Probably annexed to the *Mauryan Empire* by *Aśoka*.—His administrative arrangements.—Continuance of connection with *Pāṭaliputra* as a check to the advance of Greek power during the post-*Maurya* period.—Greek alliance with the *Suṅgas*.—Alliance with *Kaliṅga* resumed under *Khāravela* in the beginning of the 1st century B.C.—Break-up of the *Magadhan Empire*.—The *Kushāṇas* controlling *Magadha*.—*Kushāṇa* coins in Bengal.—*Kushāṇa* Viceroys governing *Pāṭaliputra* and *Tāmralipta*, and the *Maurayāsas* holding either independently or in subordination to the *Kushāṇas* a considerable territory extending up to the head of the Bengal delta in the second century A.D.—The delta probably independent during this time.

The earliest of the extant epigraphical records throwing light on the political history of Bengal cannot be assigned to a period earlier than the fourth or the fifth century A.D. Very little information is available relating to the political life and activities of the Bengali race during the several centuries of their history preceding the date of the *Meharauli Iron Pillar-inscription* or its near contemporary—the record found engraved on the *Susunia Hill* in the district of *Bankura*. We have mainly to depend upon traditions for our knowledge, so far as this ancient period is concerned, and consequently, it is next to impossible to present an accurate chronological background from which the later annals of the country may be studied with advantage. The facts gleaned from ancient traditions are of the nature of some disconnected fragments of information. The utmost that may be attempted is to put them together with a view to the discovery, if possible, of

certain broad landmarks in its political transactions that preceded the long period extending from about the fourth or the fifth to the twelfth century A.D. for which latter age we are, happily, in possession of ampler and more reliable documents. It may be mentioned in this connection that this account principally made up of traditions may be supplemented in some important details by the references to Bengal to be found in the works of certain early European writers.

One thing that stands out in comparative prominence is the bond that seems to have united Bengal with Magadha at an early period of their history. The principle underlying this relationship between the two territories was supplied by a community of interests that bound them together. The *Prāchyas*, so familiar to the later Vedic and the Post-Vedic literature, constituted a definite factor in the political as well as the cultural history of India. Their leadership seems to have devolved upon Magadha which stood as it were in the vanguard of the Eastern races. Mahābhārata tradition preserves the picture of a close contact between Magadha and Bengal. Jarāsandha, the king of Magadha, as the legend shows, played the part of a master-architect, the head of a political system that held under control the princes of Eastern and Central India, among his supporters being Karṇa of Aṅga¹ (Bhāgalpur), Śiśupāla of Chedi, Vakra of Kārūsha (the hilly tract extending from the river Ken on the west to the confines of Bihār on the east), the kings of Vaṅga and Puṇḍra,² Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣa (to the east of the Brahmaputra or the Lauhitya),³ and Kāṭsa of Mathurā.⁴

The policy of the East according to tradition seems to have been distinctly against the Pāṇḍavas. The different kingdoms of Bengal mentioned in the *Sabhāparvan* of the Mahābhārata, viz.,

¹ III, 15063 ; XII, 184-85.

² III, 871-84.

³ II, 879-80.

⁴ He entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Magadha King and became subordinate to the latter. See VII, 287 ; XII, 19054.

Suhma, Prasuhma, Puṇḍra (?), Vaṅga, Tāmralipta, and the people dwelling on the southern coast of the country, were all defeated by the Pāṇḍavas during their *digvijaya*.¹

If tradition is to be believed, the chief interest of the history of Eastern India even before the rise of the Nāga dynasty seems to have centred round the activities of Magadha, directed towards the unification of the neighbouring territories into a powerful confederacy dominated by her leadership. Her virtual dictatorship, however, came to an end owing to the death of Jarāsaṇḍha in his fight with the Pāṇḍavas. His son, Sahadeva, who was installed on the throne of Magadha, ruled only over its western portion.² Subsequently, another attempt for ascendancy in the East is said to have been made by Karna of Aṅga.³ During the time when Aṅga was yet separate from Magadha, its influence in the East was considerable. Its pre-eminence can be traced to the time of the legendary Vairocana, who performed the *Mahābhisheka* rite and established 'universal sovereignty'.⁴ The Purāṇas show an intimate connection between this territory and Eastern India, as according to them Aṅga, Vauga, Puṇḍra, Suhma and Kalinga were the five *Ānava*

¹ Pargiter's warning against deducing any ethnological conclusions from the alignment of nations at the battle of Kurukshetra is supported by important considerations. See JIRAS., 1938, pp. 333-34. Keith similarly upholds the view that the Kurus-Pāṇḍava conflict was not due to 'racial grounds,' see *ibid.*, p. 1139. Elsewhere he says that 'for ethnography the Mahābhārata is of little use,' *ibid.*, p. 839. A theory, for which substantial proof is lacking, is that the Pāṇḍavas were a semi-Mongolian tribe. See *ibid.*, p. 835; Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, p. 499. Indian tradition, however, regards the Pāṇḍavas as a branch of the Vedic Kurus; see Vinuśa charaṇa Lāhā, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kshatriya Tribes*, pp. 1, 23. The practice of polyandry by the Pāṇḍavas was probably not un-Vedic. See S. C. Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India* (Oxford University Press), 1923, p. 145. For interesting speculations as to the date of the Mbht. war, see Sita Nath Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, Cal. Univ., 1927, pp. 248 ff; Pargiter, *AHET*, 1922, pp. 179-183.

² *ii*, 591-95; 181, 962-76. For other princelings of Magadha, Jayateena and Jalasaṇḍha, see JIRAS., 1908, pp. 315-17. Two other kings were Dapḍadhara and Dapḍa (*ii*, 1090-91; VIII, 688-704), who fought against the Pāṇḍavas at the Kurukshetra battle (*V*, 6764).

³ The Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Puṇḍras, etc., belonged to the hegemony organised by him. Cf. *ii*, 1637.

⁴ *AB.*, VIII, 29,

kingdoms in the East. The organisation brought into being by Karna comprised the territories of Bengal, which took up the side of the Kauravas against their enemy in the battlefield of Kurukshetra. According to the Purāṇas, Jarāsandha ruled before the Bṛihadhrathas who were descended from his son Sahadeva (*Ata ūrdhvam pravakshyāmi Māgadhā ye Bṛihadhrathāḥ Jarāsandhasya ye vṛṁṣe Sahadev-ānvaḡe nṛipāḥ*).¹ After a reign lasting for 723 years they were followed by the Nāga dynasty, with which the historical period commenced in the 6th century B.C.² Even though there may be some truth in the account of Magadha overlordship, furnished by the Mahābhārata, it will be absurd to fix Jarāsandha's time, relying on the Purāṇic reconstruction. In their attempt to reproduce an ancient tradition it is not improbable that the writers of the epic were influenced by the political conditions prevailing in their own times.

A vague tradition refers to Vaṅga's alliance with Ayodhyā in the age represented by the Rāmāyaṇa. The Calcutta recension of the epic contains a verse which occurs in a speech addressed by Daśaratha of Ayodhyā to his wife Kaikeyī, where he mentions Vaṅga as a part of his dominions—"Karishyāmi tara prītiṁ sukṛiten-āpi te śape | yārad-ācarttate chakram tāvat me vasundharā || Drāviṭāḥ Sindhu-Saurāṣṭrāḥ Saurāṣṭrā dakṣiṇāpathāḥ | Vaṅga-Āṅgā Māgadhā Matsyāḥ samṛiddhāḥ Kāśī-Kośalāḥ ||"³ As the passage speaks of Magadha and Āṅga separately, it is probable that it points to a time when the latter had not yet lost its identity—an event which occurred in the latter part of the sixth century B.C., but the statement that these different states were subject to Ayodhyā may be only a piece of poetical exaggeration. In the Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (Canto XII), where it is proposed to issue invitations on the occasion of a sacrifice

¹ PTDKA., p. 14.

² *Ibid*, pp. 13, 17 & 99.

³ Ayodhya-K., Canto X, 35-37; see Alfred Roussel's French Translation of the Rāmāyaṇa, Les Rāmāyaṇa de Vālmīki, Bibliothèque Orientale, Tome VI, p. 240. This verse is not included in Gorresio's edition.

to be performed by Daśaratha, some of these countries are mentioned as being ruled by their own kings: “*Prāchyās cha Sindhu-Sauvīrāḥ Surāṣṭre y- cha pāṛthivāḥ ॥ Dākṣiṇātyā narendrās-cha sarvān ānaya me chiram*” The inclusion of Magadha, Vaṅga, etc., is implied in the term ‘*prāchyāḥ*’ used in the passage. If there is any truth in these legends it may be suggested that at an early period Vaṅga may have entered into a friendly relation with Ayodhyā as a sequel of the victorious campaigns of Daśaratha’s ancestor King Rāghu in that territory and Suhma, as described by Kālidāsa in the 5th century A.D.¹

In a long account of various revolutions which took place in different periods of ancient Indian history, to be found in the *Harsha-cha-ita*, there is a notice of a certain king of Suhma called Devasena (*Sauhmya*) who was poisoned to death by his wife Devakī, infatuated with his younger brother: “*Vishmachūra- chumbitā-makarindenā cha kīṛṇ-endīvareṇa Devakī deva-ānu-raktā Devasenam Sauhmyam.*”² It is, however, impossible to fit details of this character in a chronological framework, even though it may be assumed that there is some kernel of truth in these scattered traditions.

It may be doubtfully suggested from the evidence of Buddhist and Jaina works that Vaṅga and Rāḍhī flourished as independent kingdoms about the middle of the 6th century B.C. In the Sanskrit drama *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* there is a passage where Pradyota-Mahāsena, the king of Avanti (Western Mālwa), a contemporary of Buddha, informs his wife in the course of a conversation regarding their daughter’s marriage that he is connected with the rulers of Magadha, Kāśi, Vaṅga, Surāṣṭra, Mithilā and Śūrasena³ (*asmat-sambaddho Māgadhaḥ Kāśirājo Vāṅgaḥ Saurāṣṭro Maithilah Saura-*

¹ See *supra*, p. 39.

² H.C., ed by Führer, *Uchchhvāsa* VI. p. 271; English Translation by Cowell & Thomas, p. 194.

³ TSS., No. XVI, ed by T. Gopapati Sāstri, Act II, v. 8, p. 29.

senah). From the Majjhima-Nikāya,¹ however, it appears that there was a keen hostility between Pradyota of Avanti and Ajātaśatru of Magadha, who is once said to have devoted his attention to the fortification of Rājagriha in anticipation of an attack by the former. The mention of Magadha as his ally in the Sanskrit drama, attributed to Bhāsa, may be due to a mistake. If Pradyota's friendship with Vaṅga is considered probable, it is likely that this master of stratagems was actuated by the object of stirring up an antagonism between Magadha and its eastern neighbour to further his own interests.

A few metallic tokens of money may be included among the relics of archaeological interest, so far available in Bengal, which bear the impress of an early age. Five copper coins (4 rectangular and 1 round) of the punch-marked type were recovered more than half a century ago from Tamḷūk, known to be a site of considerable antiquity. The marks on these coins were almost indistinguishable at the time of their discovery. The find also brought a silver punch-marked coin on which two symbols, the wheel and the *śruti*, could be recognised. To this should be added six others of the same well-known silver variety (usually called *Parāṇas* or *Dharaṇas*), discovered at the village of Zarka in the 24-Parganas in the course of excavating a tank.² Several cast coins were also found at Tamḷūk along with the punch-marked specimens mentioned above. The symbols on these coins are not different from those ordinarily presented by the coins of the same type, which have come from other parts of India, such as elephant, deer or stag, tree, *triratna*, *śruti*, rails, *torana*, etc.³ A few more cast coins have been recovered in recent years from the district of 24-Parganas.⁴ The punch-marked coins are admitted on all hands to have represented

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmines Lectures*, Cal. Univ., 1918, pp. 60-61.

² *Proc. ASB.*, 1879, p. 215.

³ *Proc. ASB.*, 1882, pp. 111-13.

⁴ R. D. Banerjee, *Bāṅglār Itihās*, p. 31. Some of these are reported to be in the custody of the Vāṅgīya Śāhitya Parishad of Calcutta.

the earliest indigenous currency in India. Opinions differ as to the probable date of the most ancient specimens of Indian coinage. Cunningham puts the beginnings of Indian currency at about 1000 B.C., while according to V. A. Smith "the heavy bent bars of silver ... bearing an extremely archaic appearance are the oldest available coins which may go back to about 600 B.C."¹ Whatever the date of the earliest coins may be, the punch-marked money was current for a long period of time. One of the finds from Southern India is to be ascribed to about the commencement of the Christian era.² It is a controversial question whether the introduction of copper as a monetary medium preceded that of silver.³ Copper coins are, however, much rarer than silver, but coins of both metals have been found in Bengal. Probably the course of development in this respect did not proceed uniformly throughout India. In regard to the round and square coins of the punch-marked type, specimens of both of which sub-varieties have been recovered in Bengal, it may be possible to lay down a general principle of historical evolution that "the circular coins are presumably a later invention than the rectangular ones." The punch-marked coins are generally believed to have been issued by private bodies, controlled by the ruling powers of the different regions concerned. It is impossible to specify the political authority that permitted the circulation of this private coinage in Bengal; but the general progress in the life of the people must have led to the necessity of following the standard currency of the times.

The annexation of Anga by Magadha in the 6th century

¹ CCIM., pp. 133-36, Nos. 4-6. A. S. Hemmy's assumption (see JRAS., Jan., 1937, pp. 3-4) that the oldest punch-marked coins are probably to be assigned to 'the Maurya Empire ... or at earliest to the time of Nanda (c. 372 B.C.)' has been clearly proved to be wrong by E. H. C. Walsh (JRAS., April, pp. 303-04; Oct., pp. 614-16) who defends the case for a much earlier origin. An important discovery is the persistence of the principal unit of the Indus system in the weight of some of these coins. See JRAS., Jan., pp. 1-26; April, pp. 208, 303; Oct., p. 615.

² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ B. K. Chakravorty, *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 81.

B.C. finally put an end to the former's supremacy, and Magadha with its new capital at Pāṭaliputra on the southern bank of the Ganges, endowed with undoubted strategic advantages, gradually extended its territory and became the foremost power in the East. Bengal probably consisted of some independent kingdoms during this period, and its resources were, therefore, hardly so well organised as those of Bihār, which had already reduced its different component parts (Aṅga and Videha) to a unity. A similar movement towards amalgamation may have been at work in Bengal as well. It is likely that Tāmralipta was originally a separate kingdom, as mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Thus according to the Dīpavaṃśa, as we have noticed elsewhere, Purinda and his dynasty ruled over Tāmalitti in ancient times, but early Jaina tradition refers to it as a part of Vaṅga (*Tāmalitti Vaṅgāya*).¹

If there was any such definite effort towards internal consolidation, its actual result was not visible until about the first quarter of the 4th century B.C. The probable existence of different principalities within its own borders and the growth of two powerful neighbours, Magadha, and later, Kalinga, effectively checked for a long time its possibilities as an imperial power.

By the first quarter of the fourth century B.C. Lower and Western Bengal had been formed into a united and compact kingdom (*Gaṅgārida*); and when Alexander the Great was carrying on his military operations in the Punjab it was in a state of readiness to act in concert with Magadha (*Prasii*) in any critical situation that might arise. Unfortunately, none of the different chroniclers of Alexander's Indian invasion give us the name of its ruler. The accounts of the Prasii and the Gaṅgāridae, embodied in their works, are somewhat discrepant and confusing. According to Plutarch² the Gandaritai and the Praisiai were

¹ Ind. Ant., 1891, p. 376.

² McCrindle, *The Invasion of India*, etc., p. 310. McCrindle equates the name Nandrames with Chandramas, the moon-god, *ibid.*, pp. 221-22, n. 4.

under the rule of their own kings, who were reported to be waiting for Alexander with an army of 80,000 horse, 200,000 infantry, 8,000 war chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. It may be inferred from Plutarch's statement that the resources of the two kingdoms were either partly or wholly united in anticipation of an attack by the Greek Invader and kept in readiness for action. Curtius Rufus refers to the Gaṅgāridae and the Prasii as 'two nations,' but he speaks only of Agrammes (Ugrasena?) "who kept in the field for guarding the approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots" and a troop of 3,000 elephants.¹ Agrammes or Xandrames was probably no other than the successor of the Nanda usurper who had killed the last of the Śaiśunāga dynasty. "He was held in no respect," says Diodorus, "as he was thought to be the son of a barber,"² who had gained the affections of the queen of the former king, and afterwards put him to death.³ The military strength at the disposal of Xandrames is stated by this writer to be the same as mentioned by Curtius, but it is to be noted that he refers to the two peoples as one nation ruled by Xandrames, whom he describes as the king of the Gandaridai.⁴ Diodorus speaks of the Gaṅgāridai as the greatest of all nations of India.⁵ According to Arrian,⁶ however, the greatest city was Palimbothra, i.e., Pāṭaliputra, included in the dominions of the Prasians. If we are to believe Diodorus, it will appear that Xandrames (the Nanda king) may have originally belonged to the Gaṅgāridai, but that

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-22.

² *Ibid.*, p. 242; see also Curtius, *ibid.*, p. 222. Cf. *Mahānandī-sutā-cl-āpi śūdrāyām . utpatsyate Mahāpadmah*—PTDKA., p. 25.

³ McCrindle, *The Invasion of India*, etc., p. 222. According to Q. Curtius the father of the reigning king "treacherously murdered his sovereign and then under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death begot the present king."

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 281; McCrindle, *AICL*, 1901, p. 201, Fragment XVIII, 6.

⁶ Fragment XXVI—McCrindle, *Magasthenes and Arrian*, 1926, p. 68.

he afterwards succeeded in uniting his own people and the Prasii into one nation over which he came to exercise his sovereignty. There is no evidence to corroborate the testimony of Arrian on this point. It is not unlikely that he made some confusion between the Gaṅgāridai and the Prasii. On this particular point the information supplied by Plutarch appears to be more reliable, specially because the military estimates given by him exceed those included in the others' accounts, which also points to the probability of a pooling of resources. The reason why these foreign writers give only one name, represented as that of the Magadha King, may be that despite his original affiliation to Bengal, his subsequent position as the master of the combined kingdoms was naturally considered more important, since in that way he came to hold in his hand the key to Eastern India, and that the rapid growth of the influence of Magadha soon after Alexander's exit from India may have thrown its eastern neighbour into a background of comparative obscurity. Mahāpadma Nanda, who belonged to a dynasty, the low origin of which is noted in the Classical literature, is said to have established himself as an *ekarāj* or supreme ruler, having crushed all the Kshatriya princes of his age: "*Utpatsyate Mahāpadmah.....sarva-kshatr-āntako nripah.....Ekarāj sa Mahāpadma eka-icchhattro bhavishyati.....*"¹ But the inclusion of Bengal in Mahāpadma's dominions is not proved by the evidence referred to above. It was probably an independent country even in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. We learn from Pliny that its capital during Megasthenes's stay in India was Parthalis and that its king had an army consisting of 60,000 infantry, 1,000 horse and 700 elephants, always ready for action.² During this time the Maurya king with his capital at Palibothra (Pātaliputra) possessed a standing army of 600,000 foot soliders, 30,000 cavalry

¹ PTDKA., p. 25.

² Pliny's list of the Indian races is mostly borrowed from Megasthenes. See Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, pp. 129, n., 137-38.

and 9,000 elephants.¹ It is not improbable that the Gaṅgāridai, alarmed at the rise of the political power of Magadha, strengthened themselves by an alliance with the Kalingas. It is probably true that Pliny uses the expression *Gangaridum Calingarum*,² in respect of Parthalis, which seems to indicate that they may have constituted a branch of the Kalinga race.³ If the view taken above is correct, the final occupation of the land of the Gaṅgāridai may have been achieved later by Aśoka as a result of his great Kalinga war. Aśoka's mastery of Puṇḍravardhana is mentioned in a legend of the Divyāvadāna, which describes how the Ājīvikas of this place incurred his wrath and suffered the consequences of the royal displeasure⁴ (*Puṇḍravardhane sarve ājīvikāḥ praghāṭayitavyāḥ*). There were several *stūpas* still in existence in different parts of Bengal in the seventh century, the foundation of which was ascribed to Aśoka. Hiuen-tsang saw one of these near the Po-shi-p'o monastery in Puṇḍravardhana, another near the capital of Tāmralipta, a third in Samatata, and a number of others in Kārṇasuvarṇa near the famous Buddhist establishment at Raṅgāmāṭi, which were situated at various places believed to be sanctified by the memory of Buddha's presence.⁵ The communication between Ceylon and the Magadha empire, useful to Aśoka for his Buddhistic propaganda, was maintained through Tāmralipta, which may also go to show that he held the control of the port. Thus if the tradition is to be believed, practically the whole of Bengal was part and parcel of his empire. A fairly intelligible idea can be formed regarding the limits of his empire from the distribution of his inscriptions. There is reason to believe that Jaugarh, near Ganjām on the Madras coast, was the eastern limit of his empire; it preserves on a rock a partial version of the fourteen

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

² This is the usual reading. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 137, n.

⁴ Div. ed. by F. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, 1896, p. 427.

⁵ *Watters*, Vol. II, pp. 184, 187, 190-191.

Edicts, usually found only at the outlying parts of his possessions.¹ Aśokan pillars nearest to Bengal are those that stand in the Champāran District in Bihār.² Aśoka alludes to the rulers and peoples who were outside his empire. The terms used in this connection are *amta* (*ye cha amta*)³ *prachamta* (*prachamtesu*)⁴ and *Nicha*⁵ (the southern borderers). These names have been applied to the Yona (Greek) King Antiyoka and his neighbours⁶ Turamāya (Tulamaya), Antekina, Makā and Alikyashudala, the Choḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra and Tāmraparnī 'Tām̐ba-paṇiṇi' enumerated according to their respective territorial positions. Again, elsewhere he has referred to the Yonas, the Kambojas, the Gandhāras and others as his western borderers (*Yona-Kamb(o)ja-Gandhālānām e vā (pi) amne apalamtā*).⁷ There were others who seemed to have enjoyed some sort of autonomy within his empire. Their territories were called *Rāja-vishayas*⁸ (*lāja-viśarashi*), or districts ruled by their own *rājās*. The Yonas, the Kambojas, Nābhakas, Nābhapaṅktis, Bhojas, Pitenikyās, Andhras and the Pāladas were the different members of this group. Aśoka has used different terms to denote his empire and the various groups of its constituent parts administered either directly by himself or by officials deputed for the purpose. The word *vijitam* in the widest sense indicated the empire in its entirety⁹ (*Sarvata vijitamhi devānampriyasa*); the term *Āhāla* signified an administrative division,¹⁰ and the empire evidently

¹ CII., Vol. I (Revised by E. Hultzsch, 1925, pp. ix-xiv.

Ibid., p. XVIII. These are the Lauriya-Arara', Lauriya-Nandangarh and Rampurva Pillars. There are some cave-inscriptions in the Gayā district, Bihār.

Kāśī R.E., II, *ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴ Girnār R.E., II, p. 3.

⁵ Kāśī R.E., XIII, p. 46.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46. Regarding their identifications which throw valuable light on the chronological position of Aśoka, see pp. xxx-xxxi.

⁷ Kāśī R.E., V, p. 82.

⁸ R.E., XIII, p. 46. The term has been ordinarily taken to mean 'king's territory.'
See ibid., p. XXXIX.

⁹ Cf. Girnār R.E., II, p. 3.

¹⁰ Tūphākam śhāle, I. 9.—Śārānāth Pillar, p. 162; tūpaka śhāle savara, I. 5.—Rūpōsth
Inscr., p. 167; cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 170.

contained many such districts. There were within the empire several fortified districts under military occupation (*hemera savesu koṭa-vishavesu*—Sārnāth Pillar-edict), also some forest-area, the moral reclamation of which has been noted by the Emperor with a feeling of triumph (*ya pi cha aṭavi devanāmpriyasa vijite bhoti ta pi anumeti anumijhapeti*).¹ The forest-tract had been subjugated before the thirteenth year of his reign, probably in the eighth year when the Kalinga War was fought. If Bengal were an *anta* country or a *rājavishaya* in relation to Aśoka's empire, we should expect it to be included in either of the categories mentioned in his inscriptions. There is also no definite reference to Bengal in the list of the provinces which were not directly administered by the Emperor himself. There were several such provinces the government of which was entrusted to members of the royal family (*Kumāla, Ayaputa*), viz., Tosali (Dhuli near Bhuvaneswar in Orissa), Suvarṇagiri in the south, Ujjain and Takṣaśilā.² The Kalinga Province of the empire, which consisted of two divisions with their respective headquarters at Tosali and Samāpā, probably included the whole or the greater part of the territory of the Gaṅgāridae. Of the two divisions, Tosali (Dhuli) was more important, as it was the seat of the provincial governor,³ and the affairs of the Gaṅgāridae may have been controlled from this centre which was also nearer Bengal than Samāpā (Jaugarh). The Jungle tracts (*aṭavi*—the forest-region in Western Bengal ?) may have been formed into a *vishaya*, endowed with special military defences and placed under the charge of the provincial governor stationed at Dhuli. The provincial governors carried on their administrative

¹ Shābbāzgarhī R.E., XIII, p. 67.

² *Ujenite pi chu kumāle*.....*hemera Takṣa(s)ilāte*—Dhuli Separate, R.E., I, p. 94; *Tosaliyam kumāle*—Dhuli Sep. R. E. II; *kumāle—Jaugarh* R.E., I, I, 11; *Devi-kumālanāth-Delhi-Topra* P. E., VII, I, 27, p. 133; *Suvāṇṇagiri* *ayaputasa* (*ayaputrasya*)—Brahmagiri and Siddhapura R. Inscr., pp. 176, 173.

³ Dhuli Sep. R.E., II, is addressed to the Kumāra and Mahāmātras stationed at gall. See *ibid.*, p. 97.

work with the help of a class of officials styled Mahāmātra.¹ For the government of the home-territories also the Emperor found the services of these Mahāmātras useful. There were Mahāmātras employed at Kauśāmbī² and Pāṭaliputra.³ They formed a large body of officials (*Savata mahamatā*)⁴ divided into two distinct groups, one responsible to the Emperor himself and the other to the provincial heads.⁵ They were sometimes required to perform the duties of a city-judge⁶ also (*nagara-vyāvahāra*). The northern part of Bengal may have been under the personal administration of the Emperor, since the trouble due to the Ājīvikas living in Puṇḍravardhana was directly reported to him.⁷ The new inscription from Mahāsthān which undoubtedly belongs to the Maurya period refers to a Mahāmātra of Puṇḍranagara, who may have been an officer under Aśoka⁸ exercising control over not an insignificant area in North Bengal. But it must be pointed out that neither this record nor the tradition recorded in the Buddhist text quoted above proves the inclusion of this region in Aśoka's empire beyond reasonable doubt. It would not have been unusual to constitute such an area, if actually under imperial occupation, into an *āhāra* or *pradeśa* administered by a *Prādeśika*.⁹ The officials of this appellation are supposed to have enjoyed a status similar to that of the *Mahāmātras*.¹⁰ Aśoka appointed certain Mahāmātras for the special purpose of guarding and promoting his interest

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-79.

² Allahabad P. E., p. 159.

³ Sarnāth P. E., pp. xi, 162.

⁴ Allahabad Kosam Queen's P. E., *ibid.*, p. 159.

⁵ Cf. for instance the case of the Mahāmātras of Isila, who were addressed by the Aryaputra and the Mahāmātras of Suvarṇagiri. See p. xi.

⁶ F. W. Thomas takes the term *Mahāmātra* to mean an 'official' (see *ibid.*, p. xi) or a 'dignitary' (see JRAS., 1914, p. 887). Diavali and Jaugarh Separate R.E., Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 ff.

⁷ *Div.*, p. 427.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, XXI (Part II), p. 85.

⁹ *OTL*, Vol. I, pp. 4, 73.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5, n.3.

in the borders of his empire (*Anta-Mahāmātā*--P.E., I),¹ but they were not concerned with Bengal as it does not figure as an *anta* country in any of his available records. Although some part of Bengal may be regarded as having been under the personal government of Aśoka assisted by his staff of officials, it may not have enjoyed the same rank as Pāṭaliputra and its neighbourhood. In the administrative system under Aśoka, the *Magadha* King,² there seems to have been some room for a careful distinction between Pāṭaliputra, the capital city, and the rest of the empire (*Pāṭalipute cha bāhiraśu cha*³--R.E., V).

The Magadha empire as it had stood in the days of Aśoka suffered a diminution after his death, owing to the gradual establishment of Greek domination in the north-western frontier, the Punjab, Sind and Kāthiāwār. The Bactrians may have even made an attempt to conquer Pāṭaliputra, as suggested by the evidence of the *Garga-Saṁhitā*.⁴ The sieges of Śāketa (=Southern Oudh) and Madhyamikā (=Nagari, eight miles north of Chitorgarh, Udaipur state, Rājputāna)⁵ by a Yavana ruler are mentioned by the grammarian Patañjali, a contemporary of the Śuṅga king Pushyamitra, who refers to the horse-sacrifice performed by the latter.⁶ The Yavana invasions noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Garga-Saṁhitā* were probably related to

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

² *Bairāt R. Insc.*, p. 172.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 9, n. 11.

⁴ K. P. Jayaswal has compiled historical material from the *Yuga-Purāṇa* of the *Garga-Saṁhitā*, which is based on a study of two available MSS. The book is entitled *Vpiddha-Garga-virachita-Jyotiṣa-saṁhitā*. The text (sec. 5, 22-25) speaks of the Yava attacks on Śāketa, Pañchāla Mathurā and Puṣpapura : *tataḥ Śāketam-ākramya Pañchāla Mathurān tatbā | Yavanā duṣṭa-vikrāntāḥ | prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam | tataḥ Puṣpapuraḥ prāpta* .. See JBORS., Vol. XIV, p. 402.

⁵ *Arupad Yavano Madhyamikām* ... See Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 206; Prog. Ind. ASWI (for the year ending 31st March, 1916), p. 52.

⁶ *Iha Puṣhyamitraḥ yā'yāmah*.--*Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, III, 2, 123. For an account of the oppressions of the Buddhists during Pushyamitra's reign, see Div. Ch.

: 111, 114, p. 202 n.

one another, being led by Demetrius¹ whom Gardner places about 200 B.C. on numismatic grounds. The Garga-Saṁhitā seems to refer to the Greek attack as having taken place immediately after the reign of the Maurya king Śāliśūka² (*Śāliśūkaḥ samā rājā trayodaśa bhaviṣhyati*),³ and it is noteworthy that Patañjali's evidence also does not necessarily imply that the Yavana expeditions alluded to by him occurred during the period of Pushyamitra's administration (B.C. 185-149),⁴ though in his time they were considered recent events.⁵ Although a strong government was established by the Maurya general, the times were not without troublous portents. It took some time before the Yavana danger passed away. Pushyamitra's grandson Vasumitra, the son of the Crown Prince Agnimitra, is stated in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act V) to have repelled a Yavana attack on the banks of the Sindhu, which may be identified with the river of this name at present dividing Bundelkhand from the native states of Rājputāna. In later times another Greek ruler Menander may have succeeded in imposing his authority on Mathurā where his coins have been found.⁶

¹ The Indian expeditions are attributed by some to Menander, but according to Gardner he flourished c. 110 B.C. See CCBMGS., pp. xxii-xxiii and the Chart. V. A. Smith assigns 'his invasion' to the years 156-153 B.C., EHI., p. 229. For the view that the Greek conqueror was most probably Demetrius, see Rawlinson, *Pārthia*, Story of the Nations Series, p. 65; *Encyclo. Brit.*, 14th edition, Vol. VII, p. 179. It is likely, as Gardner suggests, that 'the rule of Menander was extended farther to south and east than that of Demetrius. Rapson thinks that Menander was a contemporary of Demetrius. CHI., Vol. I, p. 543; cf. Whitehead, CCPM., Vol. I, pp. 12, 54.

² Śāliśūka's accession is placed by V. A. Smith at c. 216 B.C., s. EHI., p. 206. The text from the Garga-Saṁhitā begins with 'tataḥ' following verses about him.

³ PTDKA., p. 29.

⁴ For non-Purāṇic traditions about the Śuṅga chronology, see Ind. Ant., Vol. 46, p. 152.

⁵ This inference may be drawn from the use of imperfect tense in 'arupad yavanah śaketaḥ' in *Mahābhā.*, III, 2.2, see CHI., Vol. I, p. 544. Pāṇini's rule III, II, III, 'anadyatane lāṭ' shows that the Imperfect is used to 'denote what is not of to-day.' Kātyāyana's *vārttika* on the above—*parokṣe cha lokaviñāte prayoktur-darśanavi-bhaye*—makes the application of the rule clearer. The tense is to be used 'with reference to what is beyond the range of sight, but universally known and capable of being witnessed by the narrator.' What is evident is that Patañjali himself was capable of witnessing these events.

⁶ SBE., Vol. 85, p. xi.

It may be guessed that Bengal kept up her association with the Magadha power during a period when calamities similar to those threatening at the time of Alexander's invasion were being apprehended. The growth of Greek domination was a menace equally to the safety of Magadha and Bengal, and if they were linked up together at this time, the combination may have been dictated to a large extent by considerations of political expediency, if not forced by the imperial pressure of Magadha. Vasumitra's fight with the Greeks was the second striking episode in this drama of the political relationship between Magadha and Indo-Bactrian rulers. The House of Euthydemus, to which Demetrius and Menander belonged, was hostile to the interests of the Magadha empire, but with the loss of the control which this family had hitherto exercised over the Kābul Valley and Gandhāra, a friendly diplomatic contact was established between the Śuṅga dynasty and Antialkidas, who is believed to have been a representative of the rival Greek dynasty founded by Eukratides,¹ to which these districts were now transferred. This change in the mutual relationship between the Śuṅgas and the Indo-Greeks may be noted in the Besnagar inscription which records the erection of a Garuḍa Pillar in honour of Vāsudeva (*Devadevasa Vāsudevasa garuḍa-dhvaje*) by the Bhāgavata Heliadora, the son of Diya (Dion), an inhabitant of Taxila, the Greek ambassador (*Yona dūta*) at the court of Mahārāja Kāśīputra, in the fourteenth year of the latter's reign.² There is no doubt that Aṁtalikita, who was Heliadora's master, was the same person as the Greek king Antialkidas of coins. The internecine struggle between the two Greek families of Euthydemus and Eukratides considerably hampered the advance of their political power in the Midland

¹ CHI., p. 568.

² Besnagar Inscr. on the Khan Baba Pillar, *Luders' List*, No. 660; *JRAS.*, 1909, pt. 1237 ff.; 1038 ff.; Corrections by A. Venis, *ibid.*, 1910, p. 812, and by Fleet, *ibid.*, pp., 816-17.

country.¹ This factor, coupled with the recent establishment of friendly relations between Antialkidas and Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra, may have convinced those in whose hands lay the government of Bengal at the time that the Greek menace had ceased to be operative. It was probably at this juncture that Bengal threw off her yoke and entered into an alliance with the Kalingas, whose power revived under the able and ambitious rule of Khāravela.

It is necessary to try to determine the age of Khāravela, for, as will be seen later, he was probably in touch with Bengal during his campaigns in the north. But a large body of conflicting opinions has accumulated round the decipherment and interpretation of the Hāthigumpha inscription on which we have exclusively to rely for his personal history. From out of this controversy we may pick up two or three points that may throw some useful light on the vexed question of Khāravela's date. It is now generally taken as fairly certain that the Hāthigumpha inscription makes references to three kings, viz., an unnamed member of the Nanda dynasty, Bahasatimitra of Māgadha, and a Sātakarṇi who belonged to the Sātavāhana family of the south. As to the second king, the reading of his name, as suggested by Jayaswal and R. D. Banerjee, has been generally accepted by scholars, though judging from the estampage which we owe to them some have reasonably expressed their doubts about it. The interval between the fifth year of Khāravela's reign and the date of an aqueduct constructed by a Nanda king was *three hundred years*² (*Naṁdarāja-tivasasat-ōghāṭitam*). Who is this Nanda king mentioned in Khāravela's *prastāvi*?

¹ The Garga-Saṁhitā shows that the Greeks were forced to leave Madhyadeśa owing to mutual rivalry amongst them. The Yavana power was destroyed in Śāketa—'Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti yavanā yuddha-durmadā (h?) | tesāṁ anyonya-sambhāva(o) bhaviṣyati na saṁśayaḥ | ātmaśakr-ottīṣaṁ ghorāṁ yuddhāṁ parama-dāruṇāṁ | See JBORS, XIV, p. 408.

² JBORS., Vol. III, 1917, p. 497. Some render the phrase as '108 years,' but see MASL, No. I, pp. 11-12.

R. D. Banerjee once remarked that he was to be identified with Nandivardhana, the date of whose accession was originally placed at 449 B.C. by K. P. Jayaswal.¹ The fifth year of Khāravela's reign was thus shown as corresponding to c. 149 B.C. Although on this evidence his accession was to be placed at c. 154 B.C., an earlier date, say 174 or 170 B.C.,² was considered more probable. This conclusion was arrived at from a supposed reference to an otherwise unknown Mauryan era in the Hāthigumpha inscription, according to which the thirteenth year of Khāravela's reign corresponded to the 165th year of this era. It is assumed that the Maurya era commenced from about 322 B.C., the approximate year of Chandragupta's occupation of the Magadha throne. In the first instance it should be pointed out that if the evidence of some of the Purāṇas is to be relied upon, it appears there is no reason to conclude that Nandivardhana conquered Kālīṅga, since there were others ruling that country contemporaneously with the members of the family to which Nandivardhana belonged³ (*Etaiḥ sārddham bharishyanti tārat-kālam nṛpāḥ pare.....Kālīṅgās-ch-aiva drā-trimśad*). The only Nanda king who attained to something like an imperial position and thus paved the way for the glories achieved by Chandragupta Maurya and Aśoka was Mahāpadma, who is said to have established his suzerainty by conquering all the *Kshatriya* princes of his time. His accession has been placed at c. 413 B.C. in the chronological table prepared by V. S. Smith.⁴ The Purāṇas assign a long period of reign to this monarch. The Nanda king referred to in the Hāthigumpha inscription was most probably identical with Mahāpadma Nanda, and it may be presumed that his contact with Kālīṅga ensued about 400 B.C. The fifth year of

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, The Saisunaka and Mauryan Chronology, pp. 67-115, (p. 80).

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 498-99.

³ PTDKA., pp. 23-24. In 1927 Jayaswal expressed the view that Khāravela became the king of Kālīṅga c. 183 B.C. JBORS., XIII, pp. 238, 244, and that Nandivardhana ascended the throne not in 449 B.C., a date previously advocated by him, but in 458 B.C.

⁴ EHI, p. 15.

Khāravala's reign from this standpoint would appear to be equivalent to about 100 B.C. Moreover, the passage in the Hāthigumpha inscription which is believed by some to contain a reference to an era associated with the name of the Mauryas (*Muriyakālam*)¹ is extremely doubtful, so far as its reading and interpretation are concerned. The alleged existence of an era starting from the commencement of Maurya Chandragupta's reign is not supported by any authentic evidence, and the theory that the Hāthigumpha inscription contains a reference to it has been finally abandoned by its former sponsors Jayaswal and R. D. Banerjee. They have now been led to form a different view as to the interpretation of the data in the Hāthigumpha inscription regarding the date of Khāravala.² They are helped in their new calculation by their decipherment of the name Dimitra or Dīmīta (identified with Demetrius) in the line 8 of the inscription, a reading which a critical epigraphist is likely to hold highly improbable. Jayaswal and Banerjee³ are themselves of the opinion that the first and the third syllable of the name can be read with great difficulty. Moreover, they have not adduced any proof on the strength of which the identity of the Nanda King, as proposed by them, can be upheld.

The reference to *tirasasata* in the inscription, is not related, in the opinion of Jayaswal and Banerjee, to Khāravala's date. It is only concerned with the date of the excavation of a tank which Khāravala repaired. The date thus given is sought to be connected with an era which they suppose to have been founded by Nandivardhana (or Nandavardhana), the originator of

¹ The view was first suggested by Bhagawanlal Indraji. See Lüders' List, No. 1345; Charpentier, *Ind. Ant.*, 1914 p. 170 n

² See their joint contribution, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 74; Sten Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, pp. 15-17. But cf. *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, pp. 223 ff.; 1919, pp. 214 ff.; *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 212 ff., 834 ff.; 1919, pp. 306 ff.; For Jayaswal's previous researches on Khāravala, see *JBOR*, 1917, pp. 425-85; 1918, pp. 865-403; 1927, pp. 231-46; 1928, pp. 150 ff

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 84, n. 81.

the Nanda dynasty.¹ But it seems extremely doubtful if *Nandārāja* in the expression can mean an era established by the Nanda King. Realising that the proposed interpretation is obviously weak, the two scholars have suggested an alternative theory that the reference is perhaps to the last Nanda king whom they place at c. 325 B.C., bringing the date of the construction of the tank to B.C. 222 (they now take *tirasasta* in the sense of 103 years), which is to serve the purpose of an upper limit in the chronological scheme connected with the Khāravela problem. The most important conclusion they have arrived at is that Khāravela's date cannot be brought down later than the 1st century B. C. for palaeographical reasons. This view is not in conflict with R. P. Chanda's observations on the chronological significance of the palaeography of the Hāthigumpha inscription.²

The second name said to be mentioned in the Hāthigumpha inscription is Bahasatimitra. There is, again, a considerable difficulty in determining the identity of this person apart from the fact that the reading of this name, as given for the first time by K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerjee, has been challenged.³ The name Bahasatimitra is known from other sources. An inscription (No. 1), found at Pabhosā near Kosām,⁴ refers to one of this name (Bahasatimitra) as a *rājā* whose maternal uncle was Āśhaḍhasena, the son of *rājā* Vaṅgapāla of Adhichekhatra (in the Bareilly district of the United Provinces). Some inscriptions from Mora mention his daughter (*dhitu*?) as the wife of a *rājā* (probably of Mathurā).⁵ Coins of Bahasatimitra have been obtained at

¹ Jayaswal and Banerjee refer as their authorities regarding the existence of a Nanda era beginning from B.C. 458 to Sachau, Alberuni, II, pp. 5-7; Bomb. Gaz., I, Part II, p. 43, (the Yodave inscr. of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI). On this point, see JBORS., XIII, pp. 237, 241.

² MASI., No. I.

³ Ind. Ant., 1919, p. 189.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 248 ff.

⁵ These are dedicatory inscriptions on fragments of bricks in early Brāhmī characters. The name is given as *Prihasvātimitra*. See JRAS., 1912, p. 120.

Rāmnagar¹ (= Ahichchhatra) and Kosām. The occurrence of his name in the Hāthigumpha inscription, if admitted, does not add a new and unknown figure to the list of ancient Indian rulers. There would have been no problem of Bahasatimitra's date confronting us if it were possible to identify him definitely with Pushyamitra, the founder of the Suṅga dynasty (c. 185 B.C.—149 B.C.). But this equation seems to be open to serious doubt. None of the sources mentioning Pushyamitra give Bahasatimitra or Brihaspatimitra as an alternative name of the Suṅga king. Indeed, the Suṅga king is uniformly referred to by the name Pushyamitra in the Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist traditions which throw light on his career. A record recently discovered speaks of him as a *Senāpati*.² He was originally the general of the Nanda King whom he later disposed (*Pushyamitras-tu senānir uddhṛitya sa Brihadratham*).³ In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* his daughter-in-law addresses him as *Senāpati*. Provided that Jayaswal's reading of an inscription from Nagari is correct, a view with which it is difficult to agree, that record may appear to contain a reference to this name.⁴ Thus there are two different sets of evidence relating respectively to Brihaspatimitra and Pushyamitra. The Pabbosa inscription is dated in the tenth year of Cāka, whose identification with the fifth Suṅga may be accepted as correct. In this epigraph Āśadhasena, who is himself the son of a *rājā*, is mentioned to have been related to *rājā* Bahasatimitra as his maternal uncle. The inference that the latter was dead when the inscription was engraved does not necessarily follow from the text. The occurrence of his name can be easily explained by supposing that as he was the ruler of Kosām as a feudatory

¹ For coins of Bahasatimitra, see CCIM., Vol. I, pp. 146, 155, 185; Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India, Pl. V., Fig. II.

² *Infra*, p. 185, ns. 1-2.

³ PTDKA., p. 81.

⁴ A fragmentary inscription at Nagari—MASI., No. 4, p. 120. Jayaswal reads 'āśva-medhāyājñā Pushyamitras, JBORS., 1924, p. 207. The ascription of the inscription to Pushyamitra, based on this reading, is probably wrong. Cf. G. Ojha, ASI., 1926 27, p. 205; Ep. Ind. Vol. XX, p. 55 (Sarvātama Aśvamedha-yājñā).

of Odruka or Udāka, a reference to the provincial head was considered necessary in conformity with the practice not unusual during the period of mentioning the suzerain as well as the subordinate ruler connected with the territory where a particular gift may have been made. The Barhut inscription [No. 687 in Lüders' List], for example, refers to the rule of the Suṅgas (*Suganam raje*)¹ as well as to the provincial chief, Rāja Gārgīputra Viśvadeva, whose grandson was the donor Dhanabhūti. The theory put forward by Jayaswal means that the uncle of the first king of the dynasty was alive during the rule of the fifth, while his nephew had been dead for nearly thirty-five years. This period was preceded by thirty-six years' rule of Pushyamitra. Supposing that he performed his military *coup d'état* at the age of about thirty, an estimate commensurate with the responsibility with which he was entrusted at the time as the Commander-in-Chief of the Maurya Army, there would be a difference of nearly a hundred years between the date of his birth and the tenth year of Odruka (the period may have been slightly less). This does not take into consideration the probability that the uncle may have been older than the nephew, in which case the theory on the face of it would be still more absurd. The difficulties thus involved in the view taken up by Jayaswal will be obviated if Brihaspatimitra, regarded as distinct from Pushyamitra, is held to have been a subordinate prince associated with Kosām and its neighbourhood in the tenth regnal year of Udāka, identified with the fifth Sunga king.

The next inscription to be considered in this connection is the one engraved on the Garuḍa Pillar at Besnagar,² mentioning

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 138, and Plate; Vol. XXI, p. 227; B. M. Barua, Barhut, Cal Univ. For rājan Dhanabhūti and his son Vadhapāla, see Barhut Inscr., Lüders' List, No. 689.

² The date is given as follows :— asena chātubhūsa rājena vadhāmāsa. See JRAS., 1909, pp. 1058 ff., No. A, and Plate; p. 1067 ff.; Note by Dr. L. D. Barnett on the Besnagar Inscr. (Pl. Ib., p. 1054, *ibid.*), p. 1093; D. R. Bhandarkar's reading is different in some places, JBBHAS., Vol. XXIII, p. 104; also see JRAS., 1910, pp. 813 ff.; ASR., 1908-09, pp. 126-29 and Plate XLVI; Lüders' List, No. 689; MASI., No. 1.

Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra and Antialkidas as contemporary kings. Sir John Marshall¹ suggests that Bhāgabhadra should be identified with the fifth Śuṅga king whose name is given in different forms in the Purāṇas, such as Andhraka, Andhaka, Dhruka, Dhraka, Vṛika, Antaka, Āndraka, Odruka,² Bhadra, Bhadraka. The Greek king Antialkidas was not far removed from 90 B.C. in either direction, as worked out by Rapson, from a study of numismatic data.³ Hence the period to be assigned to his Hindu contemporary must be as near this date as possible. The Purāṇas conclude with the statement that the Śuṅgas reigned for 112 years, but if the periods separately assigned to the different members of the dynasty are reckoned up, the total amounts to 120 years. Then, again, the fifth Śuṅga, according to the Purāṇas, ruled only for two years, but on the view that he was the same as Udāka we have the testimony of the Pabhosa inscription, if that is to be referred to his time, that he reigned for at least ten years. Apparently, therefore, there is an excess of sixteen years over the entire duration of the dynasty, as stated in the Purāṇas, spread over nine individual reign-periods. The imperial Śuṅga dynasty came to an end in 73 B.C. (B.C. 185-112 years=73 B.C.). Its last member ruled for ten years, so that he ascended the throne about 83 B.C. His predecessor, the ninth king, who is called Bhāgavata, is credited with a reign of thirty-two years (acc 115 B.C.), but in view of the inaccuracy which has crept into the account of the Purāṇas, one should not rashly accept these figures as incontrovertible. An approximate indication as to the length of the reign of the penultimate king is furnished by another Besnagar inscription which is *probably* dated in the twelfth regnal year of Gotamiputra

¹ A Guide to Sanchi, 1911, p. 11.

² 'Udraka' is given as a proper name in the Divyāvadāna, p. 802.

³ CHI., Vol. I, p. 521-22.

Bhāgavata.¹ To this may be added two more years if the Indian King mentioned in the inscription of Heliodorus is also to be identified with him. Taking 149 B.C., the year of Pushyamitra's death, as the starting point of our calculation, we may arrive at 101 B.C. as the date of Bhāgavata's accession. On the other hand, the fifth Śuṅga will have to be placed in the period between B.C. 124-114. Dr. H. C. Rai Chaudhuri² holds the view that Udāka cannot be regarded as a member of the Imperial Śuṅga dynasty particularly because there is nothing to connect him with Vidiśā (Besnagar) which gives the two names Bhāgavatā and Bhāgabhadra. But the Pabhosa inscription shows by being dated in his reign and also by referring to a gubernatorial family under him that he was a ruler of substantial worth. At the time to which the inscription may be assigned none except the Śuṅgas are known to have been so powerful. It may not perhaps be a serious offence against palaeographical evidence if Bhāgabhadra and Udāka are held to be one and the same person, the two names being supplied by two different inscriptions from two different regions. Otherwise it would be quite reasonable to identify the former with Bhāgavata. If these dates are taken as approximately correct, the contemporaneity of Antialcidas with the ninth king Bhāgavata will appear more probable than with the fifth Śuṅga. It may also be added that the different Purāṇic forms of the fifth Śuṅga's name do not contain any element corresponding to 'Bhāga' of the name Bhāgabhadra. R. P. Chanda places the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus in the first half of the second century B.C. with the remark that its date can be ascertained "on surer grounds than mere palaeographic evidence,"³ but unfortunately, he has not taken the trouble of discussing what these other grounds are.

¹ JBBRAS, Vol. XXIII, p. 144; ASI., 1913-14, p. 190. The inscr. is dated as follows :—(dva)daśa-ābhiniśe) Bhāgavata mahārāja.

² PHAI., p. 252. It is evident that he is opposed to the identification of Pushyamitra with Brihaspatimitra. With that view I fully agree. See *ibid.*, p. 238.

³ MASL., No. 1, p. 6.

Even if it is held that Kāśīputra was the fifth Śuṅga king, its date cannot be pushed earlier than about 114 B.C. During the period referred to by Chanda, Vidiśā was under the vice-royalty of the heir-apparent of Pushyamitra, who could not be the same as the Kāśīputra.

The conclusions arrived at regarding the approximate dates of the Pabbhosa and Besnagar inscriptions on historical grounds are generally supported by palaeographical considerations. These inscriptions which show the use of the archaic letter-forms of the Maurya alphabet nearly allied to those exhibited in the Nāgārjuni Hill-Cave inscriptions of Aśoka's grandson Daśaratha, should be regarded as anterior in point of time to the inscriptions at Hāthigumpha, and Nānāghāt, those on the 'older part' of the Bodhi-Gayā railing,¹ the *toranas* at Bharut and Sāñchi.² Of these the Sāñchi *torana* inscriptions by reason of their palaeography seem to have belonged to the latest stage, portraying a type of writing that preceded the Mathurā inscriptions of Śoḍaśa (B.C. 15-15 A.D.).³

The different inscriptions which stand midway between the Besnagar and Mathurā inscriptions do not equally share all the features of the advanced cursive order of writing which characterised the transitional period in the history of Indian palaeography. But that they are all subject in some way or other to the influence of a post-Mauryan movement as regards the form of writing employed in them has been ably demonstrated. One characteristic of this transitional stage is the use of archaic Maurya forms side by side with those of the advanced type, not infrequently of the same letters, as shown in the Hāthigumpha

¹ Cunningham, *Maha-Bodhi*, Pt. X, Nos. 2-10. Blüch assigned them to the middle of the second century B.C. See ARASI, 1903-09, p. 147. But this does not seem to be correct as the relieve inscriptions exhibit more ancient forms. Sir John Marshall assigns the Bodhi-Gayā railing to the early part of the first century B.C. See CHI., Vol. I, p. 626.

² R. C. Ma under considers the Sāñchi *torana* inscriptions to be much earlier than the Besnagar inscriptions of Heliodorus. See JASB., N.S., Vol. XVIII, 1922, pp. 232-38. Cf. R. P. Chanda, *ibid.* pp. 225-23; JBOBS, 1925, p. 71.

³ Cf. MASI., No. 1, pp. 14-15.

inscription to a striking degree.¹ Bühler must have been impressed by the general similarity in the characters used in these inscriptions as he assigned them all practically to the same period.² That on palaeographical grounds they are still to be attributed to the same age is not disputed, but as the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus and the Pabbosā inscriptions of Āśhaḍhasena, in which archaic forms of letters are preserved, cannot be put earlier than the closing years of the second century B.C., it will be prudent to modify Bühler's estimate regarding the age of the Hāthigumpha and other inscriptions more or less contemporaneous with it. Besides, the historical datum in the Hāthigumpha inscription relating to a Nanda king adds another important ground for assigning it to about the beginning of the first century B.C. The inscriptions at Bharut, Sāñchi and Bodh-Gayā possess nothing in their contents that can *ipso facto* prove an earlier date for them. In fact they can all be placed in nearly the same period, the interval separating one from another may have been a few years at the most. It is contended by R. D. Banerjee that while the above chronological position ascribed to the Bharut and Sāñchi inscriptions from a study of their palaeography is approximately correct, the same standard of evaluation should not be applied in the case of the inscriptions at Hāthigumpha and Nānāghāt.³ For he asserts that "the general tendencies of transitional forms are to be over-developed in one area and very slow in development in another."⁴ In other words, the script developed more quickly at Udayagiri and at Nānāghāt than in the north, so that the advanced forms to be noticed in the inscriptions at these places should not deter us from assigning them to an age much earlier than that of the northern records which may show some or all of the symptoms exhibited in the former. It would have been quite reasonable to lay down

¹ MAB., Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 182-85.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIII, 1904, pp. 39-40.

³ ASWL, Vol. V, pp. 60 ff., Plate LI.

MAB., XI, No. 3, p. 144.

a general principle of this sort had it naturally evolved out of a comparative study of a series of inscriptions confined to the same region. But the Hāthigumpha inscription has no local predecessor with which it can be compared except the Kalinga edicts of Aśoka. The inevitable standard for the determination of the later advance in writing in this particular country is therefore wanting. The theory that the script was 'over-developed' in Kalinga is in agreement with his view that the Hāthigumpha inscription is to be assigned to the early part of the second century B.C. The acceptance of this theory means that the Hāthigumpha and Nānāghāt inscriptions will have to be placed 60 or 70 years earlier than those records where archaic forms have been used, and that a still longer period will be required to separate the former group from those inscriptions which partake more or less of the same characteristics as they are found to possess.

It must be admitted, however, that the palaeography of this period offers a puzzle which is not quite simple to solve. The introduction of advanced letter-forms in a fairly large number of cases within only a few years of the date of the Besnagar or the Pabhosā inscription no doubt causes some surprise, which increases when we find that King Bhāgavata's inscription from Besnagar (?), dated according to our calculation a little earlier than the writing on the Garuḍa pillar erected by the Greek ambassador, though in a bad state of preservation, shows some trace of the influence of the post-Mauryan cursive style, from which the other is free. It may be said that the new letter-forms were just coming into vogue when the particular Besnagar and Pabhosā inscriptions were engraved. The characters in these inscriptions may have been the handiwork of the old school of copyists familiar with the ordinary writing of the second century B.C., but during the period immediately following them the new school came to be largely patronised in different parts of the country. In any case it is not possible to argue that a long period of time intervened between the earlier and the later set of inscriptions. R. P.

Chanda concludes that several decades should have elapsed between the date of the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus and the Bharut *torāṇa* inscription of Dhanabhūti. But this view is somewhat exaggerated. For Dhanabhūti flourished during the Sunga period, which came to an end c. 73 B.C. while the former inscription is probably to be dated about the last quarter of the second century B.C. The Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva, which shows the use of an alphabet resembling the cursive writing of the Kushāṇa period, proves, according to Jayaswal, the existence of a developed script even during the period that preceded the inscription of Heliodorus. Jayaswal takes Dhanadeva¹ to be either the sixth son or the sixth brother of Pushyamitra. If the interpretation of the term *shashṭha* preferred by this scholar, is correct, we shall have two systems of writing, cursive and monumental, current side by side in the first half of the second century B.C. But the case for accepting the other view, according to which Dhanadeva was sixth in descent from Pushyamitra, seems to be the stronger of the two.² It is not probable that this Dhanadeva was identical with the Dhanadeva of the coins.³ The script used in the legends on coins is very different from that employed in the Ayodhyā inscription. Dhanadeva⁴ of the inscription was probably a later Mitra king

¹ JBORS., Vol. X, pp. 203 ff.; Vol. XIII, pp. 247-49.

² This will be the clear interpretation if the word 'Puruṣeṇa' is supplied after 'śhaṣṭhena' in the inscr. The suggestion is made by Dayaram Sahni in agreement with G. H. Ojha. See Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 54. He assigns the inscr. for palaeographical reasons to the 1st century A.D. *Ibid.*, p. 57. The theory of descent is opposed by A. Banerjee-Sāstri who points out that according to the Surjitia 'descent is signified by the termination of the ablative case.' See Modern Review, 1925, Jan., pp. 59-60. For other contributions on the subject, see reports of the Rājputāna Museum—Ajmer—for the year ending 31st March, 1924, pp. 1-2; Modern Review, 1924, Oct., pp. 430-32; 1925, Feb., p. 202; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. VII, Pts. I and II, pp. 160-68.

³ CCIM., Vol. I, pp. 144, 148-49. Acc. to Cunningham coins of Dhanadeva and Viśakhadeva found from Ayodhyā are not older than the 2nd century B.C. *CAI.*, Pl. IX, 8, 9.

⁴ Mitra coins of the Cook and Bull type (Ayodhyā) are those of Ayumitra, Satyamitra, Devamitra, Vijayamitra (2nd cent. A.D., CCIM., Vol. I, pp. 145, 150-51). For earlier Pāṇḍyā and Kōśala coins of the so-called Mitra dynasty (c. 100 B.C.-100 A.D.), see CCIM., Vol. I, pp. 184-88. Their kingdom included eastern Oudh and Basti, with perhaps Gorakhpur.

of North Kosāla. His date is to be determined in accordance with the palaeographical evidence available in his case, which should be considered more important than the doubtful interpretation of a word in the text of his inscription, that has led Jayaswal to be sceptical about the value of palaeography in dissolving the chronological complications of the period, and to express strangely enough, the view that "epigraphy is not a very pure guide for fixing chronology." ¹ It may be noted here that one of the Mitra kings whose coins have been found was Phalgunimitra.² The Ayodhyā inscription speaks of a Phalgudeva who may have been identical with the former.

As Khāravēla's inscription shows in its form of writing certain developments not to be traced in the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus, it must be later than this record. It may not be difficult to interpret the reference to the Nanda king in his inscription in such a manner as to fit this conclusion forced by palaeographical study. It was, therefore, in the beginning of the first century B.C. (about B.C. 95) that Khāravēla in all probability succeeded his father on the throne of Kālīnga. It had been an independent territory for some time under the rule of the

in short the old kingdom of Kosala.* Names of kings available are Dhruvamitra, Sūryamitra, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra, Phalgunimitra, Br̥haspatimitra, Agnimitra, Indramitra, Viṣṇumitra and Jayamitra. Cun. and Smith hold that these coins need not be connected with the Śuṅga dynasty. See CCAL., p. 80; CCIM., p. 184. From Mathurā have been recovered coins of Gomitra, Viṣṇumitra, and Brahmanimitra who were probably earlier than the foreign satraps of the region. See CCIM., p. 190. The name of Indramitra is preserved in two almost identical inscriptions at Bodh-Gayā, one of which is now in the custody of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The other inscription found at Bodh-Gayā mentions Brahmanimitra (rāño Brahmanimittasa), see Cunningham, Mahabodhi. Pl. X, 9-10; ASI., 1908-09, p. 147, n. 4. For a coin of Indramitra found at Pāṭaliputra—see *ibid*, 1912-13, Appendix B, No. 19. For Rapson's observations on coins from Kosān, Mathurā, Ayodhyā and Pañchāla—see Indian Coins (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde-II Baud), pp. 11-13, Pl. III, VI. An early inscr. from Mathurā recently discovered, now in the Patna Museum, mentions King Viṣṇumitra (rāñ) and his daughter Gotamimitra. N. G. Majumdar suggests his identity with the Mitra king of this name known from coins (CCAL., p. 14). See *IBQ.*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 441 ff.

¹ *JBOBS.*, 1924, p. 207.

² *CCIM.*, Pl. XXII.

Cheti (Chedi ?) dynasty,¹ of which surely he was not the first member. In the eighth year of his reign he led an expedition against Rājagriha, and his adversary is said to have retreated to Mathurā. A prince of Mathurā enjoyed a matrimonial alliance with Brihaspatimitra (*cf.* Mora inscription). It is probable that Brihaspatimitra was on the throne of Magadha having a fortified base at Rājagriha in the eighth as well as in the twelfth year of Khāravala's reign (B.C. 87-83), when the invasion was repeated, ending with his complete humiliation. Before Mathurā was annexed by Brihaspatimitra it may have been for a short time under the government of Menander, who established his authority having overthrown the line to which his ally belonged. Judging from the Purāṇic chronology, the aggressive activities of Khāravala should have fallen within Bhāgavata's reign, but the name of the king as given in the Hāthigumpha inscription is Brihaspatimitra. It seems that the kingdom of Magadha or a portion of it had been seized by him shortly after the fourteenth year of Bhāgavata's reign. The usurper, originally a ruler of Kosām (c. 115 B.C.), probably connected with the Suṅga dynasty, and with strong alliances in Abichchhatra and Mathurā, may have extended his power into Bihār before the eighth year of Khāravala's reign (c. 87 B.C.). It is likely then that the period of thirty-two years, which by the way should not be taken as certain, ascribed to Bhāgavata in the Purāṇas, includes also the duration of the usurper's short reign. From the position of a *rājan*, a feudatory chief, he became the suzerain king himself, and passed through the experiences of a stormy spell of power that must have come to a rapid end. Before he rose to this position he may have inherited the chiefship of Abichchhatra after the death of his maternal uncle (*cf.* coins). His occupation of Mathurā similarly added to his growing authority. But the moment which he chose for his move against Magadha seems to have approximately coincided with the time when the interest of the Chetas and

¹ *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, p. 88.

the Sātavāhanas had been or was about to be aroused in the affairs of the Northern Empire. The Nānāghāt inscription of Nāyanikā is not far removed from the date of the Hāthigumpha inscription.¹ It may have been slightly earlier, as the forms for *a* and *bh* used in it appear to show. The absence in this inscription of the right-angled forms of *j*, *d*, and *m*, and the sign for ' *bh* ' with its left vertical shorter than the right, to be noticed in the Hāthigumpha inscription, may also tend to the same conclusion.² The date of the foundation of the Sātavāhana dynasty is controversial.³ But the general resemblance which the Nānāghāt inscription bears to the Orissan record from the palaeographical standpoint should bring it into the close neighbourhood of the latter's date.⁴ From the Nānāghāt inscription it is to be gathered that a king (Sātakarṇi) married the daughter of one styled *Aṅgiya-kula-radhana*. The meaning of this expression is not clear. It may be that Sātakarṇi's father-in-law was an influential person from Aṅga (Bhāgalpur), and that this matrimonial alliance was prompted by a desire on the part of the Sātavāhanas to enlist some useful local help with a view to the subjugation of the northern dynasties.⁵ Khāravela in his second year is said to have led an expedition in the west in defiance of Sātakarṇi, which shows that the relations between these sovereigns were not friendly. His activities in the north

¹ MASB., Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 145.

² *Ibid.*, p. 143.

³ 'The origin and the meaning of the name of the dynasty are obscure.' They may be connected with the Satiyaputas mentioned in R.E. II of Aśoka, the Setae of Pliny and the Sātakas of the Märk P. (LVIII, 46)—See CHI., p. 599, n. 3. J. Przyluski shows the equation Sātiyaputa-Satakani-Sadakana (*cf.* Hemachandra), meaning 'Fils de Sata' to be correct and that Sātakarṇi is a Sanskritisation of this tribal name. See JRAS., 1929, pp. 273-79; 'Hippokoura et Satakarni'; PHAL., pp. 263 ff. *Cf.* the chronology of the Sātavāhanas in JBORS, 1932, Jan., pp. 7 ff.

⁴ Sātakarṇi referred to in the Hāthigumpha inscription has been identified by R. P. Chanda (MASB., No. 1, p. 11) with Sātakarṇi II (B.C. 75-20). He places Khāravela's accession c. 70 B.C. Acc. to our calculation it was slightly earlier.

⁵ Rapson, Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras, etc., p. xxi, n. 9; *cf.* the Purāṇic tradition regarding the expulsion of Śuṅga remnants by the Andhras or the Sātavāhanas, PTDKA., p. 38.

may have also clashed with the interests of the Sātavāhana dynasty in the same field of expansion. But by the time of Sātakarṇi II,¹ who, according to the Brahmaṇḍa and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, came to rule eighteen years after the death of Sātakarṇi I (of the Nānāghāt inscription), western Mālwa (Sāñchi) had already become a stronghold of the Sātavāhanas (B.C. 78-23).

There is no mention of Bengal in the panegyric account of Khāravela. It is impossible to suggest the precise time when the political ties between Magadha and Bengal, which may have been in existence during the early critical days of the Śuṅga dynasty, were probably broken up. It may be reasonable to suppose that with the decay of the Śuṅga power, Bengal was able to free herself from her associations with the western kingdom. If she seceded from the decadent Magadha Empire, she may have sought an alliance with Kalinga. The Hāthigumpha inscription does not furnish us with any information regarding the route followed by Khāravela during his invasions of Magadha. But the more convenient route would undoubtedly be the one connected with the river Ganges than the difficult and protracted passage through the present feudatory states of Chotā-Nāgpur. It may be supposed that the former route received the special attention of Aśoka, who had to keep in touch with the Bengal territory as well as Kalinga, which had its headquarters at Tosali (Dhauli) and Samāpā (Jaugadh) near the western coast of the Bay of Bengal. Nearly eleven centuries later the army of Rājendra Chola I from the south advanced to the north through Orissa and came up to the Ganges, and was involved in conflicts with the rulers of the northern and southern portions of the tract lying to the west of that river. It appeared to some scholars that in the account of this invasion of Āṅga-Magadha, there was a reference to the Ganges, which his army either crossed on elephants or where his elephants were watered. But Sten Konow is of the opinion that the name mentioned in the passage is that

¹ Bhilsa Topes, p. 214, Pl. XIX; Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 86.

of the Maurya palace at Pāṭaliputra, Sugāṅga, as given in the *Mudrārākshasa* (Act III).¹ In any case Khāravela's army appeared in Pāṭaliputra, which stood at the confluence of the Son and the Ganges. If it is considered probable that the Orissan king went to Magadha from Bengal, it is obvious that he could do so either with her support, or after overcoming any resistance that might have been offered by her before he could attempt the crossing of the Ganges. As he does not refer to any victory obtained in Bengal, it may be concluded that during his aggressive operations against Magadha he did not have to face any serious troubles such as could be expected from an unfriendly country. It is believed by some that there is a reference to his matrimonial alliance with Vajra, which should be regarded as the same as the Vajjabhūmi (a part of western Bengal) of the Jaina literature. But Vajra, as shown elsewhere, is probably to be identified with Vairagadh in the² Chanda district of the Central Provinces. Bearing in mind that the rivers in Bengal have undergone extensive changes in the course of the last two thousand years, we may still attempt to indicate in a broad manner several possible stages in the movement of Khāravela's army from Orissa to Pāṭaliputra. The route followed was a mixed one, by land and by water. If there was a traveller's track then connecting Puri with Bengal he may have taken advantage of it to lead his army right up to Midnapore. Alternatively, it may be suggested that the Orissan army, starting from a point near Khandagiri or Udayagiri, crossed the Mahānadi. Next it proceeded as far as Balasore by land, crossed the Suvarṇarekhā and entered into the district of Midnapore. There were now two courses open to him. The army may have next crossed the waters of the Hooghly and the Bhāgīrathī, leaving Bengal proper somewhere near the ancient city of Gauḍa in the north.

¹ Stan Konow reads 'Sugamgāya' in l. 19 of the inscr. See *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, p. 39. Another reading proposed is 'Sugamgiya' (m). See Jaysawal and Banerjee, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 80.

See *supra*, p. 63.

The rest of the journey from Rājmahāl to Pāṭaliputra could be easily covered by crossing the Ganges. The other probable passage, partly by land and partly by water, lay open from the point where the Suvarṇarekhā enters the Midnapore district from the north-west. The army might travel northwards through the present districts of Midnapore and Bankura up to the Dāmodar and the Ajay, the principal rivers of the Burdwān district, either of which may have been crossed as far as its junction with the Bhāgīrathī. The remaining part of this route would be the same as in the other case, lying through Murshidābād with the northern districts of Bengal to the east of the Ganges.

The eastern king no doubt dealt a great blow to the prestige of Magadha. Brihaspatimitra's reign could not have lasted long, and the throne seems to have passed to the last member of the Suṅga line not long after the twelfth year of Khāravela's administration. He may have died without leaving any heir, or the throne may have been recovered even during his life by the Suṅga dynasty. His career, which thus ended about 89 B.C., may be traced back to the date of the Pabbosā inscription—c. 120 B.C. The reason why Brihaspatimitra's name does not occur in the Purāṇic list of the Magadha kings probably lies in the fact that he was a mere interloper who ruled for a short time, and that the dynasty he had temporarily overthrown reasserted itself after a brief interruption and found a direct representative in the person of Devabhūmi. The Purāṇas did **not** introduce his name for the simple reason that it would **interfere** with the connected account of the Suṅga dynasty. **After** the death of Khāravela Bengal may have passed under the **imperial** Kāṇvāyana dynasty, which ruled for nearly fifty years in succession to the Suṅgas. Swift changes were taking place in the political position of northern India during this period. The Sakas established their power in the North-West Frontier, the Punjab, Sind and in Mathurā. There is a general consensus of opinion among scholars that the Brāhmī inscription on the Amohini Tablet at Mathurā dated in the year 72 or 42 is to be referred to

Vikrama era, thus corresponding to A.D. 15 or B.C. 15. At this time Mathurā was being governed by the Mahākshatrapa Soḍāsa.¹

Before him this region had been under the rule of his father, the Mahākshatrapa Rañjubula² who is mentioned in the main inscription on the top and back of the Mathurā Lion Capital. The latter's government had again been preceded by two Kshatrapas, Hagāna and Hagāmāsha. It is thus clear that the native rule in Mathurā had been overthrown by the Śakas about the last quarter of the first century B.C., when the Kāṇvāyanas were about to make their exit from the political arena. With the establishment of a foreign government in the Midland country and the failure of Magadha to produce an imperial dynasty in succession to the Kāṇvāyanas, the political history of India took a different turn. After the overthrow of the imperial Śungas, the Magadha empire may have existed more in name than in reality. The collapse of the imperial fabric contributed in no small measure to the successes of foreign adventurers during that period. The Indo-Scythians and the Indo-Parthians were followed by the Kushāṇas,³ whose first notable representative was Wima-Kadphises. It is not impossible to suggest on the basis of numismatic evidence that one or more chiefs subordinate to this Kushāṇa governed Mathurā under the title of Soter Megas as found

¹ The name as given in the Lion Capital Inscr. is Sudasa. He is mentioned in two inscs. from Mathurā :—One undated inscr. from the Jail Mound referring to him as Svāmin Mahākshatrapa Soṇḍāsa. See Lüders' List, No. 82. The other from *Ḥankali Tila*, dated yr. 72 or 42, *ibid.*, No. 59. The date as read by Lüders is yr. 72. Ep. Ind. IX, p. 248. Rapson reads yr. 42—CHU., pp. 575, 633. The date of the Amohini Tablet of Mathura—'Indian Studies in honour of Christ. Rockwell Lanman,' Harvard Univ. Press, 1929. For D. R. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the date, see JBBRAS., XX., p. 297, refuted by Fleet in JRAS., 1913, pp. 987 ff. For coins with Brāhmī legend 'Mahākshatrapa-putasa Khatapasa Soḍāsasa' see CCIM., p. 196.

² Rājūvula in a Brāhmī inscr. on a stone slab from Mora. See Lüders' List, No. 14. For his coins with Kharoṣṭhī legend 'apratihatachakrasa kshatrapasa Rajjubulasa' or with Brāhmī legend 'mahākshatrapasa Rājubulasa,' see CCIM., p. 196; Rapson, Indian Coins, p. 9, Pl. II. 6; Gardner, COBMGS., p. 114.

³ JRAS., 1914, pp. 1010, 1920. Cf. Kushān, Gushāpa, Gushān, Khushāpa, Khushān, and Kushāpa.

103-04 A.D.¹ Hence it was impossible for Kanishka who came later to have founded the Saka era in 78 A.D., but the reading of the king's name in this inscription is very doubtful, and there is good reason against the inscription being assigned to any of the Kushāṇa Kings.² Sten Konow has since given up some of the conclusions³ reached by him while revising the Corpus of the Indian Kharoshthī inscriptions. The old Saka era which is believed to be used in the Taxila copper-plate of Patika and the Sirkar silver vase-inscription of the time of Zeionises is now held by him to have had its initial year in about 150 B.C., as Rapson suggested. He also expresses the opinion that the Taxila silver scroll-inscription of the year 136 and the Kalāwan inscription of the year 134, both attributed by him to the Vikrama era, point to Kujūla-Kadphises as the reigning king in A.D. 79 and 77 respectively. He shares Sylvain Lévi's view that the Yüe-chi defeated by Pan-ch'ao towards A.D. 90 cannot be identified with Kanishka for whom some date between A.D. 130 and 168 would be suitable. The determination of a conjectural era from 128-129 B.C. is due to abstruse (astrological) calculations⁴ but on the authority of the Sūryasiddhānta it was once held that the initial date of the Kanishka era might be either 79, 117, or 134 A.D. and that "if the years were counted as elapsed" it may have even corresponded to 79 A.D.⁵ The authorship of the Saka era could thus have belonged to Kanishka. But the new date may appear probable as it has the advantage of being in harmony with the evidence of some traditions believed to be applicable to Kanishka and his dynasty. The Annals of the later Han, the Hou Hanshu, whose author Fan Ye died A.D. 445, places

¹ S. Konow refers it to an old Saka era. See OII, Vol. II, pp. lxvii-viii, 81. This he now says is not earlier than 180 A.D. See JRAS, 1932, p. 964.

² JRAS, 1930, pp. 199 ff.

³ JRAS, 1932, pp. 949 ff.

⁴ Sten Konow and W. E. Van Wijk, The eras of the Indian Kharoshthī Inscriptions, Acta Orientalia, Vol. III, pp. 82-91.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 78.

the death of Kien, the King of Khotān, in A.D. 152. This name may be an abbreviation of Kanika, but the identification of Kanika with Kanishka has not been definitely proved. Further, it is learned from a Tibetan work that the queen of Vijayasimha of Khotān rendered valuable services in the propagation of Buddhism in Shu-lik or Kāshgar.¹ The date of this king may be roughly put in the neighbourhood of A.D. 120.² His son was Vijayakīrti, who is mentioned in a Tibetan story as having jointly with King Kanika of Guzana gone on an expedition against Soked (Sāketa).³ This probably refers to the same episode as is described in a Buddhist legend recorded by Tāranāth⁴ and in the Chinese biography of Asvaghosha,⁵ according to which the Yue-chi king attacked Magadha in order to get hold of the Buddhist scholar whose home was in Sāketa. In this expedition he may have been assisted by Vijayakīrti. But an earlier date will have to be given to Kanishka on the authority of the Chinese sources mentioning that a work of his teacher Saṅgharakṣa⁶ was translated into Chinese between 148 and 170 A.D. Saṅgharakṣa who was a native of Surāshṭra 'went to

¹ Rockhill, *The Life of Buddha*, p. 240. For the authenticity of Tibetan legends, see JRAS., 1914, pp. 339 ff.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXII, 1903, p. 349; Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 142.

³ Chap. XII; Watters, II, p. 104.

⁴ The Śrīdharmapīṭakanidānasūtra (translated into Chinese in A.D. 472) mentions that Kanishka (Chen-t'an Kia-ni-ch'a) defeated the king of Pāṭaliputra and accepted Asvaghosha as indemnity. See *Journal Asiatique*, IX, VIII, pp. 475 ff.; CII., II, p. lxxix; Ind. Ant., XXXII, p. 387. Sten Konow refers in this connection to Lüders' *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitika*, p. 33.

⁵ According to the Chinese translation of Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitika* Kia-ni-ch'a took possession of T'ien-chu (Eastern India) and established peace in the country. See CII., II, p. lxxv & n. 4.

⁶ Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 64; H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, PHAI., p. 206; P. C. Bagchi, Saṅgharakṣa, Chaplain of Kanishka, K. B. Pathak Commemoration Vol., 1934, reprint, pp. 94-99. In an unfinished posthumous article of Sylvain Lévi an attempt has been made to establish the identification of Sandanes mentioned in the *Periplus* (pp. 43, 197 ff.) with Chandana, i.e. Chandana-Kanishka, and also to prove his military success in the south from Jaina, Buddhist and Chinese sources. See Lévi, *Kanishka at Śātavāhana*, *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-March, 1936. These researches have a definite tendency towards placing the Kushāpa king in the 1st century A.D.

Gandhāra which was in war with the Emperor of China at the time, was entertained by king Kanishka and became his teacher. Dr. P. C. Bagchi suggests that the war referred to was the one in which Pan Ch'ao (73-102 A.D.) was engaged. Hence the evidence should point to the conclusion that Kanishka was in the enjoyment of sovereignty towards the end of the 1st century A.D. A gold coin of the 'Juvishka type' was found in 1914 at Belvadag and later a copper coin of Kanishka in the Karra thana both situated in the Ranchi district of Chotā-Nāgpur in Bihār. A Buddhist image at Gayā bears an inscription probably dated in the reign of Huvishka.² It is principally on these grounds that the theory of Kushāṇa occupation³ of Magadha is based. Coins bearing the names of Kanishka and Vāsudeva have been recovered from Tamlūk and Murshidābād respectively.⁴ Vāsudeva's gold coin is a barbarous imitation of the coinage of the Kushāṇa king of the same name. The Satrap of Benares in the third year of the Kanishka era was Vanaspara mentioned in a Sārnāth inscription.⁵ This name may be connected with that of the Banaphar Rājputs whose original home is suggested by Sir George Grierson to have been Buxar (from

¹ JBORS., Vol. I, pp. 231-32; Vol. V, p. 78 and n. 2; Vol. III, p. 174. Ratan Tata's excavation at Patna (Site No. 1) yielded two copper coins of Kanishka of 'the Vāyu type' (Nos. 1728—App. B. ASI, 1912-13, pp. 79, 84-85). Kushāṇa rule is supposed by some to have extended over Bihār from the time of Kanishka to that of Vāsudeva, JBORS., 1920, p. 23.

² See Cunningham, Mahabodhi, pp. 21, 37, 53, 54. The Girdharpur (in the Mathura district) inscription belonging to Huvishka's reign is dated in the yr. 28. This is the earliest of the extant inscrs. of his time.—JBORS., 1932, pp. 4-6.

³ Vāsudeva is held to be identical with Po-t'iao, the Ta Yüehi king who sent an embassy to China in 220 A.D.—Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 141.

⁴ 9 gold coins and two gold ringlets were found by a girl in the district of Murshidābād. But only one gold coin could be subsequently traced. It is doubtful if it was a coin at all. See Proc. ASB., 1890, pp. 161-62. The Tamlūk coin shows a standing fig. of the king.—Proc. ASB., 1889, p. 113. In the Kābul valley and the Punjab coins bearing the names of Kanishka and Vāsudeva continued to be struck by kings after the end of the Kushāṇa dynasty. For other references see Rapson's Int. Coins, pp. 18-19; CCTM., pp. 87-88.

⁵ Sārnāth inscriptions dated in the yr. 3 (Maharajasa Kanishkasya) recording a gift made by Balā associated with the Kshatrapa Vanaspara and Kharapallana (mahākshatrapa). Lüders' List, No. 926. See also *ibid.*, nos. 926, 927; Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 175 ff. and Plate; Vol. IX, p. 241.

Baghaūr, Vyāghra-sarāḥ).¹ A member of this community, Viśvasphāṇi rose to great prominence in Magadha in the third century.² It is likely that the ancestors of the Banaphar Rājputs rendered useful services to the Kushāṇas as their lieutenants in regard to the administration of some of their eastern provinces. In the second century A.D. the Mandalai ruled over Pāṭaliputra and Tāmralipta, as reported by Ptolemy.³ If the name Mandalai can be equated with the term "*Maṇḍalādhipatis*," the government of Tāmralipta was probably conducted by an officer in charge of an administrative division called *Maṇḍala*, who was directly responsible either to his Kushāṇa master or to one of his eastern viceroys. In Ptolemy's time Upper Bengal was part of an extensive territory including Gorakhpur under the government of the Maroundai.⁴ They may have originally been viceroys under Kushāṇa suzerains but seem to have taken the earliest opportunity of carving out an independent principality with the decline of the imperial supremacy of their masters. Eastern India, as understood in those days, extended downwards to the Bay of Bengal, and was probably broken into new administrative units under the Kushāṇas, which may account for Ptolemy's description of the Prasiake as a territory of "very limited dimensions, and of uncertain boundaries."

¹ K. P. Jaysawal, *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 298; Grierson, *JBOBS.*, 1920, p. 180.

² *PTDKA.*, p. 52.

³ McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, 1927, pp. 132-33, 167-68, 879-80.

⁴ *Ptolemy* (1927), pp. 212-14; cf. *CH.*, Vol. II, pp. 148, 145; *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp. 2-4.
"Muranda-svāmī, Chinese Wang."

CHAPTER II

ON THE EVE OF GUPTA IMPERIALISM

The evidence of the Suanisā Rock inscription, the Meharsuli Prasasti and the Purāṇas ;
a Battle in Vuṅga in the early part of the Fourth Century A.D.

After the dissolution of the Kushāna empire a member of the clan of Banphar Rājputs patronised by Kanishka rose to a certain pre-eminence among the rulers of India in the third century. Probably the Purāṇas give only his tribal name. Endowed with great prowess, and originally a ruler of Magadha (*Magadhānām mahāvīryo Viśvasphānir¹ bharishyati*), he is said to have exercised a sort of imperial suzerainty (*sthāpāyishyati rājāno nānā-deśeshu te janā*).² His policy was based on a suppression of the old ruling families and the substitution in their place of a new Kshatriya order which he brought into existence (*utsādyā pārthivān sarvān so'nyān varṇān karishyati, utsādayitvā kshatram tu kshatram-anyaṭ karishyati*). The Bhāgavata Purāṇa states that he had a capital at Padmāvati (*Padmavatyaṁ sa vai puri*).³ He probably committed suicide by drowning in the Ganges (*Jāhnavī-tīram = āsādyā śarīram yaṁś-yate balī*). This Banphar hero was the precursor of the coming greatness of Magadha under the Guptas. Among the tribes raised to political distinction by him mention is made of the Kaivartas,⁴ who form to-day an important element in the population of Bengal. In the 11th century A.D. the Kaivartas headed a rebellion against the government of the imperial Pālas, which they were able to subvert in the northern part of the province.

¹ The Bhāgavata-P. reads *Viśvasphūrijih*. For other forms of the name, see Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 298; PTDEA., pp. 48 (notes 98, 99), 73, n. 12.

² PTDEA., p. 62, n. 42 (to *janā* = *tān janān*).

³ *Padmāvati*, a variant form, *ibid.*, n. 49; p. 62, n. 2 (modern Harwar district).

⁴ The Vāyu-P. (d.ms) inserts a line referring to the Kaivartas. See *ibid.*, p. 62, n. 48.

The history of India during the third century A.D., for which reliable sources of information are lacking, has been rightly characterised as one of general obscurity, when, with the extinction of the Kushāṇa and the Andhra empire, the country must have been split up, as suggested by the Purāṇas, into a number of independent states ruled by princes of different families, native and foreign, probably fighting among themselves for power and superiority.¹ With the foundation of the Gupta empire in 319-20 A.D. the history of Northern India once again attained the unity which it had lost in the creation of interminable principalities during the preceding age, but its connection with Bengal cannot possibly be traced before the period referred to in the Allahabad *Praśasti* of Samudragupta, when his dominions bordered on the subject kingdoms of Samatāṭa (Lower and Eastern Bengal), Kāmarūpa (in Assam) and Nepāl (*-ādi-pratyanta-nṛpatibhir-*).²

On the threshold of the history of the Imperial Guptas one is confronted by two records of undoubted importance. The first is an Iron Pillar inscription relating to a sovereign called Chandra(?) and the second a Rock-inscription of Chandravarman, both assigned for palaeographical reasons to the early imperial Gupta period. The inscription on the Iron Pillar (a tapering column sixteen inches in diameter at the base and ten at the top) at Mehrauli,³ a village nine miles south of Delhi, standing in the courtyard of Masjid Quwwat-ul-Islam within a few feet from the Qutb Minar, gives an eulogistic account of Chandra who fought a battle in Vaṅga where hostile forces had collected against him,⁴ and also defeated the Vāhlikas.⁵ The fragrance of his fame still perfumed the waters of the Southern Sea at the time of the engraving of the inscription, when the king is stated to have already

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 45-53.

² CII., Vol. III, l. 22, p. 8.

³ *Ibid*, p. 189 ff.

⁴ (*Śatrūṇ samety-āgatān Vaṅgahv-āhava-varttina=bbilīkhitā khaḍgena*, l. 1).

⁵ (*Samare Sindhor-jjitā Vāhlikā*,...l. 2).

passed away from the land of the living.¹ The other inscription² is to be found on the Susuniā rock in the Bankura district of Bengal, 17 miles S. S. W. of the Raniganj Railway Station and about 12 miles N. W. of Bankura town. This record, consisting of only three lines, mentions a *Mahārāja* Chandravarman. His father was also a *Mahārāja*, but the reading of his name is somewhat uncertain, it is probably either *Sinhavarman* or *Siddhavarman*. The conjunct between “*si*” and “*v*” is peculiar. As the title “*Pushkaraṇādhīpati*” (*Pushkaraṇādhīpater*) has been bestowed on Chandravarman, it is clear that this ruling family was connected with a region called Pushkaraṇa. There is a general agreement among scholars that he was identical with Chandravarman who figures in the list, presented by Harisheṇa, of the rulers of Āryāvarta routed by Samudragupta (*Rudradeva- Matila- Nāgīdatta- Chandravarman- Gaṇapati- Nāgasen- Āchryuta- Nandi- Balararm- ādy- anek- Āryāvarta- rāja- prasabha- oddharan- odcṛitta- prabhāva- mahataḥ*).³ An attempt has been made by some scholars⁴ to establish a connection between Chandravarman, the lord of Pushkaraṇa, with a line of rulers mentioned in a Mandasor inscription dated in the Mālava year 461. This record gives the name of three successive kings, Jayavarman, his sons *Sinhavarman*, and *Naravarman*. The Gangadhar inscription⁵ dated in the Mālava year 480 and the Mandasor stone-inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman⁶ probably supplies us with the names of *Naravarman*’s son and grandson. These two latter are known to have been associated with Daśapura or Mandasor in Western Mālwa. It has been assumed that the father of Chandravarman mentioned in the Susuniā inscription was the same as *Sinhavarman*, son of

¹ (*Adyasy-adhivasyate jalandhir-vriyānīlair-ddakshiqub*, l. 2).

² Proc. ASB., 1805, pp. 177 ff.; Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 133; Lüders’ List of Brāhmī Ins., No. 961.

³ CII., Vol. III, p. 8.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 215-21; Vol. XIV, p. 367 ff.

⁵ CII., Vol. III, No. 17.

⁶ Ibid., No. 18.

Jayavarman, whose name is furnished by the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 461, and that Pushkaraṇa is to be identified with Pokharaṇ in the Jodhpur State in Rājputāna.¹ Sīnhavarman's family is held to have been originally associated with this part of Rājputāna, and it is supposed that Chandravarman came from this place "as far as Western Bengal proper," where his record has been found engraved on the Susunīā rock. He defeated a combination of enemies in Vaṅga, and after his expulsion by Samudragupta, either he or his brother Naravarman migrated to Mālwa.² It is difficult to agree with this view,³ as none of the inscriptions connected with the Western Mālava family give Chandravarman's name, nor do they refer to Pushkaraṇa, the seat of Chandravarman's government. No serious conclusion should be drawn from the fact that the Mandasor inscription and possibly also the Susunīā inscription mention the same name Sīnhavarman.

Most probably the origin of Chandravarman's family lay in the Bankura district where his record has been found.⁴ One scholar⁵ has gone to the extent of suggesting that Pushkaraṇa "can easily run into Bakkurān" a name which, he holds, has survived in the modern form "Bankura." This, as we have already remarked, is perhaps straining philology too much. There is actually, however, a village called Pokharaṇ in the Bankura district, close to Susunī Hill, which, as mentioned elsewhere, may be reasonably taken as identical with Pushkaraṇa.⁶

The theory that Chandravarman was identical with Chandra of the Meharauli inscription does not appear to be probable. If the evidence of this record is to be trusted, Chandra died in the

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 315-21; Vol. XIV, p. 367 ff.

² Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 370-71.

³ For V. A. Smith's objections against this view, see JRAS., 1897, p. 28, n. 1. See EHI., p. 307, n. 1, for revised opinion.

⁴ HODBL., p. 75.

⁵ D. R. Bhandarkar, IHQ., Vol. I, p. 265.

⁶ PHAI., p. 835; *supra*, p. 76.

full enjoyment of his glory. The inscription says that though he died having conquered the world his fame remained [*karmma-jit-āvanin gatarataḥ kīrt(t)yā sthitasya kshilau*]. It may be reasonably inferred that as long as he was alive there was no diminution of his power. Chandravarman's career, on the other hand, ended in ignominy. He lost his throne and probably his life also in the course of his encounter with Samudragupta. There would be no logic in depicting him as a great hero whose fame survived his death.

Fleet's suggestion that Chandra might have been the same as Chandragupta I has been supported by some.¹ If the account of the Gupta dominions preserved in the Purāṇas is to be held as applicable to the time of Chandragupta I there is no ground for the belief that his power may have extended to Bengal or that he fought against the Vāhlīkas. In his time the Gupta authority seems to have been confined to the territories along the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāketa, and Magadha (*Anu-Gaṅgā-Prayāgam cha Sāketam Magadhāms-tathā*).² From the Meharauli inscription it appears that Chandra had a long reign (*suchirāñ-cha*, l. 5), but there is no proof that Chandragupta ruled for a long period of time.

Another theory³ suggests his identity with Chandragupta II. In the Meharauli inscription it is stated that he attained his imperial position through the prowess of his own arms (*srabhuj-ārjji-taṇ-cha suchirāñ-ch-nikādhirājyam*, l. 5). When Chandragupta came to the throne the Gupta empire had been already in a flourishing condition. What the Meharauli inscription says in substance about the creation of an empire by Chandra could not have been true of Chandragupta II.⁴

The fact that no genealogical information about Chandra has been supplied in the Meharauli inscription makes the question

¹ CII., Vol. III, p. 140, n. 1 : R. G. Bosak, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 98 ff.

² PTOKA., Intro., XII, p. 53.

³ Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, pp. 43-44.

⁴ According to Mr. Allan the description would be 'particularly applicable to Samudragupta,' see CCGDBM., p. xxvii.

of his identification difficult to solve. If he was a Gupta emperor, one fails to understand why the author of his *Prasasti* should have studiously avoided any reference to his family specially when it would have provided him with a theme for the expansion of his poetical ideas. The present position of the Meharauli pillar cannot be taken to indicate the territory over which he ruled. The inscription says that the pillar was erected by him in honour of Vishnu on the Vishnupada Hill. The identification of the Vishnupada Hill is not definite.¹ The characters of the inscription bear a close resemblance to those of the Allahabad *Prasasti* which is a typical example of the Eastern School of the Gupta alphabet. The forms which this variety uses for 's' and 'h' are different from those found in the western subdivision. The letter 's' in the eastern variety has a loop attached to the bottom of its left stroke. This is substituted by a downward stroke in the examples of 's' to be found in the inscriptions of the western school. The peculiarity of the eastern form of 'h' is that its base, present in the other variety, is suppressed. By reason of the prominent top-strokes or *mātrā*'s displayed in the Meharauli inscription it shows its affinity to the undated Mathurā inscriptions of Chandragupta II and the Bilsad inscription of Kumāragupta II (416 A.D.). If the early character of the script used in the inscription is admitted, it may be possible to assign it to any time between the date of the Allahabad *Prasasti* and the beginning of the fifth century A.D.² As the record is posthumous Chandra must

¹ For a discussion of different theories on the subject, see Chintamani Chakravarty, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Society* (Poona), 1926-27. This scholar locates it in the Hardwar region. *Ibid.*, p. 174; also K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS.*, XVIII, p. 31. E. C. Majumdar on the authority of a passage in the *Vāyu-P.* (Chap. 99) locates the Vishnupada hill in the Gayā district, see *Bulletins of the Dacca Univ.*, Bulletin No. 3, p. 7; see also *PHAI.*, pp. 67, 69. V. A. Smith regards the original site of the Pillar to have been at or near Mathurā, see *JRAS.*, 1897, pp. 15-17. For the probability of its location in the Aṅga country, see *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 518-19.

² Bühler regards the ins. as belonging to the monumental variety of the Western type, see *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 47. Hoernle includes it in his classification of the eastern inscriptions of the Gupta period, see *ibid.*, XXI, p. 48; *JASB.*, LX, p. 79 f.

have flourished in a still earlier period, but evidently it was composed within living memory of his achievements. (1. 2—*adyāpy-adhivāsyate; adyāpy-utsrijati*, 1.4).

If he flourished in the early part of the fourth century A.D.¹ it is likely that the Purāṇas would have preserved some information about his family. At a time when the Guptas held control of Sāketa, Prayāga and Magadha, a considerable territory comprising Paundra (Northern Bengal?), Kośala, Odra² and Tāmralipta was under the occupation of the Devarakshitas (*tulya-kālam bhavishyanti sarre...etc.*).³ According to the Meharauli inscription Chandra's supremacy extended to the southern sea (*jalanidhir...ddakshināḥ*, 1. 2). The Purāṇas also refer to the sea-castles belonging to the Devarakshitas (*Tāmraliptān sa-sāgarān*). They thus appear to have been in possession of an empire extending to the Bay of Bengal. The connection of Chandra with the Devarakshitas cannot be definitely established from the existing material but may be presumed to have been quite likely. It should be mentioned, however, that the Purāṇas in their brief account of the Devarakshita dynasty do not say that they had any contact with Vaṅga or the Vāhlikas.

Whatever may have been the extent of Chandra's territory his connection with Bengal is proved by the reference to a great victory which is said to have achieved in Vaṅga (*Vaṅgeshv-āhava-varttino-bhilihitā khaḍgena kirttir-bhuje*). It is not clear, however, if the enemies against whom he fought in that region

¹ There is a proposal to identify him with the Nāga king Chandrāmśa, see PHAI, p. 304. There is, however, nothing to show that he was connected with Bengal. The theory that Chandra may have been identical with Chandramukhavarman, great-grandfather of Bhāskara-varman of Kāmarūpa, seems to be untenable as it is very doubtful if Chandra's date can be brought down to the sixth century A.D.

² The Vāṅga-P. reads Odra, but 'Andhra' is generally mentioned instead—cf. PTDKA., pp. 55-73, n. 18. While defining the Gupta territory during the period the Purāṇas add "*tulya-kālam bhavishyanti sarre hy-ete mahābhitāḥ*." *Ibid*, p. 55.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 54, 73, 74. The Purāṇas also include Champā in the list of territories possessed by the Devarakshitas. Nothing is known about the origin of this dynasty. R. C. Majumdar concludes that they were connected with Devarakṣitṛa in the Visaradabāham district, Pāṇḍya, *loc. cit.*, p. 80.

came from outside (*samety-āgatān*). Perhaps he made an expedition against Vaṅga whose ruler was supported by a combination of his feudatories. Chandra's triumph in this battle, which appears to have been fought on a considerable scale, must have increased the extent of his *aikādhirājyam*. His other notable victory was obtained against the Vāhlikas. The passage referring to this feat is generally interpreted to mean that he crossed "the seven mouths of the Indus" and inflicted a defeat on these people. A different interpretation seems to be possible. The passage "*tīrtvā sapta mukhāni yena samare Sindhō-jitā Vāhlikā...*" may be rendered into the prose: "*Vāhlikāḥ Sindhōḥ, sapta mukhāni tīrtvā yena samare jitāḥ*" which will mean that these people having crossed the River Sindhu suffered a defeat at the hands of Chandra. It seems that the reference to the Vaṅgas in the preceding line has been put in the same literary form in which is couched "*samety-āgatān Vaṅgeshr-āhara-varttino = bhilikkhitā khaḍgena*." 'tīrtvā' may be connected with the Vāhlikas in the same way as 'sametya' in line 1 of the inscription is connected with the Vaṅgas. In view of the poetical style of the composition of the *Prāśasti* it may be supposed that the inscription does not refer to the actual crossing of the Sindhu¹ either by Chandra or the Vāhlikas.²

¹ It is interesting to learn that the use of the two names "Gaṅgā" and "Sindhu" (river) as synonymous terms often leading to much confusion in geographical works, is not unknown. Cf. Stein, *Ancient Geography of Kaśmir*, JASB., LXVIII, Part I, Extra No. 2, 1899, pp. 91, 107 n.; Rājast., II, 335.

² The Vāhlikas are mentioned as a northern people in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, see Ind. Ant., XXII, pp. 174, 192, 193. The same name seems to appear in different forms: Vāhlika, Vāhlika, Bāhlika, Bāhlika. The name occurs in the Mbht. See also Ved. Ind., I, p. 378. For Hopkins' remarks on the same, see *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 373, 474. Ptolemy (2nd Cent. A.D.), Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 408, speaks of the Baktrioi. But Allan (CCOIBM., p. xxvii), Smith (JRAS., 1897, p. 8) and Fleet (Ind. Ant., XXI, pp. 174, 192, 193,) refer to the difficulty of identifying the home of the Vāhlikas [of the Delhi Iron Pillar Inscri.] with Balkh as proposed by Kern. Smith proposed to locate it somewhere in Baluchistan. Allan's view that the name was applied in a general sense to 'a body of foreign invaders' would suit the theory advanced above. For an equation between Barasa of the

The intention of the poet is probably to allude only to the foreign origin of the Vāhlikas. According to Pargiter¹ these alien invaders must have already entered India by the third century A.D. when a line of three Vāhlika kings are said to have reigned in succession to the Vindhyakas (*Vindhyakānām kule' tite nṛpā vai Bāhlikās-trayaḥ*). Did Chandra come into hostile contact with them somewhere in the Vindhya region?

If it is true that Chandra belonged to the Devarakshita dynasty, his authority will appear to have prevailed in Tāmralipta. Now as Chandravarman of Pushkarapa was a contemporary of Samudragupta, the former's father Sindhavarman seems to have flourished during the time of Chandragupta I. It is to this period that the statement in the Purāṇas regarding the Devarakshitas should be applied. With the Devarakshitas exercising sovereignty over Tāmralipta in Western Bengal it was not perhaps possible for Sindhavarman to have ruled as an independent monarch in Pushkarapa. After the death of Chandra,² Chandravarman may have seized the opportunity of extending the power of his family and in this direction he must have been considerably successful. The list of the kings of *Āryāvarta* defeated by Samudragupta, is in the words of its author himself not an exhaustive one. The fact that he has been assigned a place in this record shows that he was not merely a petty local chieft. The Susunā rock-inscription must be regarded as anterior in point of time to the Allahabad *Praśasti* in which Chandravarman's expulsion from his kingdom has been recorded.

Perplus and Bāhlika, see W. H. Schoff, *The Perplus*, p. 174. S. N. Majumdar suggests that different places in India were given the name Bāhlika, with one of which the evidence of the Meharauli Iron Pillar Insc. is to be connected, see McGrindie, *Ptolemy*, 1927, p. 395.

¹ PTDKA., p. 50.

² Elzet, deriving 'Mjaira' from 'Meharauli' and taking the former to be the name of a Hūṇa tribe suggests that Chandra may have been a brother of Mihirakula, see *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 361.

CHAPTER III

UNDER THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS (c. 350-500 A.D.)

The defeat of Chandravarman by Samudragupta. His supremacy in Samatata. Coins of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. The evidence of the Dāmodarpur and Dhanaidaha Copper-plates (A.D. 432-49). Kumāragupta I's sons; a fratricidal struggle after his death probable. The evidence of the Bhitari Seal inscr. and its bearing on Gupta Chronology. Skandagupta's coins. Dāmodarpur Inscr. of the time of Budhu-Gupta. The Hūna invasions. The downfall of the Imperial Guptas.

In Ancient India the stability of an empire was dependent to a considerable extent on the personal quality of its head. He was to be not only alert but aggressive too, constantly seeking to extend the limits of his possessions. The Devarakshita dynasty, which had almost succeeded in building up an empire contemporaneously with Chandragupta I, found itself unable to cope with the irresistible energy of Samudragupta, which swept away the kingdom of Āryāvarta. A new chapter was introduced into the history of Bengal when the victorious campaigns of this monarch reduced her to subjection. Under the strong rule of the Guptas she enjoyed a long respite from internal feuds and was able to keep in direct touch for nearly a century and a half with the cultural and political activities emanating from one of the most well-organised empires of ancient times. In a subsequent period when Bengal herself took seriously to the task of empire-building, her previous experience under the Guptas must have stood her in good stead. The circumstances in which the Gupta subjugation of Bengal was completed are not fully known. It is, however, almost certain that King Chandravarman, whom Samudragupta defeated and probably slew, was identical with the Chandravarman of the Susunia inscription. His downfall perhaps led to the immediate annexation of his territory in Western Bengal to the growing empire of the Guptas. Samudragupta reduced the king of Samatata to the rank of a subordinate prince. If he was a descendant of Chandra who had recently established his sway in Vanga, as seems to have been the case, he, the king of Samatata, was perhaps

compelled to part with most of his powers and allowed to rule over a much reduced dominion as a vassal of the emperor. Retaining only the control of its internal administration, he had to pay various kinds of taxes (*Sarva-kara-dāna*) to Samudragupta, attend his *durbars* (*gamana*), render obeisance to him (*pranāma*) and carry out all his imperious behests (*paritoshita-prachanda-śāsanasya*).¹ The position enjoyed by the ruler of Samatāṭa was thus hardly commensurate with freedom of action in matters of internal politics. In short, he was a dependent ally of the emperor and was bound to support him in war and peace. Samatāṭa is the only territory that can be definitely located in Bengal among the tributary and conterminous states referred to in the Allahabad *Prasasti*. The list supplies us with the name of another such state called Ḍavāka, the identification of which is quite uncertain. According to Fleet² Ḍavāka was the ancient name of Dacca, but the only ground for this supposition seems to be that the two words sound alike to a certain extent. But since Dacca was within the geographical range of Samatāṭa there is no reason why it should be mentioned separately as a border kingdom. V. A. Smith takes Ḍavāka as corresponding to Northern Bengal (Bogṛā, Dinājpur and Rājshāhi districts).³ In some of the inscriptions of the fifth century the latter (Punḍra-vardhana) appears as a province belonging to the Gupta empire. Probably the most satisfactory theory yet advanced is the one put forward by Col. Gerini who identifies it with Upper Burma.⁴ From the statement in the Allahabad inscription that Samudragupta's empire was bounded by the frontier kingdoms (*pratyanta*) of Nepāla, Samatāṭa (Lower and Eastern Bengal), Karttripura (Gharwal, Kumaon and Rohilkhand)⁵ and Kāmarūpa (in Assam), one may legitimately infer that the mastery of Northern

¹ *CH*, Vol. III, p. 8.

² *Ibid*, Index, s. v. 'Ḍavāka,' p. 300.

³ *JRAS.*, 1897, 'The Conquests of Samudragupta,' p. 879.

⁴ *Researches on Ptolemy*, p. 54.

⁵ The name is probably represented by modern Katarpur in the Jalandhar district in the Punjab, see *JRAS.*, 1898, p. 198.

and Western Bengal had been transferred to the Gupta dynasty. Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II (c. 375-413 A.D.), secure in his hold on the east, turned his attention to the conquest of the western territories of Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār and Mālwa¹ which he succeeded in annexing to his empire after having overthrown his Saka contemporary Rudrasimha II (c. A.D. 395). Not until we come to the next reign do we meet with any epigraphical records testifying to the direct connection between Bengal and the Gupta empire, which seems to have been in existence since the days of Samudragupta. Three copper-plate inscriptions are to be ascribed to the reign of Kumāragupta I (A.D. 413-55), two of which were recovered from Dāmodarpur² (in the Dinājpur district) and the third from Dhanaidaha (in the Rājshāhi district).³ The two records from Dāmodarpur are dated in the year 124 (A.D. 443-44) and 128 (A.D. 447-48) respectively of the Gupta era (*Samvat*, 100,20,4, *Phālguna* (na) di 7 ; *Sa* (m) 100,20,8, *Vaiśākha* di 10,3). The name of Kumāragupta can be distinctly read in the earlier of the two inscriptions (*Paramadaivata-paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Srī-Kumāragupte prithivī-patau*), in the second it is partially legible (-ragupte). The latter was engraved a year earlier than the Mankuwar stone image inscription, which mentions Kumāragupta as a *Mahārāja*.⁴ That the Dhanaidaha inscription, the greater part of which is defaced, also belongs to the time of the same emperor is evident from the Gupta character of its script as well as its date—the year 113 of the Gupta era(=A.D. 432-33).

The copper-plate recently recovered from Baigram⁵ which is situated near Hili in North Bengal does not give the name of the ruler during whose time it was

¹ Chandragupta II's expedition seems to be referred to in an Udayagiri inscr., see OII., Vol. III, No. 6, p. 35, which applies to him the phrase 'kritena-prithivī-jay-āritthana.'

² Radhagovinda Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 118 ff.

³ JASS., N. S., Vol. V, p. 457 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 345 ff.

⁴ OII., Vol. III, No. 11, p. 45.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, Part II, p. 78 ff.

engraved. But the script of the inscription is similar to that of the Dāmodarpur and other grants of the Gupta period. The year 128, to which the copper-plate belongs, can, therefore, be assigned to the Gupta era, the date falling within the reign-period of Kumāragupta I. Thus in addition to the three extant grants of the reign of Kumāragupta I, Bengal contributes one more to the list of records associated with this emperor. Like the other Gupta inscriptions from Northern Bengal, the Baigrām plate also records the circumstances of a case of land-sale, and the procedure described in it is the same as in the former. The mention of *Vaigrāma*, which has been proposed to be identified with the find-place of the grant, is held to be an important reason for supposing that the record was originally connected with Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*, the well-known administrative division from which also issued similar other grants of the Gupta period. The plate itself does not furnish the name of the *bhukti* or province where the land-sale in question was transacted, nor any information as to its administration, but if the unnamed province was Puṇḍravardhana, as the inference is likely to be drawn, the officer-in-charge of it was most probably none other than Chirātadatta who appears in this capacity in a Dāmodarpur copper-plate of the same year as the Baigrām inscription. This new plate attests a closer personal relationship than hitherto known between the emperor and the administrative head of a district in Bengal, as is shown by the former's own choice of the *Kumārāmātya* who issues orders from Pañchanagarī (*bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyātaḥ*). The exceptional circumstance which justified this step was probably connected with the organisation of a new district different from Koṭivarsha, whose affairs the emperor personally superintended before its link with the provincial government was fully established.

In the Dāmodarpur inscriptions Northern Bengal appears as an integral part of the empire under the name of Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* (*Puṇḍravardhana-bhuktād-Uparika*). The officer at the head of its affairs was to be appointed by the emperor

himself (*tatpāda-parigṛihīte*), but the former was entrusted with personal responsibility so far as the administration of the districts (*vishayas*) lying under his jurisdiction was concerned.

Kumāragupta's nominee *Uparika* Chirātadatta held his office at least for a term of five years (G. E. 124-28), as his name is to be found in both the dated inscriptions from Dāmodarpur, mentioned above. The local government in Koṭivarsha (in the Dinājpur district) *Vishaya* of Puṇḍravardhana also remained unchanged during this period, which shows that the administration under the Guptas was of a stable character, undisturbed by frequent alterations in the composition of at least the superior ranks of services. The inscriptions of Kumāragupta's reign point to the prevalence of his rule in Northern Bengal, but it must be admitted that there is no information concerning his connection with the rest of the country, specially its western portion, which had been amalgamated with the empire during Samudragupta's time. The conclusion will be different if it is held that the administrative limits of Puṇḍravardhana in those days may not have necessarily coincided with but in fact exceeded the geographical.

The collection of Gupta coins from Bengal, though not rich, may be considered fairly representative of the imperial dynasty. Two important finds were made at Kālighāt (A.D. 1783)¹ and at the village Mādhavapur in the Hooghly district (A.D. 1883).² The largest number of Gupta coins, so far discovered from Bengal, is claimed by Kumāragupta I. Of the rest one found near Hooghly³ goes to Samudragupta, representing the standard type (the spearman or the javelin type 'as described

¹ Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia*, p. 726; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 426, Pl. XVIII, figs. 21-24; V. A. Smith, *JASB.*, 1884, p. 160; Allan, *CCGDBM.*, Intro pp. cxxiv-cxxvi. The find included coins, which, according to Wilson, were 'of rude execution and debased metal.' Also see Prinsep's *Essays*, I, 230.

² *JASB.*, 1884, p. 162 and n; *CCGDBM.*, Intro., p. cxxviii.

³ *JRAS.*, 1889, p. 70.

⁴ Rapson uses this designation in *Num. Chro.*, 1891, pp. 53-54; also see V. A. Smith *CCIM.*, Vol. I, pp. 102-03; *JRAS.*, 1889, pp. 12, 69.

by V. A. Smith) issued by him in imitation, as it is generally supposed, of the late Kushāṇa coins, probably those with the image of Ardochsho on the reverse.¹ On the obverse of the coins of this class the king appears in a standing position, wearing a close-fitting cap with a standard in his left hand, pouring incense on an altar with the right, his face being turned towards a Garuḍa column on the left. The reverse shows an enthroned goddess (Lakṣmī ?), her feet placed on a lotus with some object in the left hand (cornucopiae ?) and a fillet in the right. The title adopted by him on such coins, where completely preserved, is *Parākrama* (reverse), and his name (Samudra), accompanied by a laudatory phrase describing him as the victor of a hundred battles, occurs on the obverse (*Samara-śata-vilata-rijoyo jīlāri-pur-ājito diram jayati*). A well-preserved specimen of the standard type of Samudragupta, weighing 117 grains, was found some years ago in the course of the excavation of a tank at Chākdīghī in the district of Burdwān.²

The Kālighāt hoard, originally consisting of more than 200 specimens, contained some coins of Chandragupta II. At least one of these belonging to the Archer type, can still be traced in the collection of the British Museum, marked by the presence of a symbol near the Garuḍa standard on the obverse, similar to the *chakra* (wheel) of Viṣṇu.³ The find from Hooghly has

¹ Cf. Cunningham, Num. Chron., 1893, Pl. VIII; Allan, CCGDBM., pp. lxx, lxxiii, lxxix, lxx, lxxi.

² This coin was reported to be in the possession of Lord Carmichael, s. JBORS., 1919, p. 85, Pl. I, fig. D.

³ CCGDBM., p. 32, Pl. VII. 16. For specimens of Chandragupta's Archer coins preserved in the Indian Museum, see CCIM., pp. 105-07. The coins of this class may be mainly divided into two classes according as the seat occupied by the goddess on the reverse is a throne or a lotus. The British Museum specimen noticed above shows the goddess seated on a lotus (Archer type, Class II). The V.R.S., in the Annual Report for 1926-27 (p. 5) refers to the acquisition of two gold coins (Nos. 683 and 712) of Chandragupta II belonging to Class I of his Archer type (cf. CCGDBM., Pl. VI. 1) obtained from or near Mahāsthān in the Bogra district. For further particulars, see List of Gold Coins, by N. B. Sanyal in the Society's Annual Report (1927-28), No. 8. Coin No. 400 in the Museum's collection as noticed here is reported to be from Mahāsthān.

yielded five coins of Chandragupta's Archer type. It was Samudragupta who was responsible for the introduction of this type, based on a modification of his standard variety and adopted by his successors with various alterations. The Gupta coins, recovered near the Arunkhāli river at a village called Muhammadpur in the Jessore district,¹ have a particular interest attached to them, inasmuch as among them specimens of Chandragupta's silver coinage, which is very rare, are said to have been found. Chandragupta's silver coins have a political history behind them. As they are intimately connected with the coinage of the Kshatrapa rulers of the west, it is believed that they were introduced after his conquest of their territories.² Regarding a silver coin of Chandragupta, discovered at Sultānganj opposite the Jākugira rock in the Bhāgalpur district, along with a coin of the last Kshatrapa ruler Svāmī Rudrasimha, Mr. Allan is of opinion that they could have been hardly meant for use in the locality of their find-spot.³ Perhaps this is also true with regard to the silver coins of Chandragupta, stated to have been obtained at Muhammadpur.⁴ During the reign of his successor silver coinage must have come into vogue over a wide range of territory. The find from Muhammadpur brought to light, as Rājendralāl Mitra reports, several specimens of the silver currency of Kumāragupta I whose gold coins have been collected from various parts of Bengal. Out of the thirteen gold coins from Hooghly as many as seven belong to him, of which one represents him as a lion-slayer (the king combating with a lion—obv., Simhavāhina—rev.), the Horseman⁵ (the king on horse-back—obv., Goddess

¹ JASB., 1862, pp. 401-02.

² COGDEM., pp. lxxxvi-vii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. cxxx; CASR., Vol. X, p. 127.

⁴ V. A. Smith reports absence of Gupta silver coinage in the cabinets of the Indian Museum, which include the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, OCIM., p. 97. R. L. Mitra reports that the silver coins obtained from Muhammadpur were presented to the Asiatic Society by F. L. Benfort.

⁵ COIM., p. 118, No. 96; cf. JRAS., 1898, p. 121. The Kañbhāt coin figured in Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. XVIII, 23, is attributed by (Bengal) Cunningham to a later king of the name of Kumāragupta, s. CASE., Vol. III, pp. 187-88.

feeding peacock—rev.) and the Archer type having three each. Two specimens, one of the second and the other of the third variety, mentioned above,* were obtained from Tamlūk (in the Midnapore District)¹ and Mahanada (in the Hooghly District) respectively.² The Lion-Slayer and the Horseman type seem to have been inaugurated by Kumāragupta's father. A unique coin representing a type by itself, found at Mahanada and now preserved in the Indian Museum, is to be attributed to Kumāragupta on grounds of style and weight.³ It shows on the obverse the king riding, to the left a running elephant with an attendant holding an umbrella over him, and on the reverse a goddess standing on a lotus with an object on the right that cannot be properly distinguished (a vase or a basket?). The coin possesses traces of legends in "early Gupta" characters on the obverse as well as on the reverse. Another interesting gold coin of Kumāragupta that may be grouped under the Peacock type introduced by him (King feeding a peacock—obv.; Kārttikeya,⁴ or a goddess, according to V. A. Smith,⁵ on a peacock with the legend *Mahendrakumārah?*—rev.) was found in the Burdwan District.⁶

A critical period ensued in the history of the Guptas shortly after Kumāragupta's death (*Pitari divam-upete*) when the fortunes of the family sank to a low ebb (*riplutām varṇśa-lakshmīm*).⁷ At this point the causes that finally led to the dismemberment of the Gupta empire, viz., outbreak of rebellions within, devastating invasions from without, and dissensions in

¹ Proc. A.S.B., 1892, p. 112. V. A. Smith was not able to trace this coin in the A.S.B. cabinet, JRAS., 1893, p. 131.

² With the legend *Sri Mahārājādhirāja Sri Kumāraguptaḥ*. See JRAS., 1893, pp. 116-17 (the coin said to be in the A.S.B. cabinet).

³ Proc. A.S.B., 1892, pp. 91, 104; CCIM., p. 115, n. 1, No. 38, Pl. XVI. 7; CCGDBM., Pl. XV. 16, p. 88.

⁴ CCGDBM., pp. xcii, 84.

⁵ CCIM., p. 115, No. 30; JRAS., 1890, p. 105.

⁶ Descriptive List of sculptures and coins in the Museum of the Badgitya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, p. 51.

⁷ CIL., Vol. III, No. 13, p. 54.

the imperial family, seem to have all made their appearance for the first time and put the power and resources of the dynasty to a severe test. Kumāragupta's son Skandagupta (c.A.D. 455-67) had to contend against a series of external enemies, the Hūṇas or the *Mlechchhas* (cf. the Bhitārī¹ inscription and the Jūnāgadh² inscription) and others (the *Pushyamitras*?)³ whose army and treasury were in a flourishing condition (*Samudita-bala-koshān*). The provincial satraps too were probably growing restive and rebellious. Underlying Skandagupta's extreme concern for the appointment of a loyal and devoted (*bhaktō*=*nurakto* . .) officer who was to be entrusted with the government of Surāshṭra (Kāthiāwār) may be traced the fear lurking in his mind that a rash and mistaken step in this matter might lead to a situation too difficult to control, specially as the western parts of the empire were seriously open to foreign attacks. There is some reason to believe that domestic differences also contributed their share towards the aggravation of the crises by which the dynasty was faced at the time. The enemies of the Guptas had been waiting, as a passage in the Bhitārī inscription seems to imply, for a suitable opportunity to strike a blow at their power (*srabhimata-vijigīṣhā-pradyotānām pareshām*).⁴ If there were disunion in the royal family, the situation would be naturally advantageous to them.

Among the sons of Kumāragupta, for there is evidence to show that he had more than one, Skandagupta is known from numismatic and epigraphic data to have immediately succeeded him (A.D. 455).⁵ But the Bhitārī seal,⁶ which presents a

¹ *Ibid.*

² No. 14, p. 59. Reference to Gupta repulse of the Hūṇas in the *Sūtra-Vṛitti* probably makes the grammarian Chandragomin a contemporary of the emperor—s. *Ind. Ant.*, 1896, p. 105.

³ H. R. Divakar reads 'yudhy-amitrāṁś-cha,' see *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Society*, 1919-20, pp. 99-103.

⁴ *CCGDBM.*, Intro., p. xlv.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, 1902, p. 266.

⁶ Bhitārī is in Ghāzīpur in the United Provinces, *JASB.*, Part I, 1889, p. 84 ff. The inscr. is merely genealogical. Cf. Asirgadh and Sonpat Seals of Sarva-varman and Harabavardhana respectively (*CII.*, Vol. III, Nos. 47, 52), the seals attached to the grants of the

genealogy of seven kings beginning from the founder of the dynasty, states that Puragupta, a son of Kumāragupta by his chief queen Anantamahādevī, was his "immediate successor." The inscription carries the genealogy further down by two generations ending with his grandson Kumāragupta, who may be conveniently designated as Kumāragupta II, to distinguish him from his great-grandfather of the same name. As will be presently seen, the reign of this king must have come to an end by (G. E. 157 (= A.D. 476-77). Hence the statement made in the Bhitari seal suggesting that Puragupta was the immediate successor of Kumāragupta I may have been true. In that case the evidence of Skandagupta's reign which is incontestable will be obviously contradicted by the testimony of the Bhitari seal. The problem of determining Puragupta's position in the chronology may be solved in either of the three different ways open to us. The easiest way out of the difficulty is to suggest that he was identical with Skandagupta. The second course is to regard him as Skanda's successor.¹ If this view is adopted, the usual interpretation of the expression "*tat-pād-ānudhyāta*" as applied to Puragupta will have to be abandoned, while it will hold good in the case of Skandagupta. The third view is that Puragupta and Skandagupta were rival monarchs ruling over different parts of the empire which became divided after Kumāragupta's death.

The responsibility for the suggestion that Skandagupta and Puragupta were the one and the same person belongs to Hoernle. Before him Takakusu² proposed the identity of Vikramāditya, the patron of the Indian Buddhist scholar Vasubandhu (A.D.

Mahārājas Mahendrapāla and Vināyaka-pāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty (JASB., Vol. XV, pp. 112, 140). The text of the inscr. as finally read by Fleet, gives the following genealogical table (the earlier names are omitted here as unnecessary):—Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Kumāraguptam, Anantadevi, their son (tātpādānudhyāta) Puragupta (mahārājādhirāja) m. Srivataadevi; their son Narasimhagupta (tātpādānudhyāta, mahārājādhirāja)—Ind. Ant., 18.0, p. 224 f. Cf. V. A. Smith and Hoernle, JASB., LVIII, Pt. I, 1889.

¹ Vincent A. Smith, Ind. Ant., 1902, pp. 261-63. Regarding the reading of the name Puragupta, s. Hoernle, JASB., LXIII, Pt. I, 1894, p. 210 f.

² JBAS., 1904, pp. 43-44. But see CGDBM., I, n. 4; lv, n. 1.

420-500 ?), with Skandagupta, who is known from his coins to have assumed this title. Hoernle accepts this identification and further suggests that Vikramāditya's son Bālāditya, who on his accession to the throne invited the Buddhist monk to Ayodhyā,¹ is identical with Narasimhagupta Bālāditya of the coins.² But as the latter's father is mentioned to be Puragupta in the Bhitārī seal, he is led to the conclusion that Skandagupta and Puragupta were only two different names of the same king Vikramāditya. The force of this theory has been much weakened by the evidence adduced by Mr. Allan, who has shown from a study of coins that Puragupta also adopted the *Vikrama* title.³ Therefore, if Bālāditya mentioned in Paramārtha's (A.D. 499-569) biography is at all to be identified with Narasimhagupta, the author's reference to his father Vikramāditya may be held applicable to Puragupta.⁴ Nobody now seems to believe that Puragupta's proposed identity with Skandagupta can be substantiated by any means. An isolated attempt was made some years ago by Dr. R. C. Majumdar to revive the theory mainly on numismatic considerations, but no serious conclusion can be drawn from the arguments set forth by him in this connection. As a matter of fact the coins of Puragupta and Skandagupta can be divided into two distinctive classes. Among the extant coins attributed to Puragupta there is at least one that gives the two letters *pu*, *ra*, written

¹ Vasubandhu was born of a Brahmin family at Purushapura, converted to the Mahāyāna faith by his brother Asaśka, a Buddhist scholar of repute. King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā became a patron of Buddhism through his influence. After the king's death his son, the ex-Crown Prince Bālāditya, and the queen-mother, both his former pupils, invited him to Ayodhyā, J.R.A.S., 1905, pp. 84-85.

² J.R.A.S., 1909, pp. 102, 128-29.

³ Hoernle wrote in J.R.A.S., 1909, 102 that 'there is nothing to show that Puragupta either deserved or assumed that title.'

⁴ He has been further identified with Samudragupta (D. B. Bhattacharya, relying on the homonym quoted by Vāmana and the note appended to it, identifies him with Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 1 ff. For different theories on the subject and criticisms, see COGDBM., pp. 1, n 4, iv, n. 1. EHI, p. 247.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, pp. 164-65. This view was later abandoned by him, see J.A.S.B., N. S., 1921, p. 249 ff.

vertically beneath the left arm of the king on the obverse and the legend "*Śrīvikramah*" on the reverse, thus distinguishing him from Skandagupta.¹

The next theory that may be considered now is the one advocated by N. K. Bhattasali.² According to him Puragupta and his line succeeded to the throne after the death of Bhānugupta, who is referred to in an inscription from Eran, dated G. E. 191 (= 510 A.D.). Before Puragupta's family came to power, the throne is presumed to have been occupied successively by Skandagupta (A.D. 455-67), Kumāragupta of the Sārnāth inscription (c. A.D. 473-74) whom he calls Kumāragupta II, Budha-Gupta (A.D. 476-96) and Bhānugupta (A.D. 510).³ He relies mainly on the evidence of Hiuen-tsang who alludes to the defeat said to have been inflicted upon the Hūṇa chief Mihirakula (c. A.D. 515) by a Bālāditya, and also the hypothetical reading of the emperor's name as Kumāragupta in a Dāmodarpur inscription supposed to be dated in A.D. 533-34 (214 G.E). It is concluded that Hiuen-tsang's Bālāditya should be regarded as the same as Puragupta's son and successor, Narasimhagupta of the Bhitari inscription, whose date of accession he puts at c. 515 A.D. He was preceded by his father, Puragupta, who ascended the throne not long after A.D. 510 when Bhānugupta was probably killed in action with his enemy.

Narasimhagupta's successor was Kumāragupta (described as Kumāragupta III) for whom the Dāmodarpur copper-plate referred to above supplies a date. The grounds on which this chronological reconstruction is based are open to serious objections. The date in the Dāmodarpur inscription is not

¹ CCGDBM., pp. cxi, 164, Pl. XXI, 33; cf. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Society*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 67-80.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 88-84.

³ Pathak's view is similar. Acc. to him Kumāragupta of the Sārnāth inscr. was the son and successor of Skandagupta, different from the Kumāragupta of the Bhitari Seal, and Budha-Gupta was the son and successor of the former Kumāragupta, see R. G. Bhandarkar *Com. Volume*, 1927, p. 212.

214 G. E., as previously read by R. G. Basak and accepted by N. K. Bhattasali, but 224 G. E., the correction being due to Mr. K. N. Dikshit,¹ now Director-General of Indian Archaeology. Besides, the reading of Kumāragupta's name in this inscription is conjectural. The view that the imperial Gupta line may have still been flourishing about this line is in sharp conflict with the course of political history as known from other sources, for a later Gupta king of Magadha, Kunāragupta by name, fourth in descent from the founder of this family, was a contemporary of the Maukhari king Isānavarman, who was alive in A.D. 554.² It will not be wrong, therefore, to suppose that the later Gupta dynasty of Magadha had been established several years earlier than his time—at least about the commencement of the sixth century A. D. It should be pointed out that the dates assigned to Puragupta's line fall within the period of the reign of Yaśodharman, who claims to have founded an empire extending from the Western Sea to the Brahmaputra, an empire much larger than ever built up by the Guptas. Before a succession of imperial rulers from Skandagupta down to Kumāragupta (A.D. 533-34) it would have been scarcely possible for him to have succeeded in his enterprise, and thus the claim put forward by him in his Mandasor inscriptions would be meaningless, having no foundation at all. Without entering into further details, one may be reasonably inclined against a presumption which the theory involves, *viz.*, that Puragupta patiently waited for a chance to ascend the throne, not available till fifty-five years after the death of his father at the least computation, in the meanwhile watching the successive reigns of at least four kings—Skanda, Kumāra, Budha and Bhānu.

R. G. Basak³ adopts the view that the Gupa dynasty was divided after Kumāragupta I's reign into two branches, one

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 193.

² *Cf. Harsha Inscr.*—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 110.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 19-20.

represented by Skandagupta and the other by his brother or half-brother Puragupta.¹ To the former² belonged Kumāragupta (of the Sārnāth inscription), Budha-Gupta and Bhānugupta, who are to be regarded as the son, grandson and great-grandson respectively of Skandagupta. The other offshoot of the family is the one mentioned in the Bhitari seal-inscription. Most of the imperial possessions were enjoyed by Skandagupta and his family with the exception of South Bihār, where Puragupta and his descendants were allowed by the courtesy of their more fortunate relations to rule independently. Basak's proposal is in essence similar to that of Bhattasali, so far as its chronological effect is concerned. For he too believes that Puragupta's son Narasimhagupta is the same as Bālāditya who, according to Hiuen-t'ang, defeated Mihirakula.³ Basak's theory is as untenable as the other in detail as well as in principle. No ground has been shown why Kumāragupta, Budha-Gupta and Bhānugupta should be regarded as being related to each other and to Skandagupta in the way he has proposed. There is nothing to prove that Skandagupta left any direct heir to succeed him. His contention that the authority exercised by Puragupta and his line was confined to South Bihār seems to contradict the testimony of the Bhitari Seal, which bestows the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* on Puragupta, his son Narasimhagupta and his grandson Kumāragupta.⁴ It may be further noted that numismatic evidence

¹ This view was suggested by Hoernle but he subsequently gave it up, see JRAS., 1909, p. 96 ff.

² For this suggestion, see K. B. Pathak, Bhandarkar Com. Volume, pp. 195-223; Ind. Ant., 1917, pp. 287 ff.; *ibid.*, 1918, pp. 16-22.

³ Watters, I, 268. Allan suggests that Mihirakula was defeated by Yaśodharman and Narasimhagupta separately, CCGDBM., p. lx. See also Fleet, Ind. Ant., 1889, p. 238. Another theory is that there was a confederacy of the Indian princes accounting for the defeat of the Hūga king, see EHI., p. 387. These theories must be revised in the light of the Sārnāth inscriptions.

⁴ Basak suggests that the division was due to a mutual agreement, Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 120.

suggests that the rule of Narasimhagupta and his successor prevailed in Bengal.¹

It is difficult to understand how a family of rulers admittedly stronger than Puragupta and his descendants permitted the assumption of the imperial title by the latter, whose sway was limited to the southern part of Bihār only. Moreover, the suggestion that their government continued as late as the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. or even later militates against the fact of which we can be more or less certain that the Later Guptas had already founded their power in Magadha by that time. The chief error on the part of both Messrs. Basak and Bhattasali lies in their attempt to connect Puragupta's son, Narasimhagupta (Bālāditya), with an episode described by the Chinese pilgrim, which refers to a Bālāditya as the conqueror of Mihirkula. The title Bālāditya seems to have been quite popular and unless there is strong corroborative evidence, it is not safe to draw any such historical deduction from the fact of a particular king having adopted this *biruda*. The combined evidence of the Sārnāth inscriptions, the Mandasor inscriptions of Yaśodharman, and the inscriptions relating to the so-called Later Guptas of Magadha make it almost certain that Puragupta's family cannot be brought down to the first or the second quarter of the sixth century A.D.

Amidst this array of rather intricate speculations, Panna Lall's suggestion that Puragupta's line immediately succeeded Skandagupta seems to be in most accord with the available material in regard to Kumāragupta's successors. The credit for the view that Puragupta succeeded Skandagupta, however, belongs

¹ Besides the coins from Kālighāt of Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta, one gold coin of the former was recovered from Rānāghāt in the Nadī district, s. Proc. ASB., 1886, p. 65. It was mistakenly taken to be a Burmese coin. In fact it is stated to be an Archer coin with the legends 'Nara' under the left arm of the king and 'gu' between the legs on the obverse and the legend 'Bālāditya' on the reverse. For corrected reading of legends on Bālāditya's coins, see V. A. Smith, Ind. Ant., XIV, p. 179. Several coins of this king are said to be included in the Nahar collections and the cabinet of the Vādāya Sāhitya Parishat of Calcutta, Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 81.

to Hoernle¹ who later changed his opinion for a new theory discussed above.² According to Panna Lall,³ whose opinion has been accepted by V. A. Smith⁴ and Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri,⁵ the Sarnāth inscription, dated G. E. 154 (=A.D. 473-74) mentioning the reign of a Kumāragupta can be relegated to no other member of the Gupta dynasty than Narasimhagupta's son and successor of this name (both to be called Kumāragupta II). The chronological table drawn by him giving Skandagupta (A.D. 455-67), Puragupta (c. A.D. 467-69), Narasimhagupta Bālāditya (c. A.D. 469-73), Kumāragupta II (c. A.D. 475-77) and Budha-Gupta (c. A.D. 477-94) in the order in which they are mentioned seems on the whole to fit all the available evidence in a convincing manner, but the scheme may be slightly modified in the light of the suggestions made by Fleet,⁶ R. D. Banerjee⁷ and R. C. Majumdar⁸ regarding the probability of an outbreak of fratricidal struggle after Kumāragupta I's death. A passage in the Jūnāgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta, which says that the goddess of fortune discarded all the royal sons and selected Skandagupta as her bridegroom of her own accord (*Vyapetya sarvān manujendra-putrān Lakshmīḥ śpayam yam varayām-chakāra*), though evidently bearing a poetical stamp on it, may be interpreted as referring to his triumph over the other sons of his father. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, who is opposed to the theory of a fratricidal quarrel in Skandagupta's reign, has admitted that the reference in this passage is to the disappointed sons

¹ JASS., 1880, pp. 98-99.

² JASS., LVIII, p. 92 ff.; JRAS., 1905, p. 128.

³ Hindustan Review, 1918, Jan.; JBORS., 1918, pp. 412-17; also H. Pandey, *ibid.*, pp. 345-61.

⁴ EHI., p. 330.

⁵ PHAI., p. 352.

⁶ Ind. Ant., 1890, p. 227.

⁷ Acc. to R. D. Banerjee, Puragupta rebelled in Magadha during Skandagupta's absence from the capital in connection with his Hāṭha expeditions. See Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 75. For a later view, see his Bāṅglār Itihās, B.S. 1330, pp. 72-73.

⁸ JASS., N.S., Vol. XVII, p. 249 f.

of Kumāragupta, whose claims to the throne may not have been favoured by their father.¹ It is noteworthy that the familiar expression "*tat-pāda-parigrihitāḥ*" has not been used with regard to Skandagupta in any one of the inscriptions of his reign—an epithet which we find bestowed on Chandragupta II.² When a monarch was selected by his father to be his successor it was proper to apply this distinctive phrase to him. Samudragupta owed his throne to his father's choice as is evident from a passage in the Allahabad *Prasasti* by Harishena. If the choice of the goddess fell upon Skandagupta it was probably due to circumstances different from those that led to the accession of Samudragupta or his son Chandragupta II. The text of the Junāgadh inscription referred to above may go to suggest that it took him some time to establish his supremacy among the rival princes with whom he may have been engaged in a protracted conflict (*cf. Kramena buddhyā nipuṇam pradhārya*). The victory was probably the outcome of a series of struggles in the course of which his superiority was *gradually* proved. In fact it was the steady pursuit of an ambitious project, his application and perseverance that formed the keynote of his character, bringing him success also in his engagements with the external enemies of the empire (*pratidinam-abhiyogād-īpsitam yena labdhvā*).

It cannot be said with certainty that the palace of the Imperial Guptas had always been free in the past from elements capable of producing an atmosphere charged with strife and discontent. The poet Harishena draws a pen-picture of the disappointed princes in the court of Chandragupta I, whose claims were rejected in preference to those of Samudragupta (*tulya-kulaja-mlān-ānan-odvīkshi[ta]ḥ*). If a literary tradition is to be believed, Chandragupta II, though, according to epigraphic evidence, accepted by the feet of his father (*tat-parigrihitāḥ*), had to make room for Rāmagupta³

¹ PHAI., p. 357.

² *Cf.* '*tat-parigrihitā*' in the Bhitari inscr. of Skandagupta, CII., Vol. III., No. 13, p. 53.

³ Our information about Rāmagupta is chiefly derived from extracts from a lost drama called *Devī-Chandraguptam* in the *Śrīṅgārāśepakam* by king Bhoja of Dhārā (Ind. Ant., 1923).

whom he later killed to secure the throne for himself. It is not improbable that the accession of the next emperor Kumāragupta I was also the outcome of an intrigue against his brother Govindagupta, who is mentioned in a Basarh seal,¹ but not heard of again from any other source. Curiously, in the Bihār(?) and Bhitari inscriptions of Skandagupta, though the phrase "*tat-parigrihītaḥ*" has been used in the case of his grand-father Chandragupta II, it has not been applied to Kumāragupta I, which perhaps shows that the death of Govindagupta, the heir-apparent (yuvarāja?), did not take place during the latter's reign, as in that case his brother would have been selected as his successor.

At the end of Kumāragupta's reign, the question of succession to the throne probably assumed a complicated shape owing to the presence of three or more grown-up sons. Besides Puragupta and Skandagupta, it seems that Kumāragupta had two more sons: Budha-Gupta² and Ghaṭotkachagupta. The last-named prince was

pp. 181-183) and the Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra (Sylvain Lévi, J.A., Oct.-Dec., 1928, pp. 201-06). In the latter work the authorship of the drama has been attributed to Viśākhadatta. The story that may be reconstructed from these sources says that a weak king named Rāmāgupta consented to make a gift of his wife—Dhruvadevi—to a Śaka ruler who had invaded his territory. His younger brother—Chandragupta—disguised as woman, killed the Śaka king while he was expecting the Gupta queen in his camp. The murder of a Śaka king by Chandragupta in the garb of a woman is also alluded to in the Harshacharita. Rājasekhara in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā cites a verse mentioning the surrender of Dhruvasvāmīni by her husband king Sarmagupta (copyist's mistake for Rāmāgupta?) to an enemy who had besieged his dominions. Verse 48 of the Sanjān grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I (Śaka 793) says that a certain member of the Gupta family killed his brother and took his kingdom and queen—EP. Ind., XVIII, pp. 248, 255. This passage probably refers to Chandragupta II. If so, Rāmāgupta must have been ultimately killed by his brother who married the widowed queen. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, holds that the Sanjān grant refers to Skandagupta who may have been engaged in a conflict with his brother Ghaṭotkachagupta (*ibid.* p. 242). For a detailed appreciation of the various data relating to Rāmāgupta, see JBOBS., XIV, pp. 223-53 ff.; XV, pp. 184-141; XVIII, pp. 19-36; Ind. Ant., 1928, p. 181; R. D. Banerjee, Manindrachandra Nandy Lectures, 1924, pp. 26-30.

¹ Bloch, A&L, 1908-04, pp. 102, 107.

² He is probably mentioned as FO-to-ki-to by Hiuen-tsang, see Watters, II, p. 165. The pilgrim describes him as son of Sakrāditya (cf. 'Mahendrāditya'—the birds of Kumāragupta), see PHAI., p. 355.

in the enjoyment of a governorship in Central India under his father in 436 A.D., as evidenced by the Tumain (Tumbavana)¹ inscription of G. E. 116.² If the solitary coin in the St. Petersburg (Leningrad) collection bearing the name "Ghaṭo (ṭkaṭhagupta) Kramāditya (?)" is to be attributed to him, it is evident that he later became an independent king. But his position in chronology cannot be definitely ascertained. He seems to have ruled as a rival king for some time during the second half of the fifth century A.D. There is no doubt that he was old enough to take part in a struggle for the advancement of his own interest in A.D. 455. As Puragupta's date of accession cannot be pushed later than A.D. 467,³ his fitness for participation in a contest for power that may have occurred after his father's death can be taken for granted. As he probably came to the throne some time between A.D. 473-76, he may have been sufficiently advanced in age during Skandagupta's reign to cause trouble by setting up a right to independence. Thus the 'manujendra-putra's referred to in the Junāgadh inscription were perhaps all the three brothers of Skandagupta. Dr. R. C. Majumdar holds that Budha-Gupta was a rebel from the west, who gradually forced his way to the throne. If Skandagupta was engaged in fighting battles with him and Ghaṭotkachagupta

¹ Tumain is a village in the Esagerh district of the Gwalior State, 'about 40 miles to the west of Eran.'

² Ind. Ant., 1920, pp. 114-15; also cf. Baserh Seal, No. 1 ASI., 1908-04, p. 107. The inscr. mentions Kumāragupta I as ruling over the earth at the time M. B. Gerde (above) regards Ghaṭotkachagupta of the inscr. as a son of Kumāragupta I, serving as the governor of Eran during his father's reign and identifies him with the Ghaṭotkacha-gupta of the seal as well as with the Ghaṭo(-ṭkacha) of the coin. Cf. OGDDB, Pl. XXIV. 3, p. 149. Mr. Allan shows that Ghaṭotkacha(?)gupta of the coin cannot be identified with Chandragupta's father of this name as the former is to be placed in the latter part of the 5th century, *ibid.*, p. liv.

³ Attention has been drawn to a verse in the *Ārya-Manuśāstri-Mātskalpa* (ed. by Ganespati Śāstri p. 636) which shows that a Śakādiya king who assumed the title 'Devārāja' was the immediate successor of Mahendra, i.e., Kumāra I.—*IEQ.*, 1933 p. 280. This reference is taken to apply to Skandagupta and it is held that this will prove the truth of the theory that Puragupta must have come after Skandagupta. But this doctrine under the hypothesis of a struggle for succession is impossible.

in the west, in the east his rival was Puragupta. The theory of a partition of the empire lasting throughout his reign may not be supported by epigraphic and numismatic evidence. But neither is it easy to dispute the suggestion that the control he was able to exercise over the different parts of the empire was to a certain extent achieved gradually. The date of his Bihār inscription is not known. Hence how can it be asserted that all the eastern territories of the empire belonged to him from the beginning of his reign? It is noteworthy that the heavy coins (144·6 grains) with the legend 'Kramāditya' on the reverse, issued by Skandagupta for use in the easternmost dominions, are believed to have been struck during the later years of his government.¹ One such coin has been found from Midnapore (King and queen on the obverse with a Garuḍa standard in the centre, goddess seated on lotus with the legend "Sri Skandaguptah" on the reverse).² Puragupta may have been the master of Bihār and Bengal for some time but was later forced to part with them. A definite turn in favour of Skandagupta took place in G.E. 141 (= A.D. 460-61), when the reign is described as peaceful (*sānte varshe*) in the Kahaum inscription.³ The picture thus afforded is in vivid contrast to the state of things at the time of his accession as portrayed in the undated Bhitari inscription. Not only had the enemies mentioned in the latter record as well as the Junāgadh inscription (G.E. 138) been defeated by this time, but his superiority over the other princes, who may be meant to have been those of his own family, established in a satisfactory manner (*Sarva-ottama-arddheh*).

No inscription of the time of Skandagupta is available from Bengal, but we have a few coins, one of which has been already noted. Two gold coins of this emperor have been recovered, one

¹ COGDEM., p. xxviii.

² COIN., No. 7, p. 127.

³ OIL., Vol. III, No. 15, p. 65.

each from Mahanada (in the district of Hooghly)¹ and Faridpur,² besides some silver coins from Muhammadpur in the Jessore district. Skandagupta's reign was over by A.D. 467. The days of political expansion and aggressive militarism which had characterised the reigns of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II were followed by a period barren of any new conquests, the most stirring event of which was the performance of a horse-sacrifice by the latter's son in imitation of his grandfather.³ The troubles that beset Skandagupta at his accession were serious enough to overwhelm the dynasty torn by internal feuds and dissensions and attacked by foreign enemies. His brief reign of twelve years was devoted with skill, assiduity and courage to the task of steering the ship clear of troubled waters. The empire, though threatened with extinction, was preserved through his efforts. Puragupta may have survived Skandagupta, who evidently did not leave any direct heir to succeed him. Like Skandagupta,⁴ he assumed the title of *Vikramāditya* (as proved by his Vikrama coins). The reign of his son (*Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*) who is known from some Archer coins to have adopted the title of *Bālāditya* (*Jayati Narasimhaguptaḥ*—obverse, *Bālādityaḥ*—reverse)⁵ was very brief, like that of his father. His son and successor Kumāragupta (*Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*) was on the throne in G.E. 154 (A.D. 473-74), as evidenced by a Sārnāth inscription dated in that year (*Varsha-śate Guptānām sachatuḥ-pañchāśad-uttare bhūmim rakshati Kumāragupte*).⁶ Most of the Archer coins of Kumāragupta and his father Narasimhagupta comprised in the Kālighāt hoard

¹ Proc. ASB., 1882, p. 91.

JRAS., 1889, p. 112.

² GRM. (Varendra Research Society), p. 5.

³ This was commemorated by the issue of *Aśvamedha* coins, which are very rare. COGDBM., p. xliii, Pl. XII., 18, 14.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. cxxii, 134-35.

⁵ Nos. 564-66 in the British Mus. Collection belong to the Kālighāt hoard. Nos. 562, 563, 567, 568 and 569 too probably came from Kālighāt. See COGDBM., p. 136 and n. 1.

⁶ ASI., 1914-15, p. 124.

are of impure metal, very rudely executed, to judge from the specimens that may be traced in the British Museum. Some of these coins appear to be devoid of any marginal legends on the obverse.¹ Only one of these gives the legend "*Bālāditya*" correctly on the reverse (Plate XXII. 7). According to Mr. Allan, these coins of an inferior type were probably current in the eastern districts of the empire (the lower Ganges valley). The Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman which was engraved in A.D. 473-74 is perhaps to be assigned to the reign of Kumāragupta II, in which case his control of Western Mālwa will be established.² It is to be noted, however, that while this inscription refers to the rule of Kumārgupta I in glowing language³ in its account of the foundation of a solar temple in A.D. 437-38, it does not even mention the name of the king during whose reign this religious building was repaired thirty-six years later. The interval between the two dates has been described as a long period in the course of which several kings had ruled (*Bahunā samatīlena kālen=ānyaiś-cha pārthivaiḥ.*) While the statement is true, the omission of Kumāragupta II's name cannot be well explained.⁴ Kumāragupta's reign must have come to an end by G.E. 157 (=A.D. 467-77) when Budha-Gupta was reigning over the earth according to two dated inscriptions from Sārnāth (*Guptānām samatikkṛānte sapta-pañchāśad-uttare śate samānām prithirīm Budhagupte praśāsati.*)⁵

The debasement of coinage and the briefness of reigns—the two characteristics of the period—may be taken as indications that perhaps everything was not going on well with the empire. If it is true that Budha-Gupta was a son of Kumāragupta Mahendraditya, his attitude towards Puragupta and his family may not have been favourable. We cannot say if the impatient ambition

¹ COGDEM., pp. civ., 187-40, Plate XXII.

² CII., No. 18, p. 79 ff.

³ *Chatus-samudrānta-vilola-mekhalāḥ Kumāragupte prithivīm praśāsati.*

⁴ The reference is not to Kumāragupta II, says H. Pandey, see JBOBS., 1918, p. 244.

⁵ ASI., 1914-15, pp. 194-205.

of a rival prince led him to acts responsible for the early end of Puragupta's line, which may not have been brought about by quite natural causes. Since the days of Kumārāgupta his was the longest reign, extending over twenty years (A.D. 476-96).¹ His authority was obeyed on the banks of the lower Ganges and the Narmadā.² The earliest evidence of his reign is furnished by the two Sārnāth inscriptions (157 G. E.) proving his possession of Benares. His Eran stone pillar inscription, dated G.E. 165,³ shows that his sway flourished in the tract of country lying between the Ganges and the Yamunā.⁴ His supremacy in the Central Provinces is implied in the Khoh inscription of Mahārāja Hastin, dated 163 G.E.⁵ The *Parivrājaka* Mahārāja of this epigraph probably paid a nominal allegiance to the Gupta dynasty.⁶

Budha-Gupta's authority in Puṇḍravardhana is testified to by three inscriptions discovered from Northern Bengal, two of which belong to the Dāmodarpur⁷ series and the third was recently found in the course of archaeological excavations at Pahārpur in the Rājshāhi district.⁸ The date as given in one

¹ For his coin dated 175 G. E., see CCGDBM., p. 163, Pl. XXIV. 18

² Cal. Rev. 1930, April-June, p. 36.

³ Eran is a village in the Sāgar district, Central Provinces; for its historical importance, see Imp. Gaz., New Edn., Vol XII, 25-26; Vol. II, pp. 43, 48, 51, 56, 122.

⁴ Kālinī-Narmadāyor-mmadhyam—CIL., Vol. III, No. 19, p. 89. In this year (śate pañcashaṣṭy-adhike varshāpāñ bhūpatau cha Budhagupte) Surāśmichandra was governing the country bounded by the two rivers.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 23, p. 100.

⁶ An earlier inscr. of this family is dated in the year 156 G. E. Inscr. Nos. 21-23 and 25 (*ibid.*) are related to the *Parivrājaka* dynasty. These records all came from Baghelkhand in Central India. The *Parivrājaka* king Hastin (son of Dāmodara, grandson of Prabhastjāna and great-grandson of Devāditya, ruled the kingdom of Pābhāṭa (older form of Pāhala, Pāhālā, Pāhāla or Pāhālā modern Bundelkhand with which the Kalachuris of Tripuri near Jabalpur were connected in later times) with the tract of country comprised in the eighteen forest kingdoms, CIL., Vol. III, pp. 8-14, 111. The modern village of Māmura (ancient Āmbhoda) seems to have separated his kingdom from that of the Uchchakalpa dynasty. Cf. the Bhumarā Stone Pillar Inscr.—*Ibid.*, No. 24, pp. 110-12. Hastin's son Samkashobha was on the throne in the year 200 G.E. The Inscr. of the *Parivrājaka* mahārāja only use the Gupta era but do not mention any of the reigning Gupta emperors. The statement of date is followed in these records by the phrase—Gupta-śaka-*abhyakṣaṇa*.

⁷ Ep. Ind., XV, p. 118 f.

⁸ Ep. Ind., XX, 89.

of the inscriptions from Dāmodarpur is 163 G. E., two years earlier than the date of the Eran inscription of his reign. The date of the other Dāmodarpur record is lost. The Pabārpur inscription was engraved in the year 159 G. E., two years later than the Sārnāth inscription, recording the donation of some land by a private individual and his wife for the maintenance of worship at the *Vihāra* of the Jaina preceptor Guhanandī at Vāṭa Gohāli, a village in Puṇḍravardhana. This inscription does not, however, mention Budha-Gupta by name, but refers to the supreme monarch under the title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. The general features of the government of Puṇḍravardhana, as they appear in Budha-Gupta's Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscriptions, show the continuity of the same system as prevailed in earlier times. In A.D. 482-83 (163 G. E., the date is partly defaced...(60.3) *āṣaḍha di 10, 3*) Northern Bengal was administered by the Uparika Brahmādatta under *Parama-dairata Śrī Budhagupta* (Pl. 3). The other officer of this rank who served under the emperor was Jayadatta (Plate 4) but his date is not known [...*Phālguna di 10, (5).*]

The only inscription which intervenes between the Pabārpur copper-plate of the year 159 and the Dāmodarpur grant of the year 224 comes from a different part of Bengal, from Guṇāighar, a village about 18 miles to the north-west of the town of Comilla. Before we proceed to consider the evidence of this record it will be well to refer to an inscription¹ reported to have been discovered at Nandapura, '2 miles to the north-east of Surajgarhā in the district of Monghyr,' which is dated in the year 169, apparently of the Gupta era, thus corresponding to 488 A.D. This embodies a transaction of land-sale followed by a gift on lines similar to those found in the Bengal inscriptions of the period, particularly the Pabārpur inscription, and in addition to this palaeographical affinity is also of a striking character. The suggestion that 'the document was drafted,

¹ Ep. Ind., XXIII, pp. 68 f.

engraved and issued from Bengal, or more precisely, from North Bengal ' seems to be well-founded. The contents of the inscription show that *Vishayāpati* Chattamaha was permitted by the officers issuing orders from the *agrahāra* of Ambilagrāma(?) to buy some land at the village Jaṅgoyikā for the purpose of a grant to a certain Brāhmin from the *agrahāra* of Khaṭāpurāṇa in Nanda-vīthī, which Mr. Majumdar identifies with Nandapura in the Monghyr district. The logical implication of the suggestion noted above is that Ambila and Jaṅgoyikā were both situated in Bengal, and that the political authority resting with the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, mentioned in the inscription (ll. 10-11) as a part of the phraseology common to such documents, was held by none other than Budha-Gupta. That the inscription is dated within the reign-period of Budha-Gupta cannot be doubted, and even though its connection with Bengal may not be said to be conclusively proved, it was at any rate a record of the same king who is known to have held in his possession at least certain portions of that province. It is a copper-plate grant, dated in the year 188 which is expressed by symbols as well as in words (*Varttamān-ashtāśity-uttara-śata-samvatsare paushamāsasya chatur-vinśatitama divase*—ll. 14-15). For palaeographical reasons the date has been rightly ascribed to the Gupta era. The copper-plate from Guṇāighar, which is thus found to be dated 507-08 A.D., is not like the other plates of the period concerned with land-sale, but records the grant of some lands made by a *Mahārāja*, Śrī Vainyagupta by name, whose identity has not yet been definitely ascertained. Recently an attempt has been made to read his name on some coins from Bengal. Information is available that 'several seals representing the Gupta kings, Narasimhagupta, his son Kumāragupta, Budhagupta and Vainyagupta...' have been discovered at Nālandā. It may be expected that a thorough study of those seals, which has been promised by Hiraṇanda Śāstri, will afford useful data for the solution of the problem of Vainyagupta's identity. In the meanwhile it may be assumed that

he was a scion of the Gupta family, whose authority was confined to the east while his contemporary and relation Bhānugupta was mobilising his royal resources for a decisive encounter against the Hūṇas. It is possible that he was connected with Puragupta's line, since H. Sāstrī maintains from a study of the Gupta seals from Nālandā that the name of Puragupta's mother was not Vatsadevī, but Vainyadevī. The details contained in the Guṇāighar grant amply show that Vainyagupta was a ruler of considerable power and influence. There were at least two *mahārājas* under him, one was Vijayasena who acted as the *dūtaka* or envoy of the grant and the other, Rudradatta, expressly mentioned as his *padadāsa*, at whose request the grant was made. Besides, no less than three *Kumārāmātyas* received the official intimation of the grant. References to such offices as those of the *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahāpilupati* and *Pañchādhikaraṇoparika*, etc., also go to show that he was probably not a dependent ruler. The reference to one of the villages where some land was granted as being comprised in the *Uttara-maṇḍala* shows that his territories were organised into the familiar administrative units of the day. Vainyagupta, however, refrained from assuming the usual titles of an imperial sovereign. In 507-08 A.D. his victorious camp was pitched at Kripura, not yet identified, where he was engaged in fighting an unknown enemy. The Eran inscription dated nearly two years later records Bhānugupta's victory which was probably achieved against the Hūṇas. The period was apparently one of considerable interest and excitement from the military point of view, when determined efforts were being made for reviving the dying greatness of the Imperial Guptas. The concentration of the most important and responsible offices in the hands of a single individual, as shown in the Guṇāighar grant, is probably a symptom of the unusual complications of the time. It is quite likely that the village Guṇikāgrahāra mentioned in the grant is identical with its find-place, the modern Guṇāighar in the Tippera district, where several old relics have been found.

Thus one of the villages belonging to Vainyagupta was situated in the ancient division of Samatāṭa which became a tributary of the Gupta empire during the reign of Samudragupta.¹

A striking change had taken place since the days of Kumāragupta I in the designation of the divisional officer. Instead of being known simply as an *Uparika*, he was now called a *Mahārāja*. This new title was enjoyed by Jayadatta and Brahmadata, whose names occur in Budha-Gupta's plates from Dāmodarpur. It is somewhat significant that the names of the provincial governors of Puṇḍravardhana under the imperial Guptas all end with the surname 'Datta.' Perhaps the vice-royalty had throughout been confined to a particular family represented at different periods by Chirātadatta, Jayadatta and Brahmadata, whose importance grew with the advance of time, specially after Kumāragupta's death, when the position of the Eastern Provinces of the empire, divided as a result of internal dissensions, must have risen higher. Consequently, the status of the officer in charge of Puṇḍravardhana needed to be elevated in a manner consonant with this change in the imperial history of the dynasty. But the adoption of the title did not raise the governor to the rank of a feudatory, for he still retained the official designation of *Uparika*, owing his appointment to the favour of the sovereign, as in former times.

The history of the Gupta empire practically closed with the death of Budha-Gupta. Towards the end of the fifth century renewed inroads of the Hūnas were followed by the establishment of their power in Central India. In A.D. 485 (G. E. 165) the region between the Narmadā and the Yamunā was under the administration of *Mahārāja* Surasimichandra, who owed allegiance

¹ IHQ. 1930, pp. 45-60; Ep. Ind., XXI, Part II, p. 77; Coins (COGBM., Pl. XXIII, 6.7.8.) attributed to Chandragupta III Dvādśāditya by Allan and others are really those of Veṅṇya Dvādśāditya, as has been pointed out by D. N. Mookerjee, see IHQ., 1933, Vol. IX, pp. 784-88. On these coins, see JRAS., 1892, p. 82; COIM., pp. 105-07; Num. Chro., 1891 p. 87. His connection with Budha-Gupta and Bhānugupta, as suggested by Mookerjee, has no basis. On this point, see R. C. Majumdar, IHQ., 1933, pp. 289-91.

to Buddha-Gupta, and the district of Eran [*Sva-vishay(e) = sminn = Airikine*]¹ included in this area was governed by Mātṛivishṇu, under the authority of the emperor's vassel. But during the government of Mātṛivishṇu's brother Dhānyavishṇu the situation appears to have been completely altered. His overlord was not a Gupta sovereign, but the Hūṇa *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Toramāṇa. The Eran inscription attesting this transfer of political control is dated in the first year of his reign.² There is another inscription³ from the same place dated A.D. 510 (191 G.E.) which refers to a great battle (*yuddham sumahat*) fought by Bhānugupta, "the greatest man on earth" (*jagati pravīro*)—"a mighty king equal to Pārtha," in association with his ally, Goparāja (*dauhitra*), grandson of the Śarabha king, and son of Mādhava (?), who lost his life in this encounter with the enemy. The inscription seems to preserve the memory of a struggle for supremacy between the Hūṇas and Bhānugupta. There is no evidence to show that the Gupta king succeeded in achieving any substantial result, for the Hūṇas appear to have been undeterred in their attempts to extend their power, first under Toramāṇa, and subsequently, under his son and successor, Mihirakula. An inscription dated in the fifteenth year of the latter's reign (*Abhivarddhamāna-rājye Pañchadaś-ābde nṛipa-vṛishasya*), is to be found on a hill in Gwalior (Central India). Besides Sialkot, another important centre of the Hūṇa domination was founded

¹ Airikine is thus referred to as under the control of Mātṛivishṇu's brother Dhānyavishṇu in the Eran inscr. of Toramāṇa, *ibid*, No. 36, p. 188. The Eran Inscr. of Samudragupta speaks of it as 'svabhoganagara'—*ibid*, No. 2, p. 90. Mātṛivishṇu's younger brother was Dhānyavishṇu (*ibid*, pp. 89, 160). The latter was associated with his elder brother [*tad-anuvīdhāyin(ā)*] in 165 G.E. in erecting a flag-staff in honour of Viṣṇu. *Mahārāja* Mātṛivishṇu's genealogy is given as follows:—Great-grandfather Indravishṇu, grandfather Varuṇavishṇu, father Harivishṇu.

² This inscr. refers to his elder brother as dead (*svarggataya bhīrānājena*). The date is given on ll. 1-2—*Varahe prathamē prithivim.....Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Toramāṇe pratīkati*. *Ibid*, No. 36, p. 189.

³ *Ibid*, No. 30, p. 92. Goparāja's wife followed her deceased husband by committing suicide.

in the Punjāb at the celebrated town of Pavvaiyā on the banks of the Chandrabhāgā, which, according to Udyotana Sūri's Prakrit work Kuvalayamālā compiled in 699 S.E. (777 A.D.), was the residence of Torarāya or Toramāṇa.¹ The task of extirpating the Hūnas was left to a mightier man than Bhānugupta—Yaśodharman of the Mandasor inscriptions (Western Mālwa), the outstanding political figure of the first half of the sixth century A.D. About A.D. 502, Mahārāja Droṇasirṃha (*Paramabhāgarata*) of the Maitraka clan founded by *Senāpati* Bhatārka, set up a semi-independent kingdom(?) in Surāshṭra (*Parama-svāminā svayam-upahita-rājya-abhishekaḥ*)² and thus raised to eminence a family that had begun to control the affairs of the province shortly after Skandagupta's appointment of Parnadatta as its viceroy. At this juncture no Skandagupta appeared to stem the tide of dissolution which swept away the empire in the beginning of the sixth century.

¹ JBORS., 1928, March, p. 33.

² Maliya Copper-plate inscr. of Mahārāja Dhruvasena II (CII., III, No. 38, p. 164). For further history of the dynasty, see the Alina plate of Śilāditya VII (*ibid.* No. 39, p. 171); KHI, p. 343; the Navalākhi Plates of Śilāditya (I) Dhruvāditya, Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 178 ff.; Nagawā Plates of Dhruvasena II Bālāditya (G. 320), Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 190 ff.; (G. 321), *ibid.*, pp. 196 ff.; ASI., 1902-03, Pt. II, pp. 235 ff.; also see Cal. Rev., April-June 1930, p. 39 n.

CHAPTER IV

THE SO-CALLED LATER GUPTAS AND SOME LOCAL RULERS

Yaśodharman's sway in the east. A Dāmodarpur copper-plate. The Later Guptas and the Maukharis. A battle on the river Brahmaputra. The Faridpur grants. Rulers of Eastern Bengal.

Although the Gupta empire itself was broken up about the beginning of the sixth century, the Guptas did not immediately vanish from the political arena. The continuity of the Gupta overlordship in the Central provinces, maybe in nominal form, is attested by the Khoh plates of the Mahārāja Samkshobha¹ dated A.D. 528-29 (G.E. 209). Vainyagupta (III) Dvādaśāditya and Vishnugupta Chandrāditya, whose coins were comprised in the Kālighāt² hoard, may have held for some time the banner of the Gupta dynasty in the east after Bhānugupta's death. With the downfall of the Imperial Guptas, offshoots of their family established their power in Eastern Mālwa and Bihār.

The decadent Gupta dynasty had to make way for *Janendra* Yaśodharman, who flourished in the early part of the second quarter of the sixth century. The last effective blow to the remnants of their imperial authority seems to have been almost certainly dealt by this monarch. He attained the height of his glory by A.D. 532-33³ (Mālava Samvat 589) when his feet were worshipped (*architam pāda-yugmam*) by Mihirakula⁴ (*Mihirakula-nripēṇa*) and his empire, including countries not enjoyed

¹ CII., Vol. III, p. 113.

² COGDBM., pp. lxi, 144-46.

³ His Mandasor inscr. of this date does not specifically mention Mihirakula, but there is no doubt that his power had attained to its climax by this year, as it is stated here that he had already subjugated 'very mighty kings of the east and many (kings) of the north.' (*prācya nripāṇaṃ en-brihataś-cha bahūn = udīkhaḥ*—l. 6), CII., No. 35, p. 153.

⁴ The inscr. No. 38 (CII) gives the limits of his empire as specified above—*ibid*, pp. 146, 147.

either by the lords of the Guptas or the chiefs of the Hūṇas (*ye bhuktā Gupta-nāthair-anna...rnnājñā Hūn-ādhi-pānām...yān=pravishṭā*), extended from the neighbourhood of the Brahmaputra to the Western ocean, and from the Himalayas to Mount Mahendra in the south-east.¹ His greatest achievement was the humiliation of the Hūṇas, whose command had 'established itself on the tiaras of (many) kings' (*Kshītipati-mukṭ-āddhyāsini*).² His empire was his own creation, as he is said to have transcended the political limits set to his house.³ If the statement of the boundaries of his empire as given in one of his Mandasor inscriptions (No. 33) has any meaning, it will be evident that a considerable part of Bengal extending up to the Brahmaputra, which traditionally divided that province from the ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa, must have come under his control. The rulers of Bengal at this period enjoyed the rank of a *Sāmanta*⁴ or feudatory paying homage to Yaśodharman, who had established his authority over a wide tract of country. His death probably occurred very shortly after A.D. 533, which is the only known date in the history of his career. The destruction of the Hūṇa empire by him left native dynasties free to enter into a competition with one another and develop their power according to their respective means and resources. Ten years later than the date of the Mandasor inscription (No. 35) an epigraph from Bengal records the name of a Gupta *mahārājādhirāja* (the supreme lord of kings) and this provides us with a basis for the reconstruction of her political history during the sixth century A.D.⁵

¹ *A Leubity-opakapṭhāt...ā Mahendrād-ā Gaṅg-kālishṭe-sānce ...paśchimād-ā payodih.*—No. 33, p. 146. Inscr. No. 35 (dated 589 Mālava era) shows the tract of country bounded by the Vindhya, the source of the Revā, the mountain Pāriyātra, and the western ocean as comprised in his empire, *ibid*, p. 154.

² No. 33, p. 146.

³ *Sva-griha-parīsar-āvajñayā yo bhavakti*—I. 4, No. 33.

⁴ *Ibid*, I. 5, 'Sāmantair-yaśa,' etc.

⁵ H. Hervas has resumed the old controversy about Yaśodharman's share in the conquest of the Hūṇas. He believes in the story recorded by Hsien-tsang, see *IREJ.*, Vol. III, 1907, p. 12.

The name of the *mahārājādhirāja* in the last of the Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscriptions dated in the year 224 of the Gupta era (A.D. 543-44) has been read differently by different scholars. R. G. Basak¹ doubtfully suggested it to be Bhānugupta, the ground for this view being that as he is known from an Eran inscription to have been alive in A.D. 510-11,² it might be held probable that he was still flourishing in A.D. 534, which he took to be the date of this Dāmodarpur plate. But its ascription to Bhānugupta is now out of the question in view of the revised reading of its date.³ H. Krishnā Śāstrī suggests that the king's name probably reads Kumāragupta.⁴ This is accepted by two other writers. But regarding his identity there is a difference of opinion among them. According to one theory he is to be identified with Narasimhagupta Bālāditya's son Kumāragupta, mentioned in the Bhitarī seal, while Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri holds that he belonged to the later Gupta dynasty whose genealogy is given in the Aphaṣṭ inscription of Ādityasena.⁵ Supposing that the reading of Kumāragupta's name in the Dāmodarpur inscription is correct, it would be absurd to identify him with Bālāditya's son, who, as we have already seen, died some time before A.D. 476-77. There is no doubt that the Dāmodarpur inscription belongs to a later Gupta, but the proposed reading of his name seems to be untenable. A careful examination of the concluding part of the first line in this inscription showing the intention of the engraver to insert certain letters despite the shortness of space available, may make it clear that the name of the *mahārājādhirāja* is Śrī Dāmodaragupta. That the name ends with "Gupta" is evident from the first two letters in the second line of the inscription. The letter next to

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 144.

² CII., No. 20.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 198.

⁴ Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 198, n. 1; Raychaudhuri, PHAI, p. 369, and Bhattachali, Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 84, take the date to be equivalent to A.D. 533-34. The latter identifies him with Kumāragupta, son of Narasimhagupta Bālāditya. R. G. Basak accepts the corrected reading of the date in his *History of North-Eastern India*.

⁵ CII., No. 62.

“Śrī” in the opening line is “d” with the “ā” sign mixed up with the “o” mark on the top of the letter ‘m,’ which is inserted at a level lower than that of ‘d,’ a device that was apparently resorted to by the engraver, handicapped as he was by want of space. The next letter is “d” followed by a distinct sign for “r.” The short stroke on the top of this second “d” on the left, followed by “r” on the right seems to be a part of the “o” mark attached to the letter “m,” which could not possibly be shown in any other way. If the reading of Dāmodaragupta’s name as proposed here is to be accepted, the inscription will give in the year 544 A.D. a definite date for the son of Kumāragupta of the Aphaṣṭ record.

An earlier history of the Maukhari clan is furnished by the newly discovered Yūpa inscriptions from Baḍvā in Kotah State in Rājputāna, which are dated in the Kṛita year 295 (= 237 A.D.), mentioning three sons of Bala, viz., Balavarddhana, Somadeva and Balasimha, each styled *Mokhari* and *Śrī Mahāsenāpati*.¹ The absence of any royal title in these inscriptions shows that the family was not a kingly one. According to the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman,² the founder of the Kadamba family, who flourished in the 3rd century, defeated the Pallavas, Punadas, Traikutakas, Ābhīras, Pāriyātrikas, Śakas and the Maukharis. Dr. A. S. Altekar tries to prove that the Maukharis defeated by Mayūraśarman were those belonging to Bala’s family in Rājputāna, who may have been subordinate to the Śaka satrap of the Western India, not those of the house of Yajña-varman who had their seat of power in Bihār,³ as their inscriptions are later than the new records from Baḍvā and cannot be placed in the 3rd century. Since also there is no evidence that the Kadamba ruler conquered Magadha, as is pointed out by the same scholar, his view seems more reasonable. The only difficulty in settling the point is that none of the existing records

¹ Ep. Ind., X\III, Pt. II, pp. 42-52.

² Annual Report, Arch. Surv., Mysore, 1929, p. 50.

³ Cf. Kadamba-Kula, p. 71.

of the Maukharis proves their independent rule in the 3rd century, and Mayūraśarman would not have probably taken credit for defeating a mere subordinate family.

The value of the Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription from the historical point of view cannot be adequately realised without a reference to the Maukharis, the contemporaries of the Later Guptas, who are generally known to students of Sanskrit literature from their mention in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Harsha-charita. The earliest inscriptional evidence regarding this clan is furnished by a clay-seal obtained by Cunningham from Gayā¹ containing the legend "Mokhaliṇam" written in Mauryan characters, which may be explained as the Prakrit form of "Maukharīṇām (genitive of the name Maukhari) to be found in some of their later inscriptions (*Maukharīṇām kulam*—Barabar Hill Cave inscription of Anantavarman).² They were also known as Mukharas, as appears from the Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman³ and the Jaunpur inscription of his father, Īśvaravarman (*Maukharāṇām bhū-bhujām*)⁴ Grammarians Vāmana (7th century A.D.) and Kaiyaṭa (13th century) in commenting on the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini's Sūtra IV, 1.79, make mention of them. It appears that the Maukharis or the Mukharas regarded themselves as Kshatriyas of the solar family, claiming kinship with Aśvapati, which may suggest an early connection with the Madras who lived in the Punjab. We do not hear of any aggressive political activities on the part of the Maukharis until about the middle of the sixth century A.D. From the Haraha inscription we learn that the Maukhari king called Īśānavarman was alive in A.D. 554. The family to which he belonged was founded by Harivarman, who was succeeded by his son Ādityavarman. Next came the latter's son, Īśvaravarman, whose son was Īśānavarman, mentioned above. He had at

¹ CII., Vol. III, p. 14; Ep. Ind., XXIII, Pt. II, p. 17, n. 1.

² *Ibid.*, No. 48, p. 222.

³ Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 110 ff.

⁴ CII., No. 51. The Haraha and Jaunpur inscriptions are related to the imperial dynasty, while the Barabar inscription refers itself to a minor offshoot of the family. The name "Maukhari" has been adopted here for general use without any distinction.

least two sons Sūryavarman¹ and Sarvavarman; the former, referred to in the Haraha inscription, is not known to have succeeded his father. After Īśānavarman's death the throne was occupied by Sarvavarman, as is evidenced by his Asirgadh copper seal.² The Harshacharita mentions Avantivarman and his son Grahavarman, who married Rājyaśrī, the daughter of King Prabhākaravardhana of the Pushpabhūti dynasty of Thānesar.³ Avantivarman seems to have succeeded Sarvavarman, as he is mentioned immediately after the latter in the Deo-Baraṇārka inscription of Jīvitagupta II.⁴ Thus the line of Maukhari rulers founded by Harivarman flourished in an unbroken continuity for six generations. As Īśānavarman, fourth in descent from Harivarman, was alive in A.D. 554, the origin of this ruling family cannot possibly be placed later than the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.D. The original status of the family may not have been higher than that of a feudatory monarch. While the three predecessors of Īśānavarman⁵ were styled "*Mahārāja*," he was the first in the dynasty to have assumed the imperial title of "*Mahārājādhirāja*." His successor Sarvavarman is similarly designated in the Asirgadh Seal, and both he and Avantivarman are described as "*Paramēśvara*" in the Deo-Baraṇārka inscription. The development of the Maukhari power probably followed the familiar course open to a subordinate chiefship taking advantage of the weakness and disorganisation of the central authority, which in the present case was at first exercised by the Guptas and afterwards for a short while by Yaśodharman of Western Mālwa. A dependent principality arising somewhere in the Gangetic doab (Kanauj?) was thus gradually transformed into an independent kingdom

¹ There is mention of a Sūryavarman born in the Varman family of Magadha in the Sirpur Stone Inscr. of Mahāśivagupta, Ep. Ind., V, p. 50.

² CII., No. 47.

³ See *infra*, Chap. V.

⁴ CII., No. 46, p. 216.

⁵ Cf. *ibid*, The Asirgadh Seal Inscr., p. 220.

inspired by imperialistic ambition.¹ Kanauj was the centre of their power in the age of Prabhākaravardhana and his son Rājyavardhana. Besides, their inscriptions have been found in the United Provinces.² It is, therefore, reasonable to infer that they were closely associated with this region throughout their history.

The Later Guptas of the Aphsaḍ inscription³ trace their descent from Kṛishnagupta. There is a considerable volume of evidence enabling us to settle their chronology in a fairly satisfactory manner. The synchronism of the fourth ruler Kumāragupta with Iśānavarman (A.D. 554) is directly mentioned in the Aphsaḍ inscription. He was a junior contemporary of the Maukhari king, as his son Dāmodaragupta is found to have been alive in A.D. 543-44. Dāmodaragupta's son Mahāsenagupta was a contemporary of Susthiravarman,⁴ the father of Harshavardhana's ally Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. Mahāsenagupta's son Mādhavagupta was a contemporary of Harshavardhana (d. 647 A.D.) and the Shāhpur Stone Image inscription of his son Ādityasena was engraved in A.D. 672-73. The history of the Later Guptas can thus be pursued in an intelligible chronological order. It is highly probable that they were originally connected, as in the seventh century A.D., with the province of Bihār and its neighbourhood. All their extant inscriptions have been found in Bihār (Patna and Shāhābād districts), and the only inscription⁵ available for the earlier period has been recovered from Bengal. The origin and early growth of this dynasty, as in the case of the Maukharis, seem to have been fitted into the setting

¹ For the coins of Iśānavarman, Sarvavarman and Avantivarman, see JRAS., 1906, p. 848 ff.; Cunningham's *Coins of Medieval India*, ii., 19; ASR., IX, p. 27. The name of Iśānavarman is read in the Report as Santi by mistake. See also JASB., 1894, p. 193. The dates on these coins have afforded an interesting scope for speculation.

² Haraha, Asirgadh and Jaunpur are situated in U.P.

³ *CHI.*, III, No. 42, pp. 200-08.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁵ In this ~~-----~~ attention may be drawn to the mention of Kotarvardhana (mountain) in the account of Jivitagupta's exploits, *Ibid.*, p. 206, n. 3.

of political conditions that arose on the decline of the Imperial Guptas and the death of Yaśodharman. The early history of this family, like that of their neighbour, practically consists of a mere string of names—its founder Kṛishṇagupta (*nṛipa*) was born in a good lineage (*Sadvamśah*).¹ His cities were crowded with thousands of elephants (*danti-sahasra-gāḍha-kaṭako*, 1.1) and he triumphed over numerous enemies (*asāṃkhya-ripu-pratāpa-jayinā*). His son Harshagupta (*devaḥ*) bore marks of wounds on his chest, which he had sustained during many a keen fight with his enemies (*ghorāpām=āharānām*). But these victories are of a vague and indefinite character and the account is couched in a poetical language. The third king Jīvitagupta, described as the best among kings (*Kṣhitīśa-chūdāmaṇiḥ*), is perhaps the first to be regarded as more than a mere shadowy figure. He seems to have won victories in the north as well as in the east.² Curiously, among the Maukharis too the first really ambitious prince was the third in the line—Īśvaravarman—of noble descent, “The very lion to (hostile) kings,” [(a)*dhishthitam kshitibhujām simhena simhāsanam*—1.6], whose contact with Andhra,³ Dhārā, Raivataka, is alluded to in an incomplete passage of the Jaunpur inscription. The relationship between the Maukharis and the Later Guptas seems to have been peaceful up to this stage. Harshaguptā,⁴ the wife of the second Maukhari *mahārāja* Ādityavarman, was probably closely related to Harshagupta, who also occupies the second place in the genealogy of the Later Guptas. The alliance with the Guptas may not have been disturbed by Īśvaravarman⁵ whose friendly disposition has been

¹ *Ibid*, No. 42, p. 200 ff.

² He had enemies on seaside shores (*velāsv=api*) and in the Himalayas, *ibid*, p. 203.

³ *Ibid*, p. 230. The Haraba inscr. also refers to a conflict with Andhra.

⁴ The Asirgadh Seal Inscr. gives the names of the wives of the Maukhari Kings from Harivarman to Īśānavarman. They are Jayasvamini (Bhaṭṭārikā, devī), queen of Harivarman; Harshaguptā (Bhaṭṭārikā, devī), queen of Ādityavarman; Upaguptā (Bhaṭṭārikā, devī), queen of Īśvaravarman; Lakshmiṣatī (?) (Bhaṭṭārikā, mahādevī), queen of Mahārāja Bhīṣmīśa Īśānavarman—p. 220.

⁵ His wife seems to have been a Gupta princess—see *above*.

applauded in the Haraha inscription (*suhṛīdam*, v. 8). But the mutual understanding was soon lost, and an era of hostility commenced, the chief actors in this drama of the Gupta-Maukhari conflict being Īśānavarman (the son of Īśvaravarman), Kumāragupta (the son of Jivitagupta) and the latter's son and successor, Dāmodaragupta. Two different landmarks in this struggle are known. In the first period Kumāragupta obtained a victory over his enemy, Īśānavarman. The Aphaṣṭ inscription says that "playing the part of (the mountain) Mandara" he "quickly churned that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious Īśānavarman, a very moon among the kinds" (*Śr—Īśānavarman—kshītipati-śāśinah sānya-dugdhoda-sindhur = lakṣmī-samprāpti-hetuḥ sapadi vimathito Mandaribhūyā yena—1.7*). But the next Gupta king, Dāmodaragupta, was killed in action with the Maukhari army¹ [*Sammūrchchhitah suraradhu(dhū)r = varayam (n)chakāra*]. Thus did the war end in a manner decisively favourable to the adversary of the Guptas. Before their humiliation by the Maukharis they appear to have enjoyed an extensive territory. The victor of Īśānavarman's army, Kumāragupta died at Prayāga (ll.7-8), from which the inference may be drawn, though not definitely, that the place belonged to him. The Aphaṣṭ inscription does not give the name of the Maukhari king who defeated and killed Dāmodaragupta, but since it refers to Īśānavarman in the preceding verse, that name may be taken as implied in the next, which describes this tragic incident. As Dāmodaragupta was ruling in A.D. 544, it is not improbable that Īśānavarman's victory was completed by A.D. 554, the date of the Haraha inscription in which the Maukhari king is said to have defeated the Gauḍas. It may be presumed that this feat represents the success he won in his contest with Dāmodaragupta. The Haraha inscription informs us that the Gauḍas living on the seashore (*Gauḍān*

¹ The Maukharis, says the Aphaṣṭ inscr., fought successfully against the Hūḍas (l. 8).

samudr-āśrayān)¹ were compelled to give up their aggressive activities, and in future to remain within their proper realm. The extension of the Gupta power up to the seashore was the work of Jīvitagupta I, as is implied in a passage of the Aphaṣa inscription, describing his superiority over the haughty foes who "stood on seaside shores" (*velāsvapi*).² Shortly after this, the Gauḍa kingdom had its capital at Karnaśuvārṇa (in the Murshidābād district). The Gauḍa empire controlled by the Later Guptas, before their crushing defeat at the hands of their enemy, the Maukharis, would thus appear to have extended from Prayāga to the eastern limit of Puṇḍravardhana, bounded in the south by the Bay of Bengal. Their possessions were now considerably diminished by the loss of Bihār. The first Maukhari king of the United Provinces, mentioned in an inscription from Bihār, is Parameśvara Sarvavarman,³ who is known from the Asirgaḍh seal to have succeeded his father Iśānavarman. This inscription, which records the renewal of the grant of a village under Jīvitagupta II (great-grandson of Ādityasena, whose date is A.D. 672-73), speaks of Sarvavarman as one of the previous rulers of the region connected with Nagarabhukti (Patna district) and Varuṇikāgrāma (=modern Deo-Baranark, about 25 miles south-west of Arrah in the Shāhābād district, Bihār). It is impossible to say if the rest of Bihār was annexed to the Maukhari dominions. But attention may be drawn in this connection to three cave-inscriptions in the Gayā district (one at the Barabar Hill⁴ or ancient Pravaragiri⁵ and two at the Nāgarjuni hill)⁶ disclosing the existence of a different branch of the Maukhari family (*Maukharāṇām kulam*), to which belonged in order of succession Yajñavarman, Śārdūlavarman and Anantavarman.

¹ Ind. Ant., 1917, pp. 126-27. For a different interpretation, see Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 42 f.

² CIL, Vol. III, p. 203.

³ Ibid., No. 46.

⁴ No. 48.

⁵ This name is actually given in the Barabar Hill Cave Inscr., p. 222

⁶ Nos. 49-50.

All the three inscriptions record installations of either Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava images by Anantavarman. The founder of this line was the instructor of rulers in the duty of the Kṣatriyas¹ (*Sarvamahikṣhitām—Anur-iva kṣhattra-sthiter-ddeśikah*), and his son Śārdūlavarman was the lamp of the family of the warrior caste (*dīpaḥ kṣhattrakulasya*). There is, however, little ground for regarding them as independent rulers. In fact, Anantavarman's father Śārdūlavarman was only the foremost of *Sāmantas*, or dependent chiefs (*Sāmanta-chuḍāmaṇi*). Their authority was probably limited to the Gayā district, through the neighbourhood of which pass the easternmost spurs of the Vindhya mountain (*Vindhya-bhūdhara-guhām*),² where they appear to have been granted a chiefship by their more fortunate brethren—the Mukharas of the United Provinces, following the defeat inflicted on the Gaudas. If the Varman officer mentioned in the Bihār inscription³ of Skandagupta was a chieftain belonging to the Maukhari community, it would appear that they ultimately succeeded as a sovereign power in the recovery of the province with which they had been formerly associated. The connection of the Maukharis with Bihār may date back to a very early period, as is suggested by their clay-seal found at Gayā.

We may now turn to some details in the history of the Later Guptas, which have a special bearing on Bengal. A distinct change had taken place in the administrative policy relating to Puṇḍravardhana which formed an integral part of the Later Gupta empire, since the last great representative of the imperial dynasty, Budha-Gupta, managed its affairs through responsible officers in accordance with what seems to have been a well-established precedent. The services of the viceregal family of the Dattas had

¹ Nagarjuni Hill Cave Inscr., No. 49, from which the above extracts are made, belongs to Anantavarman, but Fleet rightly points out that his father Śārdūlavarman was probably alive at the time (*cf.* I. 5), p. 322.

² *Ibid.*, p. 227.

³ No. 12, p. 80. Probably Skandagupta announces some gift through a Varman officer—(*Bamajūḍapāṇi*)varmamahā—the passage is mutilated.

been dispensed with and the government of the province was now conducted probably by the emperor's own son. The name of the prince in the fifth Dāmodarpur inscription cannot be read with precision, as the letters next to "*Mahārājasya*" have been almost completely defaced. But it seems that it is possible to detect the conjunct "pta" which may be a remnant of "gupta." The connection of this *Rājaputra Uparika Mahārāja*, with the imperial family seems to be indicated in his description as a *devabhṭṭāraka*. If our reading of the name "Dāmodaragupta" in the inscription is adopted, this prince, who assisted his father in the administration of Puṇḍravardhana as an *Uparika Mahārāja*, was most probably Mahāsenagupta, who is described as his son and successor in the Aḥṣad inscription. It appears from the latter source that during his reign he came into conflict with Susthitavarman who was undoubtedly the king of Kāmarūpa, the father of Bhāskaravarman, who enjoyed the confidence and friendship of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. After their withdrawal from Bihār the Later Guptas were forced to concentrate their attention on their Gauḍa kingdom. Here they discovered their natural enemy in the neighbouring country of Kāmarūpa. Between Maukharis in the west and the Varmans of Kāmarūpa in the east, they had to maintain a precarious position. But although they had lost much to their western enemy, they were able to hold their own against the other and may have even extended the eastern boundary of their realm at the cost of Kāmarūpa. According to the Aḥṣad inscription Mahāsenagupta emerged victorious out of a struggle with Susthitavarman, and it is said that his fame was sung on the banks of the Brahmaputra, where the battle between the two forces appears to have taken place.¹ This river marked the eastern limit of Mahāsenagupta's kingdom and is perhaps the main stream of the Brahmaputra,² which formerly flowed south-east across the middle of

¹ Śr(ṅ)mat-Susthitavarman-yuddha-vijaya-ślāghā-pad āśākam mahar-yaay-ādyaṅgi
 Lohitaya taṭ (e) shu...sph (ṅ) tam yaśo glyate—II, 10-11, p. 203.

² Imp. Gaz., Vol. IX, p. 18.

the Mymensingh district, directly uniting with the Meghnā. Mahāsenagupta, whose father died shortly before A.D. 554, had a long reign, as he was a contemporary of Susthitavarman, whose son came to the throne about A.D. 606. The battle on the Brahmaputra probably occurred shortly after the accession of the Kāmarūpa King, the exact date of which is not known.

While the Later Guptas were exercising sovereignty in Puṇḍravardhana and attempting to extend their domination beyond the sea,¹ being occasionally involved in conflict with the Maukharis and the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, there is evidence to show that in the greater part of the sixth century a different régime flourished elsewhere in the province, about which some information can be obtained from four copper-plate inscriptions found in the district of Faridpur² and probably also from another grant recovered from the village Mallasārul on the banks of the River Dāmodar in the district of Burdwān.³ Two of these belong to the time of Dharmāditya, one being dated in the third year of his reign. In this inscription he has been called a

¹ Light-weight tokens of Gupta currency were in vogue in different parts of Bengal. Allan ascribes some of them to the middle of the seventh century A.D. (Pl. XXIV, 17-19; Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. XVIII, 20). The specimens collected near the Arunkhali river in the Jessore district reported by R. L. Mitra have been traced since V. A. Smith compiled his catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum and the Asiatic Society, Bengal (R. L. Mitra, JASB., 1852, Pl. XII, 10, p. 401; ASI., 1915-14, p. 258). Mr. H. E. Stapleton refers to "finds" of such coins in the Daoga and Faridpur Districts (Eastern Bengal), s. JASB., N. S., VI, 1910, pp. 141-43. A similar coin found in the Bogra District (North Bengal) is reported to be in the custody of Rai Bahadur Mrityunjaya Rāya Chaudhuri, s. ASI., 1913-14, pp. 258-59, Pl. LXIX 30. N. K. Bhattasali gives detailed information about the existence of Gupta coins of the imitation type at Koṭālipāra, Sābhār and Bhātpārā. See *Daoga Review*, 1920, pp. 78-82; Numismatic Supplement No. XXXVII to JASB. (N.S.), 1923, pp. 84-87. Probably these coins were issued by the Later Guptas of Magadha.

² In agreement with T. Bloch (ASI., 1907-08, p. 255) R. D. Banerjee attempted to prove that they were spurious records. See JASB., N. S., VI, pp. 432-33; VII, p. 289 ff.; X, 125 ff. His objections against their genuineness were based on palaeography and the fact that being documents of land-sale they were considered to form a unique set. Banerjee's palaeographical arguments were met by Pargiter, see JASB., N. S., VII, pp. 492-500. The subsequent discovery of the Dāmodarpur copper-plates which are similar in character to the Faridpur inscriptions has established the genuineness of the latter beyond reasonable doubt, see Ep. Ind., XVII, 75.

³ BPP., Vol. 44, Part I, p. 17 ff.

Mahārājādhirāja. The date in the other record which describes him as a *Mahārādhirāja*, as well as a *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* is lost. Another inscription from the Faridpur district is dated in the eighteenth year of a different ruler called *Mahārājādhirāja Parambhāṭṭāraka* Gopachandra. Another grant, reported to have been discovered at Mallasārul in the course of the re-excavation of an old tank in 1929, of which an *editio princeps* has recently been published by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, is to be assigned, according to this scholar, to the reign of the same Gopachandra since palaeographically it represents an identical stage of development as marked by the Faridpur grants. The new inscription refers to the rule of a *Mahārājādhirāja* Gopachandra prevailing in the Vardhamāna-*bhukti* (ll. 2-3). It may be observed that the reading 'Gopa' is absolutely certain but that the addition of 'chandra' is due to the learned editor's suggestion to fill the gap following the mention of that name. Though there is no inherent improbability in the assumption that there may have been one Gopa (-?) ruling over the Vardhamāna-*bhukti* and a Gopa-*chandra* ruling in a different part of the province in the sixth century, Mr. Majumdar's theory may be considered reasonable since there is no other evidence available regarding the former, while the addition of 'chandra,' though speculative, is not entirely unlikely. The remaining inscription from Faridpur belongs to the fourteenth year of yet another emperor named Samāchāradeva, who also enjoyed the usual titles indicative of a paramount supremacy. The Faridpur copper-plates constitute the only source of our knowledge as regards Dharmāditya, but additional evidence of Samāchāradeva's reign is probably furnished by two coins preserved in the Indian Museum. One of these, belonging to what is commonly known as the *Rājatilā* type (the Throned-King type—king with female attendants on both sides on the obverse, goddess with a peacock in front of her on the reverse) was found at Muhammadpur near Jessore; the provenance of the other, representing the Archer class of the Gupta currency (on the obverse the Garuḍa standard is replaced by the

Bull standard) is unknown. The legend "Narendravinata" on the reverse of both is almost distinct.¹ The Rājātilā coin was doubtfully ascribed to Śaśāṅka by V. A. Smith, but he regarded the attribution of the archer coin as uncertain. * Mr. Allan has shown that the two coins must be assigned to the same person whose name he reads as Yamācha on the Archer coin and 'Saba', 'Samācha' or 'Yamācha' on the other. Perhaps the correct reading is Samāchāra, as suggested by N. K. Bhattasali. The script used on these coins agrees with that of the Faridpur plate of Samāchāradeva's reign, and belongs to a period slightly earlier than the time of Śaśāṅka. The two coins may therefore be taken as issues of Samāchāradeva (Narendravinata), who, has hitherto been known only from the solitary inscription of his reign.²

The Faridpur inscriptions³ form a very closely connected group by reason of their paleographical affinity, as well as the details of topographical and administrative information which they furnish. As in the case of the Dāmodarpur copper-plates, the chief peculiarity of these eastern Bengal inscriptions lies in the fact that they are all concerned with purchase of land. These were situated in *Vārakamaṇḍala*. In each of these inscriptions the supreme government (*adhyāsana*) connected with this province appears as lying in the hands of an officer who owes his appointment to the pleasure of the paramount ruler (*tat-prasāda-labdh-āspade*—Plate 1 ; *tad-anumodanā-labdh-āspado*—cf. Plates 2 and 3; *pranapat-yetachcharaṇa-kamala-yugal-āradhanopāṭṭa*... Samāchāradeva's plate). The official of this rank, mentioned in the dated inscription of Dharmāditya's reign, is styled simply *Mahārāja* ; in the three other plates where this title is dropped, the common element in the designation is constituted by the term *Uparika*. (*Antaraṅga-uparika*,—Plate 4 ; *Mahā-prati-*

¹ ASI., 1912-14, p. 260.

² COIM., I, pp. 120, 122, Pl. XVI ; CCGDBM., Intro., Sec. 171 ; Ep. Ind., XVIII, 79-80.

³ JAB., 1910, p. 429 ff ; 1911, p. 269 ff ; p. 475 ff ; 1914, p. 425 ff ; Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 74 ff ; Ind. Ant. 1910-11 - 1912 f.

hār-oparika—Plate 2 ; *Mahāpratihāra-vyāparaṇḍya-dhṛita-mūla-ku(kri)yāmātya-uparika* Plate—3). The headquarters of the divisional government entrusted to the *Uparika* seems to have been stationed at Navyāvakāsikā, which, as its name implies, was perhaps of recent origin. No information regarding the genealogy of the three different rulers is supplied, and an attempt may be made to fix the order of their chronological position from some internal and paleographical data only. An examination of the two different forms of the test-letter 'y' to be found in them may be useful in this connection.¹ Regarding this letter Hoernle held that any inscription in the North-western alphabet which shows the more or less exclusive use of the old form of 'y' must date from before 600 A.D., while any inscriptions showing an exclusive use of the cursive form must date after 600 A.D. In north-eastern India the bipartite 'y' occurs for the first time in the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman (A.D. 580). Hoernle's theory may be slightly modified in view of the evidence, subsequently brought to light, showing the use of the older or tripartite form in some inscriptions² of the seventh century, e.g., the Paṭiākellā grant of Śivarāja, the Muṇḍeśvarī inscription and the Udayapur inscription of Guhila Aparājita, engraved respectively in A.D. 603, 636 and 659. R. D. Banerjee has expressed the opinion that "the discovery of an inscription of the seventh century...with mostly tripartite ya...does not invalidate his (*Hoernle's*) final result." The absence of the tripartite 'y' in the plates of Dharmāditya, its presence as an alternative form along with the older sign in Gopachandra's inscription, and its exclusive use in the inscription of Samāchāradeva, supported by the fact that these different epigraphs belonged to a closely allied group, may warrant the conclusion that of the three kings, Dharmāditya and Samāchāradeva were respectively the first and

¹ JASB., N.S., 1910, p. 496.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 285, 289 ; Ind. Ant., XLIX, p. 91.

the last to rule and that they all flourished in the sixth century A.D. *Uparika* Nāgadeva, who had the privilege of serving under both Dharmāditya and Gopachandra, is a connecting link between the two reigns. Another officer, *Jyeshtha-Kāyastha Nayasena* also served under both monarchs. The two kings, therefore, appear to have been closely related in point of time. In one of the inscriptions of Dharmāditya, dated in his third year, there is no reference to the divisional capital Navyā-vakaśikā, which is mentioned in all the other inscriptions of the series, including his own, which mentions the highest officer, *Uparika* Nāgadeva. It seems that the inscription belonged to a period when this capital had not yet been founded. In a subsequent period of his reign Dharmāditya appointed Nāgadeva as the head of the provincial government. His services were retained by his successor Gopachandra. The assistance of Sivachandra was utilised in connection with the measurement of lands at the time of the first as well as the second grant of Dharmāditya's reign.

In the absence of any definite information from these inscriptions it is hazardous to fix the exact dates of these kings. Pargiter, in agreement with Hoernle,¹ puts forward the view that Dharmāditya was only another name of Yaśodharman of the Mandasor (Western Mālwa) inscriptions, and that he reigned for a period of forty years extending from A.D. 528 to 568. It should be remembered, however, that the only known date of Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana is A.D. 533. There is no reliable proof to show when his reign began or when it ended. Regarding Gopachandra, the suggestion made by Hoernle and Pargiter is that he may be a grandson of Narasimhagupta Bālāditya and a son of Kumāragupta of the Bhitari Seal, who is believed to have re-asserted the title held by his ancestors after Yaśodharman's death. No trustworthy

¹ Hoernle at first suggested that he was identical with Samudragupta (Ind. Ant., 1892, p. 45) but later with Yaśodharman—JRAS., 1903, p. 136, n.1.

evidence has been adduced in defence of this view. The only source on which reliance has been placed is Tāranāth's account, which mentions Prince Govichandra in a manner suggesting, according to these scholars, that he was a grandson of Bālāditya. But it seems almost impossible to draw any serious chronological conclusion from the muddled account of early history preserved in Tibetan tradition. Besides, as we know from a Sārnāth inscription, Kumārāgupta II's reign ceased between A.D. 473-76. It was, therefore, impossible for his son to ascend the throne in A.D. 568 and rule for a period of eighteen years. Apart from these details, more or less of a speculative value, the general position seems to be well-established that the period covered by the history of Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāradeva ($3+18+14+X$ representing the total number of years in excess of the known reign-periods of these rulers together with the interval separating one reign from another) is to be placed between the end of Yaśodharman's reign and before the commencement of Harshavardhana's imperial sway (606 A.D.). Mr. N. G. Majumdar is inclined to place Gopa(-) or Gopachandra who seems to have preceded Samāchāradeva in the early part of the sixth century. One reason for this view appears to be the fact that the Mallasārul grant makes mention of a *Mahārāja* named Vijayasena who is held to be identical with a vassal of this name referred to in the Guṇāighar grant of Vainyagupta's reign, dated in 507-03 A.D. This identity is very natural to suggest, but it is difficult to place the Faridpur group of rulers earlier than at least 533 A.D. In that case *Mahārāja* Vijayasena will be found to have waited many years for a chance to serve under Gopachandra as a feudatory. Besides, the Mallasārul copper-plate which has a seal of *Mahārāja* Vijayasena attached to itself appears to show that his sphere of activity was not unconnected with or far away from the Vardhamāna-bhukti, while there is no evidence to prove that *Mahārāja* Vijayasena, whose name occurs in the Guṇāighar grant, had been in the possession

of the same area under a different master. There is no place for this group in the chronological scheme after Harshavardhana's death. In the seventh century the Khadgas were the rulers of Eastern Bengal. The adoption of the paramount titles of sovereignty by these kings is a conclusive evidence that they were not subordinate to any higher power. If the authority exercised by them had been of an insignificant type, the authors of the Faridpur inscriptions would not have gone to the extent of comparing them with some of the mythical heroes of the past. They are described as having been without any rivals on earth (*Prithivyām-apratirathe*) and in the enjoyment of power which was as great as that of Nṛiga, Nabusha, Yayāti and Ambarīsha (—*samadhṛitau*).

The Dattas of Puṇḍravardhana, who held the viceregal post under the Imperial Guptas till at least A.D. 483, are not heard of in the last of the Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscriptions (A.D. 544). Their position was now filled by a *Kumāra*, probably of the royal family, in Northern Bengal; but before they were turned out of office they had acquired the title of *Mahārāja*, which was attached to their usual designation of *Uparika*. In the plate of Dharmāditya's third year the administration of Vārākamaṇḍala is found entrusted to a *Mahārāja* Sthānudatta. The bestowal of the title of *māhārāja* on a Datta officer in this inscription may perhaps throw some light on the chronological position of this king. As experience probably showed that it would be more prudent not to encourage the ambition of these high officials, this title was not subsequently allowed.

The extent of the territory* over which those sovereigns ruled is left undefined in their inscriptions. Nor do we know in what relation they stood to one another, except the order of succession, which can be determined in a fairly satisfactory manner. If the identification of Dhruvilāṭi mentioned in the copper-plates of those reigns with modern Dhulāt in the Faridpur district is to be accepted, some further definite clue will be found regarding their association with Eastern Bengal, as

suggested by the evidence of the find-places of their inscriptions, as well as one of the extant coins believed to be of Samāchāra-deva, discovered in the Jessore district. If the Mallasārul inscription is to be assigned to the reign of the same Gopachandra who figures in one of the Faridpur copper-plates, it will be evident that at least one of these rulers governed a territory which was of considerable dimensions including at one point the district of Faridpur and at another that of Burdwān. Samatāṭa, which constituted a dependent kingdom under Samudragupta, appears to have its history hidden in complete obscurity throughout the rest of the imperial Gupta period but for the thin ray of light thrown by the Guṇāigbar grant of the time of Vainyagupta. These inscriptions point to the existence of a settled government that probably prevailed in the same area during the latter half of the sixth century, in full independence of any external control. There is unfortunately no source of information regarding its transactions with the neighbouring powers or other interesting aspects of its political activities.

It is almost certain that at least some portions of Western Bengal were outside the jurisdiction of these rulers. We have already stated that the authority of the Later Guptas at one time extended to the sea embracing the western part of Bengal, but in the latter part of the 6th century it was in the possession of a king called Jayanāga. His approximate date is to be determined from the paleographical evidence of the Vappaghoshavāṭa inscription¹ which was engraved during his reign. That portion in this copper-plate inscription which contained a specification of its date (*sambatsare*, l. 2) is unfortunately almost completely defaced. The copper-plate was issued during the stay in Kārṇasuvārṇa of the Vaiṣṇava (*Parama-bhāgavata*) mahārājādhirāja Jayanāga, when his Sāmanta, (*tat-pād-ānuddhyāta*) Nārāyaṇabhadra was carrying on the administration of the Audumvarika *vishaya* with the Mahāpratībhāra Sūryasena acting as a subordinate to him

¹ Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 60 ff; XIX, p. 286 ff.

(*ta*)*d-vyavahāri*-). The geographical details mentioned in the inscription, and in particular, the references to Karnaśuvārṇa as the seat of the king's residence and to Audumvara as a part of his possessions, leave no doubt that he was connected with the western districts of Bengal. As the record does not furnish any genealogical information, it is not possible to suggest how his power originated.¹ He may have established through his own efforts an independent kingdom which probably was not acquired by hereditary succession. If the attribution of some coins to Jayanāga,² as proposed by Mr. Allan and Dr. Barnett, is correct, his *biruda* was *Prakāṇḍayaśāh*. The script used on these coins does not oppose their connection with Jayanāga, and it is noteworthy that his devotion to the Vaiṣṇava faith, as mentioned in the epigraph, is suggested by the presence of Lakṣmī on the reverse of those coins.

¹ The Tibetan text of the Mañjuśrī-Mūlaka'pa is stated to include the following additional verse not included in the Sanskrit text (TSS.), edited by T. Gaṇapati Śāstri: *Mahāvīra-jayo jitrā prāg-udak sarvataḥ sthitān | Kesari-nāmā tatśāṣṇyaḥ Somākhyo nṛipo mṛiteḥ ||* This is supposed to allude to Jayanāga (Jaya, the Great Serpent) followed by Kesari who in his turn was followed by Śaśāṅka (Somākhyā). There is nothing to contradict the order of succession given here except that there is no epigraphic evidence regarding the second of these rulers, Kesari. For the verse and comments thereon, see K. P. Jaysawal, *An Imperial History of India*, pp. 61, 66.

² CCGDBM., pp. lxi, civ, cvi, cxviii, 150-51, Pl. XXIV, 6-9.

CHAPTER V

AN AGE OF FRUSTRATION

(From the Close of the Sixth to the Middle of the Eighth Century A.D.)

The rise of Gauḍa under Śaśāṅka and contemporary politics. The struggle between the Vardhanas and Śaśāṅka. The alliance between Kāmarūpa and Kanauj. The extent of Śaśāṅka's sway. Harshavardhana's authority in Bengal. Bhāskaravarman's camp in Western Bengal. The Khadgas of Eastern Bengal. Attacks by Yaśovarman of Kanauj, a Śāila King and Lalitāditya of Kashmīr. Jayāpiṇḍa's connection with Bengal.

In the last quarter of the sixth century a new dynasty was fast rising into importance at Thānesar (Sthāṇvisvara) in the United Provinces, which was soon to come to grips with Bengal. The founder of the House was a Śaiva, Pushpabhūti¹ by name. Nothing of importance, however, is known about him or three others who followed him in succession, viz., Naravardhana, Rājyavardhana I and Ādityavardhana.² But a new chapter opened in its history with the accession of Prabhākaravardhana, the son of Ādityavardhana, who created a considerable stir in the politics of Northern India by his military activities affecting the Hūṇas, the king of the Indus Land (Sindhū), also Gujarat and Gandhāra. He suppressed the lawlessness of the Lāṭas, destroyed the influence of Mālwa, and won the

¹ Cowell & Thomas, HC., pp. 81, 83.

² The genealogy given in the Madhuban and Banekhera plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, pp. 155-160; IV, pp. 210-211) is as follows :—Mahārāja Naravardhana m. Vajripi-devi; their son Mahārāja Rājyavardhana m. Aparodevi; their son Mahārāja Ādityavardhana m. Mahāsa-guptā-devi; their son Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Prabhākaravardhana m. Yaśomati; their sons Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Rājyavardhana and Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Harshavardhana. The Sonapat Copper Seal ins. of Harshavardhana (see C.I.I., Vol. III, No. 52) also supplies the genealogy of his family. The name of Naravardhana is lost, but other names are as in the two plates mentioned above. The name of Prabhākar's wife is given as Yaśomatī in the HO.

submission of a number of princes.¹ The imperial power claimed by him was symbolised by his assumption of the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. He gave his daughter Rājyaśrī (born c. 593 A.D.)² in marriage to Grahavarman,³ the son of Avantivarman, mentioned in the Deo-Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta II and the Harshacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. For the future history of his family this alliance was fraught with important consequences. The Kanauj-Thānesar *entente cordiale* was looked upon with apprehension by Mālwa, the traditional enemy of the Vardhanas, and also Gauḍa, a rising power in the east, whose affairs were now in the hands of an independent monarch named Śaśāṅka. Troubles broke out immediately after Prabhākaravardhana's death. The two powers, Mālwa and Gauḍa, seemed to have agreed to form an alliance to counteract the policy that possibly lay behind the matrimonial alliance between Thānesar and Kanauj. On the very day the death of Prabhākaravardhana was rumoured, the Maukharī Grahavarman⁴ was murdered by the Mālwa⁵ King, and the lord of Gauḍa soon after this catastrophe probably proceeded to capture Kanauj. Prabhākaravardhana died leaving two young sons to face a crisis and no better opportunity could be imagined for putting this project of opposition into action. The author of the Harshacharita says that "the wicked lord of Mālwa," by killing Grahavarman, only followed the way of the vile "who like fiends . . . strike where they find an opening."⁶

The Gauḍa king, who probably acted in concert with Mālwa, was a remarkable personality, and his career proved him to be a man endowed with a vast ambition and a strong determination to attain his goal, regardless of moral considerations,

¹ HC. (Translation), p. 101.

² See Harpe by Radhakumud Mookerjee (Oxford University Press), pp. 12, 69.

³ HC. (Translation), p. 122.

⁴ He is called the lord of the Maukhara family. See HC. (Trans.), p. 246.

⁵ The location of this Mālwa is considered uncertain by some scholars. In this connection they refer to another Mālwa in Prayāg, see EHI., p. 350, n. 1; and Mālwa in the Punjab, Ep. Ind., I, p. 70.

⁶ HC. (Translation), p. 173.

if they stood in his way. A study of the Harshacharita and the account of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen-tsang, leaves no doubt that the greatest enemy of Thānesar and its ally, Kanauj, was the king of Gauda. His name is not directly given in the Harshacharita except perhaps in one manuscript of the work, where he is called Narendragupta.¹ This name is supposed to be hinted at in the expression ² *dur-narendra-ābhibhava-roshitaḥ*, applied to Harsha, signifying his indignation at the triumph of the wicked king, who appears to have been the same ruler at whose hands or instigation Rājyavardhana was murdered. The commentator points out that the Gauda king was known by the name of Śaśāṅka. From the details furnished by the Chinese traveller in common with Bāṇabhaṭṭa,³ it appears that the Gauda king is to be identified with She-shang-kia, who is referred to by the former as a recent king of Kārṇasuvarṇa. Perhaps there is a veiled allusion to his name in the expression *Śaśāṅkamaṇḍala*,⁴ to be found in a passage of the biography of Harsha, where its author envisages the portents of an impending struggle soon after Prabhākara's death. The horizon was thick with war clouds. "In the firmament the rising, clear-flecked moon shone like the pointed hump of Śiva's tame bull, when blotted with mud scattered by his broad horns." *Śaśāṅkamaṇḍala*, the zone of the Gauda king's influence, was surely a menace to the safety of the Vardhana dynasty.

As it is not improbable that he was also called Narendragupta,⁵ he may have been connected with the Guptas, but his

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 70; Ind. Ant., 1878, p. 197. Mr. Allan suggests that the true reading is perhaps Narendrāditya, see CCGDBM., p. lxiv.

² IHQ., 1932, p. 5.

³ In the Harshacharita the slayer of Rājyavardhana is represented as a Gauda king. According to Hiuen-tsang he was Śaśāṅka, see Watters, Vol. I, p. 348.

⁴ HC., App. B., p. 275, p. 168.

⁵ The view that he was a Gupta is opposed by Mr. Allan, s. CCGDBM., p. lxiv, but B. D. Banerjee holds that he was almost certainly a Gupta. See his *Bāṅglār Itihās*, p. 106. There is, however, no ground for his supposition that he was a nephew of Mahānagupta. See *ibid.*, p. 106.

relationship with them is conjectural. He began his career as a *Mahāsāmanta* in Magadha, as suggested by the Rohtāsgadh Seal¹ bearing his name. This post he probably held under Avantivarman, the father of Grahavarman, whose authority in Bihār is attested by the evidence of the Deo-Baraṇārī inscription. He was perhaps the head of the feudatories employed by the Maukharis in the east, and in this capacity may have exercised some sort of control over the Varmans of Gayā, whose status does not seem to have been higher than that of a *Sāmanta*. Śaśāṅka was as yet only a high official, but the edifice of his future political greatness was reared on this comparatively obscure basis. Towards the end of the sixth century the Chālukya king Kīrtivarman (*Puru-Raṇaparākrama*) inflicted a defeat upon the ruler of Magadha, who was most probably Avantivarman.² After the departure of the Chālukya victor from the north, Śaśāṅka may have taken the earliest opportunity to abandon his allegiance to the Maukhari suzerain and thus raised himself to the rank of an independent monarch. His next move was perhaps the conquest of Kārṇasuvarṇa which he wrested from the hands either of Jayanāga or his successor, if he left any.³ It may be pointed

¹ The Rohtāsgadh (in the Shahabad district, Bihār) Seal-matrix of the *Mahāsāmanta Śaśāṅka-deva* has an inscription in two lines: *Sri-Mahāsāmanta-Śaśāṅka-deva-ya*. See CII., No. 78, p. 284. K. M. Panikkar regards the Seal as an evidence of Śaśāṅka's submission to Harsha, see *Sri Harsha of Kanauj*, 1922, p. 17. It seems quite improbable that the Gauda king was reduced to a vassalage and afterwards rose to be a *Mahārājādhirāja*, his imperial status being evidenced by the Ganjam Plates.

² Cf. *Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa*, Ind. Ant., XIX, pp. 14, 16. Kings said to have been defeated by him were those of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṭṭūra, Magadha, Madra, Kerala, Mūśaka, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷiya, Aluka, and Vaijayanti. In the activities of the Maukharis during the time of Mayūrasarman, those against the Śulikēs (v. 13, Harsha inscr. of Iśānavarman), and the lord of the Andhras, and those in which the city of Dhārā, the Rairatake mountain and the 'crevices of the Vindhya mountains' (Jaunpur Stone Inscription of Iśānavarman) were involved, may lie the reason of the Chālukya opposition against them. It is not unlikely that the Maukhari friendship with Thānesar was planned as a sort of protection against the Chālukyas with whom Harsha later came into actual conflict.

³ Nihar Ranjan Ray suggests that Kārṇasuvarṇa was comprised in the kingdom of Kāmerūpa at the time, s. IHQ., Vol. III, 1927, p. 775. But the theory is untenable. The Vappagboshavāṭa ins. of the time of Jayanāga gives an insight into the political history of Kārṇasuvarṇa before its conquest by Śaśāṅka.

out that while Jayanāga of Karnasuvarṇa is not called a Gauḍa king in his inscription, there is reason to believe, as will be seen later, that the Gupta king who was killed by Išānavarman is referred to as a Gauḍa in the Haraha inscription. Śaśāṅka's title as the lord of Gauḍa may have been based on the destruction of the power of the Later Guptas in Puṇḍravardhana.¹ He may have swooped down upon Puṇḍravardhana immediately after the death of Mahāsenagupta who had left two young sons, and succeeded in annexing the territory without much opposition or bloodshed.

By his acts leading to the foundation of an independent kingdom and its rapid expansion, Śaśāṅka had created enemies who must have grown apprehensive of his rising power. The Maukhari dynasty had lost an important province. They wanted a strong ally to check further aggressive designs on the part of the Gauḍa king. The friendship with Kanauj was equally useful to the Vardhanas, who stood in need of co-operation in their endeavour to strengthen their position against the neighbouring states, specially Mālwa. There in the court of Thānesar appeared two young princes from Mālwa, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, who were appointed by Prabhākaravardhana as companions of his sons, Rājya and Harsha.² These were introduced as sons of the Mālwa king. The evidence of the Aḥṣaḍ inscriptions shows that this Mādhavagupta was a son of Mahāsenagupta.³ This may lead to the inference that the father of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, whose name is not given in the Harshacharita, must have been a Mālwa king.

But there are weighty reasons against this presumption. Mahāsenagupta belonged to a line of rulers, the sphere of whose

¹ Regarding a tank in the Bogra district, which tradition connects with the name of Śaśāṅka, see Bāṅglār Purāṇṭī by Pareśachandra Vandyopādhyāya, p. 171.

² HC. (Translation), p. 119. Kumāragupta, the elder brother, was about 18 years old at the time, *ibid.*, p. 120.

³ OIL, Vol. III, No. 42, p. 203.

activities lay in Bihār and Bengal. It was his father who is known from a Dāmodarpur inscription to have held Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* in his possession. Mahāsenagupta himself fought against the Kāmarūpa king Susthitavarman¹ on the banks of the Brahmaputra. If these Later Guptas are regarded as having been associated with Mālwa, it will appear that they controlled the whole region intervening between this country and the eastern confines of Northern Bengal.² All the later inscriptions of this branch of the Gupta family have been found in Bihār, and the Aphaṣṭ inscription in particular, which belongs to the time of Mādhavagupta's son, Ādityasena, remarkable for its wealth of information regarding the history of the family, does not contain any evidence from which their original connection with Mālwa can be presumed. The problem that has taxed the ingenuity of many scholars³ is how to harmonise the epigraphical evidence relating to the Later Guptas with the account of Mādhavagupta and Kumāragupta found in Bāna-bhaṭṭa's work. If Mahāsenagupta was not connected with Mālwa, how is it that his son Mādhavagupta is described in the Harshacharita as a prince of the Mālwa king? There is no doubt that when the two brothers appeared in the court of Thānesar they were already associated with this region. But this connection may have been formed after the remnants of the Gupta authority in Bengal had been shattered by Saśāṅka. These two young princes having lost their foothold in Gauḍa probably sought the hospitality of the Mālwa dynasty, with which their family may have been already related in an intimate

¹ Fleet took him to be a Maukhari king (see Intro., CII, Vol. III, p. 15). But he is nowhere mentioned as a Maukhari ruler. The Nidhanpur Plates show that the father of the Kāmarūpa King Bhāskara-varman, Harsha's contemporary, was Susthitavarman. In view of this evidence it will be wrong to regard him as a Maukhari king.

² The view that Mahāsenagupta was a Mālwa King is maintained by H. O. Raychaudhuri in JBORS., 1929, p. 651, and R. K. Mookerjee, *ibid.*, p. 231. H. D. Banerjee held that he was not connected with Mālwa, see JBORS., 1928, p. 265.

³ JRAS., 1908, p. 545.

manner.¹ The king of Mālwa, who was later defeated and perhaps killed by Rājyavardhana, appears to have been a Gupta ; and it is not improbable that the Mālwa house was allied to the Later Guptas of the east. It is interesting to know that in the Aṃśaḍ inscription Mādhavagupta has been compared with Vasudeva's son (*Vasudevād-iva . . .*), which may suggest his upbringing in a sphere different from his father's home even before his arrival in Thānesar. The suggestion put forward above regarding the establishment of a closer connection between Mālwa and the Later Guptas, subsequent to their overthrow in Bengal, will be found to fit the evidence of the Harshacharita in one important respect. When in the Thānesar court the formal introduction was over, the two brothers, saying "As your majesty commands" to Prabhākaravardhana, rose from their seats, and "saluted Rājyavardhana and Harsha by swaying their heads again and again to the earth."² It should be remembered that Prabhākaravardhana's mother, Mahāsenaguptā, was most probably a sister of Mahāsenagupta, the father of these princes.³ In view of the relationship between these princes and the Vardhana brothers, it would not have been proper on their part to show such respect to them if they had not already been brought up in a different environment where this original connection was not fostered. The exiled Gupta brothers seem to have taken refuge in Mālwa, where they were probably adopted as his own sons by the reigning king. But their advent in the court of Thānesar was ominous, so far as the interests of Śaśāṅka in particular were concerned. Probably, under the guidance of their new friends and patrons, the possibilities of their restoration to the Gauḍa throne were being discussed and explored. Perhaps

¹ A parallel case is that of Bhaṣṭi, who, according to Bāṇabhaṭṭa, was presented by his father, the brother of Prabhākara's wife, Yaśovati, to serve the young princes. see HC. (Trans.), p. 116 ; cf. Watters, I, p. 343.

² HC. (Trans.), p. 121.

³ Cf. JRA8., 1903, p. 555, n. 3.

Prabhākaravardhana had a far wider plan in view, contemplating measures for the establishment of one of the two princes on the throne of Mālwa and the other on that of Gauḍa. Śaśāṅka and Devagupta (Mālwa) had both reasons to take alarm at these new developments. Besides, the pact between Thānesar and Kanauj itself constituted a danger to their safety and brought them together as facing a common peril. The death of Prabhākaravardhana gave the signal for their action. At this time his son Rājyavardhana, who was to succeed him to the throne, was just returning from an expedition against the Hūṇas. The Maukharī king, Grabavarman, was speedily removed and his wife Rājyasrī, the daughter of Prabhākaravardhana, was put in chains and thrown into prison in Kanauj.¹ The ambition of the Mālwa king appears to have been aimed at the conquest of Thānesar. It was reported to Rājyavardhana that "the villain, deeming the army leaderless, purposes to invade and seize this country as well." But this scheme was frustrated by the timely return of Rājyavardhana, who took the resolution of "laying the royal house of Mālwa low in ruin."² Bhaṇḍī, his cousin, accompanied him on this mission, 'with some ten thousand horse.' In the meanwhile, Śaśāṅka may have started his march towards the west, but the combination of the Mālwa army with the forces led by Śaśāṅka seems to have been cleverly forestalled by the skilled warrior Rājyavardhana. The Mālwa king was defeated and probably slain; his army was captured and his followers were humiliated.³ The Madhuban and Banskhera Plates of Harshavardhana show that his brother's

¹ HC. (Trans.), p. 173.

² *Ibid.*, p. 175.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 173. The Mālwa army is said to have been routed "with ridiculous ease." The Mālwa king's supporters had their feet "restrained by iron fetters." It must be noted that the Harshacharita does not say that the Mālwa king lost his life in the course of this encounter. There is no reference to his career after this incident in that work. If he is to be identified with Devagupta whose name is given in the copper-plates of Harsha, there is again nothing to show that he was killed in action. Even if his life was saved, he was left without any power.

triumph over Devagupta was complete : ¹—*Rājāno yudhi dushta-vājinā iva Śrī-Devagupt-ādayaḥ kṛtvā yena kaśa-prahāra-vimukhās-sarve samam samyatāḥ utkhāya dvishato vijitya vasudhām kṛtvā prajānām priyam.*” Śaśāṅka was now compelled to fight single-handed against his opponent. The next event in the war was the tragic death of Rājyavardhana, the responsibility for which has been laid on the shoulders of the Gauḍa king by Bāṇabhaṭṭa and the Chinese traveller Hiuen-tsang. According to the Harsha-charita, Rājyavardhana, though “he had routed the Malwa army with ridiculous ease, had been allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauḍa, and then weaponless, confiding and alone, despatched in his own quarters.” ² The same story has been repeated by the Chinese pilgrim. ³ A fair criticism of Śaśāṅka’s conduct is impossible in the absence of detailed information relating to the actual circumstances that led to his enemy’s death. Both Bāṇabhaṭṭa, whose feelings were deeply shaken at the death of his patron’s brother, and Hiuen-tsang, ⁴ whose pro-Buddhist predilections and personal regard for Harshavardhana are well known, may have found it difficult to restrain their emotions in stating the facts concerning this affair. Bāṇabhaṭṭa’s account bristles with exclamations against the “vilest of Gauḍas” who “has collected only foul shame . . . to the soiling of his own house.” ⁵ In his opinion the Gauḍa King was the meanest of souls, a person most hated of all in the world. ⁶ It is likely that Rājyavardhana was prepared to enter into negotiations for peace with Śaśāṅka, and for this purpose accepted

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 67 ff. ; *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 208 ff.

² *Ibid.*

³ Watters, Vol. I, p. 348.

⁴ He describes Śaśāṅka as “a wicked king . . . a persecutor of Buddhism.”—*Ibid.*

⁵ *HC.*, p. 180.

⁶ “Except the Gauḍa king what man would by such a murder, abhorred of all the world lay such a great sin low?”—*Ibid.*, p. 179. “What now will be the wretch’s fate?”—*Ibid.*, p. 180. Śikhānāda appeals to Harsha to “register a resolve and for the wreck of this meanest of Gauḍas’ life take up the bow.”—*Ibid.*, p. 184. In another passage it is said that “the eastern heaven grew dark, as if alarmed at the Gauḍa’s sin.”—*Ibid.*, p. 216. At any rate it seems certain that the Gauḍa king’s tactics were not above reproach.

an invitation in the enemy's camp.¹ When the discussion resulted in a disagreement on vital points, he may have been seized with a sudden desire for taking the life of his defenceless enemy. Or perhaps there may have been a duel, in which Śaśāṅka had the upper hand. Śaṅkara, a commentator on the Harshacharita, states that the Gauda king invited Rājyavardhana in connection with a proposal of marriage between him and his daughter.² How far this is true is difficult to say as the source of his information is not disclosed. The information about his death furnished by the copper-plates of Harshavardhana is meagre, but the horror of the impression produced by the accounts of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and the Chinese traveller is considerably mitigated when we are only told in these inscriptions that his brother lost his life in keeping with truth in the abode of his enemy.³ Rājyavardhana's death was a sequel to the unfinished peace-talk, but Śaśāṅka's personal responsibility for this incident cannot be correctly determined.

Harsha's biographer informs us that "after his majesty Rājyavardhana was taken to paradise and Kānyakubja was seized by a man named Gupta" Rājyaśrī escaped from *her* prison. As Devagupta had already been defeated before Rājyavardhana's death this Gupta was probably Narendragupta (?) *alias* Śaśāṅka.⁴

¹ Dr. Barnett remarks in this connection that "comparison with the episode of Sivaji and Afzal is obvious."

² IHQ., 1932, p. 12, n. 7.

³ ' . . . prācīn-ujjhitārān-arātibhavane-saty-ānurodhena yaj.' The name of the enemy is not given.

⁴ Translation, p. 324. That the Gupta who seized Kanauj came from Gauda seems to be evidenced by some MSS. of the Harshacharita. In place of "Guptanāmnā cha" in the text "devabhūyash gate deve Rājyavardhane Guptanāmnā cha grihīte Kusasthale," some MSS. read 'Gaudair-grihīte,' see Fabrer's edition of the Harshacharita, p. 303 and note 17. As Śaśāṅka was undoubtedly the king of Gauda at the time, the evidence of these MSS. may suggest his identity with 'Gupta' mentioned in connection with the seizure of Kanauj. Fitz Edward Hall regards this Gupta as the Gauda king, see Vāsavadattā, Bib. Ind., 1859, p. 52.

It is impossible to imagine that Rājyavardhana proceeded to meet Śaśāṅka in Gauda after having crushed the forces led by the Mālwa king. Probably the last-named was approaching towards Thānesar, when he had to confront Rājyavardhana's army. The

But circumstances made it impossible for him to hold Kanauj permanently or to make it a base of further operations against his enemy. A decisive factor was introduced into the Vardhana-Gauḍa conflict by the advent of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa on the scene with an offer of friendship to Harshavardhana conveyed through his ambassador Harisavega.¹ The king of Kāmarūpa was the natural enemy of Gauḍa. It would be dangerous to leave this territory at the mercy of his hostile neighbour in view of the diplomatic alliance now established between Harshavardhana and Bhāskaravarman, and continue the war abroad for a long time. The first phase of the war ended with the death of Grahavarman and the defeat of Devagupta by Rājyavardhana. It entered a second stage when Śaśāṅka came from Gauḍa, killed Rājyavardhana, and took possession of Kanauj. The third phase began with the entrance of Bhāskaravarman into the arena, which probably led to the speedy abandonment of Kanauj by Śaśāṅka and his retreat towards home. What happened to the Gauḍa king after this is not narrated in the Harshacharita, nor does Hieun-tsang say anything

meeting between Śaśāṅka and the latter may have been arranged at a place not very distant from the scene of operations where the Mālwa king had been repulsed. After Rājya's death the Gauḍa king may have captured Kanauj. The Gupta after whose seizure of this territory Rājyaśrī was restored to her freedom cannot be the same as the Mālwa king (Devagupta), since her escape took place also after the death of Rājyavardhana who had already defeated him completely. There is also another point against this identification. Rājyaśrī appears to have been cast into prison after the death of Grahavarman which was planned by the Mālwa king. He cannot, therefore, be the same person as the Gupta referred to in the passage, whose occupation of her deceased husband's territory preceded her release. In this connection the story of her emancipation as given in Uchchhvāsa VIII of the Harshacharita also supports the view that Kanauj had been subjected to troubles created by the Gauḍa king. Rājyaśrī here is reported to have said that she was sent away from Kānyakubja from her confinement there during the Gauḍa trouble (*Kānyakubja-Gauḍa-saṃhrame guptito . . .*).—HC. (Translation), p. 250 and note 2).

¹ For the genealogy of his family given by Bīṣabhatta see HC. (Translation), p. 17. It is stated that "from childhood upwards it was this prince's firm resolution never to do homage to any being except the lotus feet of Śiva." His father had died only a few days before the despatch reached Harsha. See *Ibid.*, p. 223. "An imperishable alliance" between the two powers was wanted (p. 218) evidently for the purpose of keeping Gauḍa under check.

about his subsequent career and possible conflict with the forces of Harsha. It was arranged by the young successor of Rājyavardhana that his nephew Bhāṇḍi should advance against the lord of Gauḍa ¹ while his attention was to be given to a close search for his sister, whose whereabouts were not known at the time.

Certain verses embodied in the Māñjuśrīmūlakalpa (vv. 715-75) ² regarding the relationship between a king of the name Soma (Śaśāṅka), a unique hero (*Somākhyo'pi ato rājā cakāro bharishyati*), whose sway extended from the bank of the Ganges to Benares, and a ruler whose name began with the letter 'Ha' (Harshavardhana), the younger brother of the 'Ra-initialled' king of *madhyadeśa* (Rājya), are taken as describing an incident which happened after the period that closes with the account given in the Harshacharita. From the story narrated in this work it appears that Harsha himself with a large army proceeded towards the east and arrived in Puṇḍra (i.e., Puṇḍravardhana), the best of cities, when he killed and oppressed people by way of punishing Soma whom he defeated and warned not to transgress the limits of his own territory (*parājayāmāsa Somākhyam dushṭa-karm-ānuchārīṇam | tato nishiddhaḥ Somākhyo sraśeśen-āvatishṭhataḥ ||*). The net result of Harsha's expedition was perhaps that a treaty was concluded between the two kings, by which each promised to respect the integrity of the other's territory. A complete discomfiture of Śaśāṅka was not effected though that may have been the aim prompting the invasion. Hiuen-tsang would not have kept silent about the incident had it brought any substantial advantage to Harsha against one whom he brands as a persecutor of Buddhism.

Before this programme was settled, Harsha in response to exhortations of his ministers had taken a stern resolution to

¹ Harsha is thus said to have addressed Bhāṇḍi: "What care I for other seekers? Where she is gone, I myself, abandoning all other calls, will go. Your honour also must take the army and advance against the Gauḍa."—P. 224.

² See Text, Imperial History, pp. 58-54.

"clear this earth of Gaudas." ¹ Probably, however, at a later stage it was considered inexpedient to risk an immediate engagement with Śaśāṅka. Whatever effort may have been made either by Harsha or his ally Bhāskaravarman, Śaśāṅka could not be ousted from his territories. Being forced to abandon his scheme of expansion in the west, Śaśāṅka found a fresh outlet for his military energy in the east. It was probably after the close of his war with Thānesar that he extended his power in the Kalinga territory. The Ganjām Plates show that a *Mahāsāmanta* named Sainyabhita Mādhavavarman, associated with the Koṅgoda-maṇḍala ² of the Madras Presidency, acknowledged his imperial overlordship in A.D. 619. This region most probably corresponded to Kong-u-t'o mentioned by Hiuen-tsang, which Cunningham supposed to be identical with Ganjām, and which, according to Fergusson, was ' somewhere between Kuttack and Aska ' (in the Ganjām district). It will be reasonable to infer from the evidence of the various grants ³ of the *Mahāsāmanta*'s family that the Koṅgoda-maṇḍala constituted a province which ' extended from the southern bank of the Mahānadi and included within it the

¹ The approaching Gauda War (āgāmi-Gaudavigraha . . .) was the topic of the day. See HC. (Trans.), p. 209.

² The Ganjām Plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 148 ff.) belonging to the reign of Śaśāṅka (mahārājādhirāja, Śrī-Śaśāṅka-rāja) are dated in G. E. 800. His mahāsāmanta in Koṅgoda 'cf. Koṅgoda-maṇḍala in the two grants of Dandimahādevi, Ep. Ind. VI, p. 133) was Sainyabhita Mādhavavarman, son of mahārāja Ayaśobhita and grandson of mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja. He was like the lotus unto the Śīlodbhava family (Śīlodbhava-kulakamata). In the Buguḍa plates and others the name of the dynasty is given as Śīlodbhava, see Ep. Ind., III, p. 41.

³ Besides the Ganjām and Buguḍa Plates noticed above, there are four other complete grants of the Śīlodbhavas, viz., the Khurda Plates of Mādhavarāja (JASB., Vol. LXIII, Pt. I, p. 282 ff.), the Pārikud Plates of Madhyamarājadeva (Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 284 ff.), the Kopḍedḍa grant of Dharmarāja (ibid., XIX, p. 267 ff.) and the Mivine grant of Dharmarājadeva (ibid., XXI, Pt. I, p. 34 ff.) To this list are to be added two incomplete records, viz., the Puri Plate of Mādhavavarman Sainyabhita (Sripilāsa)—Sāhitya (a defunct Bengali journal), 1819 B.S., p. 895; Tekkali Plate of the time of Madhyamarāja—JBORS., IV, pp. 166 ff.

northern portion of Ganjām ' ¹ The territory over which Śaśāṅka ruled, was, according to the Ganjām Plates, 'surrounded by the girdle of the waves of the water of the four oceans, together with islands, mountains and cities.'

An additional source of information regarding Śaśāṅka's reign is presented by his coins. One coin found at Mahammadpur in the Jessore district ² was attributed by Allan and Smith to him but recent researches seem to prove that this ascription is wrong. In V. A. Smith's catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum notice has been taken of eight coins belonging to Śaśāṅka.³ They all represent the usual type associated with his name (Śiva or king reclining to left on bull with left hand uplifted, holding an object, moon above on left. On right *Śrī-Sa*, below *jayah*—obverse; Goddess Lakṣmī facing, seated on lotus, holding lotus in left hand which rests on knee, with right hand, outstretched; above on either side elephant sprinkling water over her; on r. *Śrī Śaśāṅkaḥ*—rev.). Śaśāṅka's coins follow the weight-standard adopted by his Gupta predecessors. Some of these show a distinct deterioration in the quality of gold, which may indicate that the later period of his reign was not free from troubles weighing on his financial resources. He held his possessions against difficult odds; and although he may

¹ N. P. Chakravarti, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 34 f. He also suggests that the name of the river Śālīmā in the neighbourhood of whose bank the *Koṭṛoda-maṇḍala* was situated, may be traced 'in the small river Śālīā which is fed by the Chikā lake.'

² CCIM., Vol. I, p. 122; JASB., 1852, Pl. XII, 12. The reverse legend on this coin of the *Rājāśītā* (or the Throned King) type was read as 'Śrī Narendrāditya.' Mr. Allan concluded that Śaśāṅka's other name was not Narendragupta, but Narendrāditya, see CCGDBM., p. lxiv. Another coin of unknown provenance (see CCIM., Vol. I, p. 120, Pl. XVI, 11) with the reverse legend "Narendravinaṭa" was also regarded as a specimen of Śaśāṅka's coinage, see CCGDBM., *ibid.* R. D. Banerjee maintains that the legend on both the coins is Narendravinaṭa, see *ARS*, 1913-14, p. 250. One of these probably gives the name of Samāchāradeva in the obverse legend, s. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 79-80. A new coin of Śaśāṅka obtained from Mahanad in the Hooghly district has been added to the cabinet of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

³ The figure on the obverse is that of Śiva. V. A. Smith takes it to be a representation of the King. CCIM., pp. 121-22, Pl. XVI, 12; CCGDBM., pp. 147-48, Pl. XXIII, 14-16, Pl. XXIV, 1-3.

have died in the full enjoyment of an empire extending from Bihār to Ganjām in the Madras Presidency, occasional outbreaks of hostilities with Harsha or his ally during the later part of his reign were probably unavoidable.

Śaśāṅka was the master of a considerable empire comprising Bihār and Gauḍa (probably including North Bengal) and extending in the south-east up to Ganjām. Although he may have owed his descent to the Gupta family, he was a Bengal king *par excellence*. The centre of his empire was in Western Bengal at Raṅgāmaṭi in the district of Murshidabād. He left an indelible impression on the history of his time. The rapidity of his action as shown in his probable attack on Kanauj seemed to have roused up hopes in the minds of many contemporary rulers. Already there were signs of the Gauḍa-Thāṇesir conflict assuming the shape of a general movement against the Vardhanas. The gravity of the situation is indicated in a passage in the Harshacharita where *Senāpati* Simhanada exhorts the youthful Harsha to courageous action in a few significant words: "Think not, therefore, of the Gauḍa king alone. So deal that . . . no other follow his example—these mock conquerors, these would-be lovers of the whole earth."¹ In another passage Harshavaradhana is reported to have said: "I swear that unless in a limited number of days I clear the earth of the Gauḍas and make it resound with fetters on the feet of all kings who are excited to insolence then will I hurl my sinful self, like a moth, into an oil-fed flame . . .".² Śaśāṅka failed to attain his immediate objective; but Harsha's vigour, stimulated by opposition, was displayed in persistent warlike activity carried on for the first six years of his reign. He overran the Five Indies, dashed the hopes of "mock conquerors" and far extended the limits of his inherited empire which had at the time of his accession been almost engulfed in ruin. Śaśāṅka's failure meant the success of an empire that represented the history of Northern India for a period of about forty years under Harsha. By his

¹ HC., (Trans.), p. 185.

² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

expedition against Kanauj he opened a new chapter in the history of Bengal, a chapter in which by a series of events the relations between the two countries assumed an importance unknown before. In the next century a Kanauj king killed a Gauda ruler and about a century later a king of Bengal had the satisfaction of placing his own nominee on the throne of a country that had humiliated her in the past. Early in the tenth century, again, a Kanauj king established a temporary authority in the very heart of the Gauda empire. Śaśāṅka's career came to a close some time between A.D. 619 and 637. Hiuen-tsang, visiting Karna-suvarṇa in the latter year, refers to him as a recent king. But he does not name the ruler of this territory during the time of the visit. According to the Sanskrit text of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* he appears to have ruled for 17 years, 1 month and 7 or 8 days (v. 732), but this information need not be regarded as strictly correct. Furthermore his death is reported to have been brought about by the application of some magic (*mr̥ito mantra-prayoga*—v. 734),¹ which was probably resorted to for ending the mortal trouble caused by an unspecified disease in the mouth. Consequently, it may be inferred that after Śaśāṅka's death his kingdom was annexed to Harshavardhana's empire. The Chinese pilgrim does not also say who was ruling Puṇḍravardhana or Tāmralipta when these territories were visited by him. The conclusion may be drawn that a considerable part of Bengal came to be included in the Kanauj Empire before Harsha's death. The complete establishment of his authority in the east probably dated about 643 A.D. when he undertook a successful expedition against Gaṅgām, the region which had formerly acknowledged the supremacy of the deceased Śaśāṅka. Affairs in eastern countries appear to have been in a disturbed condition when Harsha at the termination of his campaign in the Gaṅgām country held a court at Kajāṅgala to the east of Champā (Bhāgalpur).² According to the testimony of Hiuen-tsang the country of Kajāṅgala,

¹ *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II, p. 192.

² See Text in K. P. Jaysawal's *Imperial History*, p. 54.

which had been ruled by a neighbouring state, became desolate after the death of its king and "most of the people were scattered in villages and hamlets." This king was most probably Pūrṇavarman of Magadha, who died shortly after Harsha's conquest of Ganjām (643 A.D.).¹ After the obsequies of Pūrṇavarman, Śilāditya Rājā offered to a Buddhist priest 'the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa' which seem to have come under his possession in consequence of his recent military victory. It is difficult to see how it was possible for Harsha to exercise control over the different portions of Bengal while Pūrṇavarman was ruling over Bihār. The latter may have recognised the Kanauj emperor as his suzerain. On his return from Ganjām and after Pūrṇavarman's death, Śilāditya built a palace at Kajaṅgala and made definite arrangements in regard to the administration of the different states in the east. It was on this occasion that he probably installed on the throne of Bihār his friend Mādhavagupta,² who inaugurated a new line of rulers that continued to govern the province for a considerable period of time. There is no evidence to show in what manner the authority of Harsha was exercised in Bengal. After his death his empire was seized by Arjuna, who had served under him as a minister, but his rule was very brief. The Chinese Mission under Wang-Hiuen-Tse, supported by armies from Nepāl and the Tibetan king, Srong-Tsan-Gampo, stormed the chief-city of Tirhut and overthrew Arjuna, who was later despatched to China. Bhāskaravarman rendered help to the Chinese cause and may have obtained some part of Bengal as a reward for his co-operation. His Nidhanpur copper-plates were issued from his

¹ Beal, *Life*, p. 154. The Bodhi Tree destroyed by Śaśāṅka was "brought back to life" by Pūrṇavarman; see Watters, II, p. 115. M. L. Ettinghausen's Table places Pūrṇavarman as the king of Western Magadha at c. 500 A. D.; see Harshavardhana, *Empereur et Poète*, 1906, p. 8. During the period of Śaśāṅka's supremacy in the east, it was perhaps impossible for him to rule as an independent monarch in Bihār.

² See the Aphaṣṣ ins. of Ādityasena, CII., Vol. III, No. 42, p. 209.

victorious camp pitched at Karpasuvārṇa (Raṅgāmāṭi in the Murshidābād district) for the purpose of renewing certain grants of lands made by his great-grandfather, Chandramukhavarman. An allusion is made in these copper-plates to the victory achieved by the king with the help of his army, consisting of ships, elephants, horses and foot-soldiers (*mahānau-hasty-aśva-patty-sampatty-upatta-jaya-śabd-ānvārtha*—cf. Banskbera Plate). The military operations implied in the passage may have been undertaken in aid of the Chinese usurper.¹ It may be pointed out that the interest taken by Bhāskaravarman in Chinese politics dated earlier than his alliance with the usurper, as was shown in his conversation with Hiuen-tsang when he attended the court of Kāmarūpa at the invitation of its king.² The Nidhanpur copper-plates,³ Bāṇa's Harshacharita and a Nālanda Seal furnish us with the genealogy of Bhāskaravarman's family. The Harshacharita supplies the names of Bhāskaravarman and his four predecessors. The earliest name presented by it is that of *Maḥārāja* Bhūtivarman. He was succeeded by Chandra-mukhavarman, whose son Sthitivarman was the father of Susthivarman. His *biruda* was Mrigāṅka and his son by Śyāmādevī was Bhāskaravarman, the ally of Harshavardhana. It may be noted in this connection that Bāṇa mentions Bhagadatta, Pushpadatta and Vajradatta as former kings of Kāmarūpa.¹ The Nidhanpur copper-plates give a more complete genealogy, carrying the history of Bhāskara's descent further back by six generations. The dynasty seems to have been founded by Pushyavarman (v. 7). His son Samudravarman (v. 8) married

¹ The Tibetan control over India and Nepāl which followed the usurper's success was thrown off in A.D. 708, see E. H. Parker, China, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society, 1911, p. 133.

² The King once said to the pilgrim: "At present in various states of India a song has been heard for some time called 'The Music of the Conquests of Ch'in (Tsin) wang of Mahachina'—this refers to your Reverence's native country . . . I presume." The pilgrim replied: "Yes, this song praises my sovereign's excellences!"—Watters, Vol. I, p. 348; Ind. Ant., 1878, p. 199.

³ ASI., 1917-18, p. 44; Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 65 ff; XIX, pp. 115 ff., 245 ff. For some observations on these plates by Padmanābha Bhattacharya, see IHQ., 1937, pp. 839-40 ff.

Dattadevī (v. 9). Their son was Balavarman (v. 9) who married Ratnāvātī (v. 10). His son and successor Kalyaṇavarman (v. 10) married Gandharvavatī (v. 11). The next king Gaṇapati, who married Yajñavatī, was the father of Mahendravarman (v. 12), the husband of Suvratā (v. 13). Their son Nārayaṇavarman (v. 13) took for his wife Devavatī who gave birth to the next king Mahābhūtarman (v. 14), to be identified with Bhūtivarman mentioned in the Harshacharita. His wife's name is given in the Nidhanpur plates as Vijñānavatī (v. 15). The next name which is the same as in the Harshacharita is that of Chandramukha, whose wife was called Bhogavatī (v. 16). The name of Bhāskara's grandfather is slightly different from the variants furnished in Bāṇa's work (Sthitavarman—v. 16 ; cf. Sthitivarman and Sthiravarman of the Harshacharita). His queen was named Nayanadevī (v. 18). In regard to their son it may be observed that the Nidhanpur inscription, which is also acquainted with his *biruda* Mrigāṅka (vv. 17-18),² mentions him under the name of Susthitavarman, while it is given as Susthiravarman in the Harshacharita. The Nidhanpur form is also present in the Aṃṣaḍ inscription. We learn from the former source that Bhāskara-varman had an elder brother called Supratishṭhitavarman (vv. 20-21 —*Supratishṭhita-kāṭakasya kulāchalasy-aiva . . . tasy-ānūja . . .*). It is interesting to note that the Harshacharita, describing Bhāskaravarman as Bhāskaradyuti, agrees with the Nidhanpur inscription, which compares his prowess to that of the brilliance of the sun (*bhāskaram-iva tejasām nilayam*—v. 22). The revised reading of the inscription on the Nālandā Seal³ by R. D. Banerjee shows that it contains a genealogical table relating to this Varman dynasty of Kāmarūpa. The letters in the inscription are far from distinct, but it is probable that it starts the

¹ HC., *op. cit.*, p. 217. The names of Naraka, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta are also be found in the Nidhanpur plates (vv. 4-6), see Ep. Ind., XII, p. 73. Their family is said to have ruled for three thousand years.

² Ep. Ind., XII, p. 74.

³ R. D. Banerjee, JBORS., 1919, pp. 302-04; K. N. Dikshit, *ibid.*, 1920, pp. 161-4 ASI., 1917-18, p. 44.

genealogy from Gaṇapati-varman and gives the names of the successive queens. The dynasty of Bhāskaravarman was founded, according to Gait, about the middle of the 5th century A. D., but it is more likely that its origin is to be placed a little earlier.¹ Being its nearest neighbour, the House was naturally antagonistic to Gauḍa. Its alliance with the Vardhana dynasty dwarfed the imperial ambition of Śāsāṅka, and subsequently, the confusion into which Harsha's empire was plunged after his death, was an advantage which was fully exploited by Bhāskaravarman in establishing a brief domination in Gauḍa.² His reign came to an end about 650 A. D.

The history of Bengal from now onwards till the advent of the Pālas presents a series of invasions from outside attracted by internal chaos and disorder. During the earlier part of this period a ruling family, which had already established its sway, flourished in Eastern Bengal, but there is not much evidence to show that it ever exercised its authority over the whole of the country. The main source of our information regarding this 'dynasty is the Ashrafpur Plates,³ written in incorrect Sanskrit, to each of which is attached a seal containing the legend *Śrīmad-Devakhaḍga*. Devakhaḍga, in whose reign these plates were engraved, belonged to a dynasty founded by Khaḍgodyama, who seems to have carved out an independent principality for the enjoyment of his family (*kshītir-iyam-abhito nirjitā yena*, l. 4, Plate B). His son and successor was Jātakhaḍga. He is said to have destroyed multitudes of enemies through his heroism (*kshītipatir-abhavat-yena sarv-ā-ri-saṁgho-vidhvastaḥ śūrabhārāt-triṇaṁ-iva marutā dantīnev-āśva-*

¹ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 68.

² Pandit Padmanāth Bhattacharya has advanced a theory that the Nidhanpur Plates show that they were issued at the time when he was helping Harshavardhana in conquering Kāraṇavarpa, see *IEQ.*, III, 1927, p. 839; *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvallī*, pp. 5, 9. But we do not know when, if ever, the Kanauj emperor made such an attempt. There is no mention of any such fact in the Plates.

³ Ed. by Gangamohan Laskar in *MASS.*, Vol. I, p. 85 ff. See also R. L. Mitra, for Plate A, *Proc. ASB.*, 1895, p. 49 ff., and for Plate B, *Proc. ASB.*, 1890, pp. 242-48; Hoernle, *ibid.*, 1891, p. 119-20.

vṛindam (ll. 5-6, Plate B). His son Devakhaḍga is called 'narapati' (l. 6., Plate B). In Plate A it is said that his footstool was illumined by the jewels on multitudes of heads of numberless rulers of the earth (*jayaty-aśeṣa-kshitipāla-mu-(mau)li-mālā-maṇi-dyotita-pādapīṭha*—1.2). It may be supposed that both Jātakhaḍga and Devakhaḍga succeeded in extending their kingdom to a certain extent. Devakhaḍga's wife was Mahādevī Śrī Prabhāvatī, whose name is given in copper-plate A from Ashrafpur. The son of the third king by Prabhāvatī was Rājarāja, who figures as the heir-apparent in the two inscriptions (*tat-suto*—Pl. B). In Plate A he is called Rājarāja-bhaṭṭa (l. 13—Rājarājabhaṭṭasya), and in the other his name is given simply as Rājarāja. In Plate B Śrī Yajñavarman acts in the capacity of the *dūtaka*. The two records were written (*likhitam*) by the same artist—*Paramasaugata* Puradāsa. Plate B mentions one Uḍirṇakhaḍga, but his relationship with the family is not known. The Plates were issued from the victorious headquarters at Karmānta, probably to be identified with the modern village of Baḍkamta (*Jaya-Karmānta-vāsakāt*),¹ twelve miles west of the town of Comilla in Eastern Bengal. The names of Khaḍgodyama, Jātakhaḍga, Devakhaḍga and Prabhāvatī are also preserved in the Sarvāṇī Image-Inscription,² found several years ago in a village called Deulbāḍi, about 14 miles south of Comilla. This record describes Prabhāvatī as the queen-consort of Devakhaḍga (*rājñas-tasya mahādevī mahishī*), the son of Jātakhaḍga whose father Khaḍgodyama was 'an overlord of kings' (*nrip-ādhi-rāja*). Devakhaḍga is said to have been a powerful monarch who distinguished himself by his martial success (*pratāpo . . . vijit-āri-khaḍgaḥ*). N. K. Bhattasali thinks that Ashrafpur where the two plates of the family were recovered and Deulbāḍi, the find-spot of the present inscription, marked respectively the

¹ JASB. (N. S.), Vol. X. p. 65; Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 35.

² N. K. Bhattasali has edited this insc. in Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, pp. 357-59.

western and the eastern limit of Samatāṭa—the kingdom of the Khadgas.

Some data are available for fixing the time of these records. Both the Plates are dated. According to Hoernle¹ and most scholars they were both engraved in the year 13. Either this is to be taken as a regnal year or it should be referred to an era not specified in the documents themselves. It is held by Hoernle that the date of the Ashrafpur Plates is to be connected with the Newar era. It would thus correspond to about 893 A.D. R. L. Mitra, through an oversight pointed out by Hoernle, read the date as 713. R. C. Majumdar is of the opinion that the date of the first plate is the year 13, while the year mentioned in the second is either 73 or 79.² According to him the first date is a regnal year, but the second is to be assigned to the Harsha era (= A.D. 679 or 685). R. D. Banerjee³ takes both the records to be dated in the same year, viz., 13, but he assigns them on paleographical grounds to the 9th century A.D. It does not, however, appear difficult to be convinced of the comparatively early character of the script used in the Ashrafpur Plates.⁴ A prominent feature of it is that the tops of such letters as *p*, *m*, *y*, *s*, etc., are not closed, but almost quite open. Some of the letters preserve their tails (*cf.* *y*, *m*, *g*, etc.). The older form of *k* along with the looped form, as seen in the Bodhi-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman,⁵ has been used. The letter *t* is of less advanced form than its prototype in the Khalimpur inscription (early 9th century A.D.). The looped form of *m* has not yet made its appearance. The conclusion arrived at by this writer is that the characters of the Ashrafpur Plates are more allied to those of the Madhuban and Banskhera Plates of Harsha than even the Shāhpur or Aphsāḍ inscription of

¹ Proc. ASB., 1891, p. 119.

² JASB. (N. S.), XIX, 1923, pp. 375-79.

³ Bāṅlār Itihās, p. 233.

⁴ JASB. (N. S.), 1914, Vol. X, p. 812 ff; XIX, pp. 377-79; Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 357.

⁵ CIL., Vol. III, No. 71. This comparison is defective in so far as it concerns inscription on different materials.

Ādityasena (A.D. 673). Probably some light is thrown on the chronological position of the dynasty by the Chinese accounts of the 7th century A.D. The existence of a Brahmanical dynasty in Samatāṭa is suggested by the evidence of Hiuen-tsang's itinerary, which refers to his contemporary Silabhadra,¹ the abbot of the Nālandā monastery, as belonging to this royal family. A later reference to the political history of Samatāṭa is to be found in the account, given by I-ting, of several pilgrims from China who came to India² after Hiuen-tsang, but before he himself took ship in 671 A.D. Among these Chinese visitors I-ting in his memoirs refers to Seng-chi, a priest and a companion of Ling-wan, who came to India 'by the southern sea route and arrived at Samatāṭa.' The king of this country at the time of his visit was Rājabhāṭa, who was a Buddhist *Upāsika*. The Buddhist prince Rājarājabhāṭa, the son of Devakhaḍḍa of Eastern Bengal, may be held to be identical with this Rājabhāṭa, who was ruling Samatāṭa some time before A.D. 671. His family may have originally been Brahmanical as mentioned by Hiuen-tsang, but it later associated itself with the cause of Buddhism. Thus the attribution of the Khadga dynasty to the 7th century A.D. may be supported on several important grounds: firstly, the evidence of paleography, secondly, the family's association with Eastern Bengal, where a settled government is definitely known to have prevailed during the period from an independent source, viz., the Chinese accounts, and thirdly, the similarity of name between Rājarājabhāṭa and Rājabhāṭa, to which should be added the fact that both are represented as Buddhists.³ If the reference in I-ting's account is to be applied to Rājarājabhāṭa, it is impossible to

¹ Watters, Vol. II, pp. 109, 166, 227.

² Beal, *Life*, Intro., pp. xxv, xl

³ The theory of an earlier date for the dynasty than the one proposed by R. D. Banerjee is generally accepted. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, JASS. (N. S.), XIX, p. 378; M. K. Bhattachali, JASS. (N. S.), 1914, p. 83; Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 268; R. G. Baner, *Sanskrit* 1931 (B.S.), pp. 400-89; N. N. Vasu, *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa*, p. 147 n.

agree with Dr. R. C. Mazumdar,¹ who holds that one of the Ashrafpur Plates is dated in the year 73 or 79 of the Harsha era. The Plate seems to have been engraved during the reign of Rājārājabhaṭṭa's father Devakhaḍga, but as the former had occupied the throne before I-tsing's visit (A.D. 671-673), there cannot be any truth in the argument that the latter was alive years after his accession. The fact that Rājabhāṭa was fourth in descent makes it highly probable that the dynasty was established in the first quarter of the 7th century A.D., which approximately corresponded to the time of the end of the reign of the East Bengal king Samācharadeva. It has been suggested that he was a Brahmin by caste. The ruling family of Samatāṭa in the first half of the 7th century A.D. was Brahminical according to the testimony of Hiuen-tsang. It is, therefore, likely that in East Bengal one Brahmin dynasty was succeeded by another. The circumstances responsible for the expiration of Samācharadeva's authority or that of the family represented by him are unknown, but the Mahākūṭa (Bādāmi) pillar inscription,² dated in the fifth year of the reign of the Western Chālukya king Raṇavikrānta (probably 601-2 A.D.) records that Kīrtivarman I defeated the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kalinga, Vaṭṭūra and Magadha. The account may be fictitious, for in the Aihole inscription³ of Pulakeśin II (A.D. 634) he is spoken of as having vanquished the Nālas, Mauryas and Kadambas only. If it is true that the Chālukya king successfully invaded Vaṅga, it may have seriously affected the fortunes of Samācharadeva, which was soon taken advantage of by Khadgadyama. The evidence of Śaśāṅka's reign in Eastern Bengal is not of a conclusive character.

The Later Guptas of Magadha seem to have held control of some part of Bengal after the passing away of Bhāskaravarman

¹ He identifies Devakhaḍga with Devavarman mentioned by I-tsing, see JASS., XIX, p. 378 and n. 8. For Devavarman, see Beal, *Life*, Intro., xxxvi-vii.

² *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 16.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 4 ff. and plate.

(c. A.D. 650). We have already said that this family was re-instated in the east by Harsavardhana when he installed his associate on the throne of Magadha. The Aphsāḍ (Jāfarpur) inscription of Ādityasena¹ refers to this connection with the Kanauj emperor—*Śrī-Harshadeva-nija-sa(m)gama-vāñchhayā*—l. 15. His son by his wife Śrīmatī was *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Ādityasena (Aphsāḍ, Deo-Baraṇārka and Mandar inscriptions). The Aphsāḍ inscription of her son records among other things the building of a monastery by *mahādevī Śrīmatī (taj-jananyā mahādevyā Śrīmatyā kārīto mathaḥ*—l. 24, cf. *Paramabhaṭṭārikāyām rājñyām mahādevyām śrī-Śrīmatyām-utpannaḥ*—l. 2, Deo-Baraṇārka).² The Aphsāḍ (in the Gayā district) Shāhpur³ (near Bihār town on the right bank of the Sakarī river), and the Mandar Hill Rock (in the Bhāgalpur district) inscriptions⁴ belong to Ādityasena's reign. He is further known from the Deo-Baraṇārka inscription of his great-grandson Jivitagupta II, which starts the genealogy from Ādityasena's father Mādhavagupta. The Shāhpur inscription recording the foundation of an image at Nālandā (?) is dated in the year 66 of an unspecified era, which is probably the same as the one introduced by Harshavardhana. Thus Ādityasena is found to have been alive in A.D. 672-73. His wife was *Paramabhaṭṭārikā Śrīkoṇadevī*, who excavated a tank, as recorded in the Aphsāḍ—*priy-bhāryayā narapateḥ śrī-Koṇadevyā*—l. 26 and the Mandar inscription—*Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mah(ā)r(ā)j(ā)dhirāja śrī-Ād(i)tyasenadera-dayit(ā) parama-bhaṭṭārik(ā)-r(ā)jñī-mahād(e)vī-śrī K(o)ṇad(e)vī*.

In the Deoghar (originally Mandār Hill) inscription⁵ her name appears as Koshadevī (l. 4). The extent of Ādityasena's territorial sovereignty cannot be determined with precision, but it may be

¹ CII., Vol. III, No. 42, p. 200 ff.

² *Ibid.*, No. 46, p. 213 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 43, p. 208 ff.

⁴ Nos. 44 and 45, p. 211 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 212-13, n; JASB, LII, Pt. I, pp. 192-93.

inferred from the imperial titles assumed by him that he succeeded in reviving the power of the Guptas to a considerable extent. (In the dated Shāhpur inscription his name is to be found without any titles attached to it—*Śrī-Ādityasenadēva-rājye*—ll. 2-3). It is to be noted, however, that the inscriptions of the family during the period under review all come from Bihār. Ādityasena¹ described as the foremost of kings (*kṣhitīśa-chuḍāmaṇiḥ*—l. 16 [Āphsāḍ])—who destroyed the power of all his enemies (*sakalā-ripu-va(ba)la-dhvaṃsa-hetur*—ll. 20-21), and by whose white umbrella the whole circuit of the earth was covered (*śr[e]t-āta-patra-sthagita-rasumatī-maṇḍalo*—l. 21). If the evidence of a later inscription to be found at the Vaidyanāth Temple at Deoghar in the Santhal Parganas is to be believed, he performed the *Aśvamedha* and many other sacrifices, and visited the Chola city, and his sovereignty extended up to the shores of the oceans (*samudrānta-rasundharāyān*). The Aphsāḍ inscription was composed by Sūkshmaśiva, a native of Gauḍa (*Sūkshmaśivena Gauḍaṇa prasastir-rvikaṭ-ākṣasā*—l. 27). The usual imperial titles continued to be used by the successors of Ādityasena. His son was Devagupta, who married Kamalādevī (*mahādevī*). He was succeeded by his son Vishnugupta. The dynasty of the latter Guptas closed with Jivitagupta II, Vishnugupta's son by his queen Ijjādevī. The Deo-Baraṇpār inscription was issued during his reign from his victorious camp near Gomatikotṭaka, situated on the banks of the river Gumti, which flows into the Ganges near Benares and Ghazipur. He held Nagarabhukti (Patna division) where in a former age the Maukhari kings Sarvavarman and Avantivarman had ruled (l. 15). The later Gupta dynasty had to contend against powerful enemies and its authority was repeatedly jeopardised by pressure from outside, which must have been one of the potent causes of its downfall. One of these Gupta monarchs, probably Devagupta, sustained a

¹ I-tsing's account refers to 'Sun-Army' (Ādityasena) as a king who recently built a temple at Bodhi-Gayā—see Beal, *Life*, Intro., p. xxxvi.

defeat at the hands of the Western Chālukya king Vinayāditya, who ascended the throne of his father Vikramāditya in S. 602 (A. D. 680).¹ Vinayāditya, as it appears from the grants of his successors, 'came into hostile contact with an Emperor of Northern India' whose name is not given. His latest inscription dated A.D. 694 does not mention this event. It may be concluded that his North-Indian expedition was undertaken with the assistance of his son Vijayāditya shortly before A. D. 696 when his reign terminated. As the existence of no other paramount ruler in Northern India during the period is known, it seems reasonable to assume that Vinayāditya's operations were directed against his contemporary of the later Gupta family. His campaign proved successful, as he is said to have forced his enemy to surrender to the victor all the tokens of his paramount supremacy. In the first half of the 8th century Kāmarūpa appears to have suddenly developed into a respectable political power. It is stated in a Kātmāṇḍu² inscription of the Nepāl king Jayadeva Parachakrakāma that he married Rājyamati, the daughter of Harsha. She is described as "the noble descendant of Bhagadatta's royal line" (*Bhagadatta-rājakulajā*), which suggests that Harsha was a king of Kāmarūpa. According to this inscription he enjoyed the mastery of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kalinga, Kośala, etc. The date of the inscription is A.D. 748 or 759 (153 Harsha era). Further light is thrown on the period occupied by his reign in the genealogical account of Jayadeva as given in this epigraph. The latter's mother Vatsadevi was a daughter of the Maukharī Bhogavarman,³ who had married a daughter of Ādityasena (*dauhitri Magadh-ādhipasya*). Thus Harsha's daughter was the wife of Āditya-

¹ Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 189, 268, 371; Ind. Ant., IX, pp. 127, 131; B. G. Bhaskarar, Early History of the Deccan, p. 98, Notes, p. 252.

² Ind. Ant., IX, pp. 178-88; Kielhorn's Northern List, No. 541. Re. date, see *Le Nepal*, II, 170.

³ The HC. refers to a Maukharī Kabatavarman who was killed by some people masquerading as birds (Maukhar), see Bhān Dāji, JSBAS., X, 1875, p. 44.

senā's grand-daughter's son. On the strength of this information it may be inferred that the Kāmarūpa kin was a contemporary of Ādityasena's grandson Vishnugupta. The alleged conquest of Gauḍa by Harsha, if it was not directly the outcome of a conflict with the Gupta emperor of Magadha, at any rate put a curb on his power and erected a strong barrier against him in the east. The Tezpur grant of Vanamāla refers to Śrī Harisha,¹ who was probably identical with this Kāmarūpa king. There is some likelihood that he was a member of the dynasty founded by Śālastambha after the death of Bhāskaravarman about the middle of the 7th century.

The chronological order of these events, of which only fragmentary information is available, cannot be exactly ascertained. From another record we learn that Bengal was unable to resist a second invader during this period. The attack was made this time by a member of the Śaila dynasty and proved disastrous to the ruler of Paundra, as recorded in the Ragholi Plates of Jayavardhana II² (*prakhyāto bhuri Śailavamśa-tīlakah*). The dynasty was founded by Śrīvardhana I, whose successor Prithu-wardhana had three sons, one of whom killed the king of Paundra and conquered the whole of his territory. Another son of this king defeated the lord of Kāśī. Some idea of the locale and the importance of the family can be formed from the details given in the Ragholi Plates. Jayavardhana II, to whose reign the Plates belong, is himself styled a *Paramēśvara mahārājādhirāja*. His grandfather Jayavardhana I killed the lord of the Vindhya region and made his residence there. His son Śrīvardhana has been given the epithet *Vindhyeśvara*. As the characters of the Ragholi Plates agree with those of the Paithān grant³ of the Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda III, dated A.D. 794, these must be assigned to the latter

¹ The Tezpur copper-plate of Vanamāla's father Harjara mentions Harshavarman. This name is supposed to be the same as Harisha, which is to be found in Vanamāla's Tezpur copper-plate. See *IHQ.*, 1927, p. 843, n. 1; Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī, pp. 48, 60.

² *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 46 f.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 106 f.

part of the eighth century. Now, Jayavardhana II, who issued these plates, was removed by three generations from the conqueror of Paundra, being the great-grandson of his brother who had inflicted a defeat on the Kāśī king. It is clear, therefore, that the Paundra King was slain at the hands of the Śaila invader (*Paundr-ādhipam kshamāpatim hatt-aiko vishayam . . . sakalam jagrāha*) some time in the first half of the eighth century A. D. If the country was under the aegis of the Later Guptas of Magadha at the time, it is evident that this connection proved ineffective in checking aggressive attacks by enemies from outside. It is probable that the Later Gupta dynasty was ultimately destroyed by Yaśovarman, the king of Kanauj, who sent a mission to China (A. D. 731), and whose military exploits have been described with a force of realism in the famous Prakrit work *Gauḍavaho* by Vākpati. The poet had formerly been associated with the king of Gauḍa, who was later killed in battle by the Kanauj monarch.¹ There is reason to believe that Yaśovarman himself was later slain by Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa of Kashmīr, although the author of the *Rājataranginī* does not give his name. Vākpati informs us that the king of Magadha “whose bravery and puissance even pleased the gods, and who had a multitude of kings allied to his cause (v. 414), was killed by Yaśovarman and the queens of the deceased hero were forced to fan the *chāmaras* over him in his court (695-97).” The author afterwards promises to give an account of the death of the Gauḍa king at the hands of his patron (v. 1074) but the story is left incomplete.² Hence it may not be impossible to doubt whether the Magadha king and the Gauḍa king were identical with each other. Before the decisive battle with the Magadha king took place, Yaśovarman had arrived in the valley of the Son, and next proceeded to the Vindhya mountain (276-80). As soon as the report of the progress of his army reached the Magadha

¹ See *Gauḍavaho*, ed. by S. P. Pandit, Bombay Sanskrit Series.

² *Ibid.*, Intro., pp. xiv-xlviii.

king's ear, he 'fled before him through fear,' 'darkening the space before him with the *dāna* of his elephants . . . in rut, as if he carried before him the darkness of a night which he created by charms.' ¹ His allies, ashamed of their retreat, prepared themselves to meet the enemy openly in battle (414). The scene of the battle is graphically portrayed in *śloka* 415. But the Magadha king, notwithstanding the assistance of his friends and confederates, was captured by Yaśovarman (v. 417). In commemoration of his victory he founded a city bearing his name in Bihār, Yaśovarmanapura, which was visited by the Buddhist scholar Viradeva in the 9th century A. D. In this battle the lord of Vaṅga, whose identity is not revealed, was defeated (419-21). The evidence of Vākpati's work may not be regarded as sufficiently clear to warrant a definite conclusion as to whether Gauḍa and Magadha were under the same ruler during the time, but it at least shows that these two and Vaṅga formed, from the political standpoint, a homogeneous group, and offered resistance to the eastward advance of Kanauj attempted by Yaśovarman ² and that the authority of the Magadha king seems to have extended up to the sea-shore, for Yaśovarman is mentioned to have proceeded towards this direction after having caught hold of the former who had taken to his heels (*ahavi valāntam karaliṇa Maghāhiraṁ mahī-nāho | jāḍ elā-surahimmi jalahi-retā-vaṇantamni*) || —v. 417). There seems to be much truth in the suggestion that the Magadha king who lost his life in the

¹ *Ibid.*, Intro., p. xxiv.

² The recently discovered Nālandā ins. of 'Yaśovarmanadeva' was attributed by H. rānanda Śāstri to Yaśodharman of the Maṇḍasor inscra., see Ep. Ind., XII, p. 40; also see ASR., 1925-26, pp. 131, 158. But N. K. Bhattasali assigns it to the reign of Yaśovarman of Kanauj on palaeographic grounds, see Modern Review, 1931, pp. 306-7; also the controversy in IHQ., VII; VIII, pp. 228, 615, 371. The subject requires further investigation. As Yaśovarman's power may have extended up to the Brahmaputra, it is not improbable that a son (Mālaḍa) of one of his ministers might have made the religious gift at Nālandā recorded in this inscription. Śāstri insists on the name being read as he has read it, but I am almost certain that it reads Yaśodharman. From the narrative fashion of the inscription it is not also certain that it was incised in the life-time of this king.

encounter was Jivitagupta II, the last of the line represented in the preceding century by Ādityasena.

Not long after this catastrophe to Gauda-Vaṅga-Magadha, another king of Bengal was killed by the Kashmīr lord Lalitāditya at whose hands Yaśovarman may have met his death. Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa is known by the name of Mu-to-pi to the Chinese historians, who refer to the embassy sent by him to the emperor Hiuen-tsang (713-55 A. D.). He is said to have launched upon a plan of *digvijaya* in the course of which he came into close contact with Gauḍamaṇḍala, 'whose numberless elephants joined him . . . as if attracted by friendship for the elephant (carrying) the couch of Lakshmī, who was attached (to the king)'—[Bk. IV, v. 148—*Ākrishṭa-Lakshmī-paryāṅka-danti-sakhyād-iv-āgatāḥ | Aśi-śriyam-stam niḥśeshā-dantino Gauḍa-maṇḍalāt*]. The Gauda king later went to Kashmīr in response to an invitation by Lalitāditya who had given a solemn assurance as to his personal safety in his realm. But he was treacherously put to death during his friendly visit to Kashmīr. Even the author of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* has no hesitation in denouncing the act as unworthy of the king. According to the Kashmīr historian it was a fault 'which might have befitted another ruler.' The Gauda attendants of the murdered king prepared to avenge the death of their master and attacked the temple of of Rāmasvāmī mistaking it for that of Parihāsakeśava, where Lalitāditya had taken his vow of hospitality. The dark-coloured (*śyāmala*) men from Gauda broke into pieces the silver image of the god, and desecrated the temple. The manner in which they expressed their condemnation of the treachery even attracted the admiration of their enemies. Kalhaṇa says that 'even the creator cannot achieve what the Gaudas did on that occasion' (v. 332—*Vidhātur-apy-asādhyam tad-yad-Gauḍair-vihitam tada*). The episode that followed the king's assassination has been described as a '*Gauḍa-rākshasa-viplava*' or a revolution created by the monsters from Gauda (v. 334). The effect of the devastating raid

carried out by the Gaudas was visible even down to the 12th century, when Kalhaṇa wrote his work! 'To this day,' says he, 'even the temple of Rāmasvāmin is seen empty, whereas the whole world is filled with the fame of the Gauda heroes' (*Brahmāṇḍam Gaudavīraṇām sa-nātham yaśasā punaḥ*—v. 335), 'who courageously sacrificed their lives for the sake of the departed lord' (v. 324). But they were few in number and could scarcely face the forces which soon gathered round them. 'The streams of their blood . . . enriched the earth (*Śvāmi-bhaktir-asāmānyā dhanyā ch-eyam vasundharā*—v. 330). Kalhaṇa is reticent as to the motive underlying the murder of the Gauda king committed by the hirelings of the Kashmīr lord at Trigrāmī.

What has been characterised by some scholars as a pure myth purports to describe the connection between Gauda and Kashmīr in the days of Jayāpīḍa,¹ the grandson of Lalitāditya. According to the story related by Kalhaṇa, while Jayāpīḍa's brother-in-law Jajja usurped the throne, he himself was wandering abroad. In the course of his exile he is said to have come to the city of Pauṇḍravardhana, where he passed some time *incognito* under the pseudonym Kallaṭa (*Gauḍa-rāj-āśrayam guptam Jayant-ākhyenc bhūbhujā | praviveśo krameṇ-ātha nagaram Pauṇḍravardhanam*—Bk. IV, vv. 421, 461-62), but ultimately drew the attention of its ruler Jayanta through an act of prowess. As a reward for his bravery Jayanta gave his daughter, Kalyāṇadevī, in marriage to Jayāpīḍa. The latter defeated the five kings of Gauda, or the kings of five Gauda's, who were his father-in-law's overlords, and made him supreme in their place (*Pañcha-Gauḍādhipān-jitvā śvasuram tad-adhīśvaram*—v. 468).

¹ A. Stein holds that there may be some truth in the account of Jayāpīḍa's visit to Bengal, but that the rest of the story is probably a poetical embellishment, see *Rājast. (Translation)*, Vol. I, Intro., p. 94. V. A. Smith, R. P. Chandra and E. D. Banerjee doubt the authenticity of the story as lacking corroboration, see *EHI.*, p. 387; *GLM.*, p. 18; *Bāṅglar Itihās*, p. 123. W. N. Vass is inclined to accept it as reliable.—Vedger *Jātva Itihās*, *Bāṅgavakāṅkṣā*, p. 101. See also *GPP.*, Vol. VI, *Pratidinā*, p. 4.

CHAPTER VI

THE PALA DYNASTY AND THE END OF MATSYANYAYA

Political decline of Bengal in the earlier half of the eighth century. Invasions from abroad and internal disorganisation. A Popular Dynasty established. Accession of Gopāla, the first king of the Pāla Dynasty, C. 750 A.D. Its origin. Career of Gopāla.

A careful study of the epigraphic and literary records of the eighth century shows that Bengal had sunk into political impotence lasting for several decades until the creation of a strong government restored her to her normal life. The repeated invasion of the country from outside hardly allowed it any opportunity to stabilise its political organisation in a manner sufficient to check the aggressive ambition of its enemies abroad and the forces of disorder in operation at home. In the course of the eighth century no less than three kings of Gauḍa are recorded to have been killed by its powerful rivals. One of them was slain by Yaśovarman of Kanauj, another by assassins engaged by Lalitāditya of Kashmir and a third Gauḍa king (*Paunḍrādhīpa*) was killed in battle by a member of the Śaila dynasty connected with the Vindhya region. The Nepalese inscription of Jayadeva proves that for some time Gauḍa was under the rule of Harsha, a king of the Bhagadatta family of Kāmarūpa, during this period of stagnation and downfall, the germs of which can be traced in the breakdown of Śaśāṅka's ambitious plans. But while the political power of the country failed to assert itself in an effective manner, its economic condition in general was probably not unsatisfactory; indeed, its comparative prosperity may have been one of the causes that attracted the greedy attention of the neighbouring powers well aware of the natural advantages due to its river-system and participation in the traffic on the sea. The author of the *Rājatarāṅgī* refers to the wealth of the citizens of

Paundravardhana (*pauravibhūti*) in his account of Jayāpīḍa's sojourn in Bengal. There were elements of heroism and loyalty to the throne in the character of the Gauda people, which evoked the admiration even of their enemies as is attested by the historian Kalhaṇa. A step in the direction of political recovery was taken when the people of Bengal chose Gopāla as their sovereign in the latter half of the eighth century—a measure which changed the whole aspect of her history. He founded a dynasty that reigned through vicissitudes of fortune for nearly four centuries and a half. There are frequent references in the inscriptions of this royal family to the wealth of fighting material at its disposal, especially navy and cavalry.¹ Proud allusions are made to the popularity enjoyed by some of its notable representatives.² Freed from domestic chaos and with due military preparations, Gauda now proceeded to realise its dream of "universal conquest."

Tāranāth, the Tibetan historian (1608 A.D.),³ throws welcome light on the circumstances leading to the foundation of the dynasty inaugurated by Gopāla. Bengal, it appears from his account, had been suffering from anarchy previous to his occupation of the throne. "In Oḍiśā (*Orissa*), in Bengal, and in the other five provinces of the east, each Kshatriya, Brāhmaṇ, and merchant constituted himself king of his surroundings, but there was no king ruling the country" (Chap. XXVIII). This anarchical situation was aggravated by the action of "the wife of one of the late kings," who "by night assassinated every one of those who had been *chosen to be kings*." The unhappy state of

¹ Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patba-pravarttamāna - nānāvidha - nauvāśake - sampādita-śeṭha-bandha - nibhita - śailaśikhara - śreṇī - vibhramāt - aprameya - haya - vāhinī.

² Dharmapāla's universal popularity is spoken of in v. 13 of the Khālpur grant. Cf. "Hearing his praises sung by the cowherds on the borders, by the foresters in the forests, by the villagers on the outskirts of villages, in every courtyard, in every market and in pleasure-houses he always bashfully turns aside . . ."—Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, v. 13, p. 262. Mahipāla was another popular king. The saying 'Dhan bhāṇ'e Mahipāler gita' is still current among the people, see D. C. Sen, East Bengal Ballads, Vol. IV, Pt. 1, p. 355 f.n. On popular songs about the Pālas, see D. C. Sen's General Intro. to East Bengal Ballads, Vol. I, Pt. 1.

³ Ind. Ant., IV, pp. 865-66.

things was put an end to by Gopāla, who was first elected for a period, but when he succeeded in delivering the country from her insidious influence he was made king for life.¹ The testimony of Tāranāth is to a large extent corroborated by epigraphic evidence. According to the Khālimpur inscription,² belonging to the second king of the dynasty, Gopāla was made to accept *the hands of Lakshmī* by the people actuated by the desire of ending the condition of lawlessness into which their country had been plunged. The term "*mātsyanyāya*," used in this connection, signifies, according to the explanation offered in ancient texts, a condition of existence where there is no established government, encouraging every strong man to consider himself superior to his surroundings and engage in acts of self-aggrandisement at the cost of his weaker neighbours. The Khālimpur inscription thus refers, in agreement with the Tibetan historian, to a sort of popular election that was resorted to at a critical moment in the history of Bengal. The evidence of Tāranāth further shows that some kind of elective monarchy also prevailed during

¹ From the reconstruction attempted by K. P. Jayaswal, it appears that the *Ārya-Mahājārinūlakalpa* gives the names of three predecessors of Gopāla. The first in order of precedence is one whose name began with the letter 'bha' (v. 679). This is identified with the king who in verse 868 is called Svādāya (Rājābhadrā in Tibetan), that is, the initial element of his name was Svāda. For the history of Gauḍa which is given from the above verse to v. 875 appears to be resumed in v. 883, which refers to the line of Gopāla being of Śūdra origin. This 'Bhakarādya' or 'Svādāya' king was Śūdra by caste (v. 869). It seems, however, from verse 878 that the Svādāya king was a Nāga Rāja. The widowed queen of the last king of his family probably played the part of the principal villain in accentuating the anarchical condition of the eastern provinces (tiryaṅbhīyo Nāgarājas-tu mahābhogi-viśāradah). The Svādāya king ruled for 17 years. He was followed by one whose name began with the letter 'da.' He ruled for ten days. Then there arose another king who ruled only for three days. His successor was Gopāla. The account clearly shows a state of turmoil antecedent to Gopāla's accession to the throne. see *Imperial History*, pp. 42, 60, 71.

² "*Mātsya-nyāyam-apolhitaṃ prakṛitibhir-lakṣmīyāḥ karaṇaṁ* (ś) = grāhitaḥ."—*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 218. The Kautilya *Arthashastra* refers to mātsyanyāya as follows:—*agrahitaḥ hi mātsyanyāyam-adbhavayati | baliyān-abalaṇaḥ hi grāsate dandadhar-ābhāva*—I, 4, 1; Ed. by J. Jolly and R. Schmidt—*The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore, Vol. I, p. 8*. The term has been explained as "the rule of fish" which "consists of the big fish swallowing the small ones; or of the powerful roasting the weak, like fish on a spit."—*Ind. Vol. Cj. Menu VII, 20; Nārada, XVII, 15, p. 218; Māt. XII, 15, 422; Śāstrak, Indische Spröch, v. 3942, quoted by Kielhorn, Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 218.*

the anarchical period preceding Gopāla's accession. But no light is thrown on the manner in which the plan worked or on the character of the institution through which the determining will found its expression. Did the entire body of people in a particular region participate in a definite system of election, or was it only a section of them, perhaps the army, the composition of which in this transitional period is little known, that may have come to exercise a dominant voice in the appointment of their rulers when the paramount authority of the state had been disrupted? In the later inscriptions of the dynasty there is no trace of the practice of a fundamental constitutional right by the people such as can be expected under a system of elective monarchy. The establishment of a popular monarchy might have eliminated the necessity of prolonging the life of an institution that had probably been introduced as an emergency measure and having performed its historic function died within a short time as its usefulness was no longer appreciated.

An approximate attempt may be made here to fix the commencement of this epoch of orderly government. The only sheet-anchor in the vexed chronology of the dynasty, available from its own records, is the *Vikrama* year 1083 (=1026 A.D.) a date given in the Sārnāth inscription¹ referring to a Mahipāla (*Saṃvat* 1083 *Pausha-dine* 1. 3). The special importance of this inscription lies in the fact that if the reference is to be taken as applying to a Pāla king of Bengal [*Gauḍa-dhipa*], it remains the only document of the family that is dated in an established era. In the order of succession the Pāla king Mahipāla I stands ninth or tenth from Gopāla, the founder of the dynasty. There is good reason to believe that the date supplied in the Sārnāth inscription nearly marked the end of Mahipāla's reign. His son and successor, Nayapāla, had already been on the throne for some time in A.D. 1042 when he is said to have received a letter from the Buddhist

monk Atīśa Dīpaṅkara.¹ Besides, Nayapāla and his son Vighrapāla were contemporaries of the Chedi King Karna, who ascended the throne about 1041 A.D. Starting from the fixed point, *viz.*, the year 1026 A.D., as shewn above, we may proceed to calculate backwards on the basis of the known dates of the reigns of Mahīpāla and his predecessors, for the purpose of determining the date of the accession of the second king, *viz.*, Dharmapāla. It will be found from the following table that a period of about 243 years intervened between the commencement of Dharmapāla's reign and the approximate end of Mahīpāla's administration. Thus it might be possible to say that Dharmapāla ascended the throne at some date in the neighbourhood of A.D. 783 (= 1026 - 243).

			Known dates
Dharmapāla	...	...	32
Devapāla	...	...	39
Śūrapāla (with whom Vighrapāla I had probably a conjoint or synchronous reign. According to most scholars, he was identical with Śūrapāla)		...	3
Nārāyaṇapāla	...	...	54
Rājyapāla	...	...	24
Gopāla II	...	...	17
Vighrapāla II	...	...	26
Mahīpāla I	...	...	48
			<hr/> 243
			<hr/> years <hr/>

It is to be pointed out, however, that the last known date of a king need not invariably be taken as having coincided with the culmination of his reign. There remains, therefore, a certain element of vagueness in the manner of calculation followed above, which cannot be altogether removed

¹ See *infra*.

unless further information is obtained. This unknown factor may be indicated by the symbol x , and the length of the probable reign of Vīgrahapāla I, as separate from that of Śūrapāla I, by y . It will be evident then that there is a certain degree of probability that Dharmapāla's reign began earlier than 783 A.D., but the precise date of his accession cannot be settled owing to our ignorance of the equivalence of x and y . Of the two inscriptions associated with the name of Dharmapāla, one is dated in the 26th and the other in the 32nd year of his reign. On this evidence a reign-period of thirty-two years is generally attributed to him. But there is some likelihood, as will be shewn later, that the Tippera inscription of Lokanātha was engraved during his rule. In that case his reign may be proved to have lasted a few years more than hitherto supposed. And to accommodate any additional years it will be necessary to put only his date of accession still further back, for the lower limit of his reign, like that of any other before Mahīpāla I, is strictly guarded by the date given in the Sārnāth inscription. Calculations regarding Dharmapāla's date must also take into account and be in accord with the evidence furnished by some independent sources, chief of which are a passage in the Jaina *Harivamśa purāṇa*,¹ composed in A.D. 783-84, the Sāgar-Tāl inscription² of the reign of the Pratihāra king Bhoja, several inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of the south, viz., the Wani grant³

¹ Attention to it was first drawn by K. B. Pathak, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, 1886, pp. 141-42. See Fleet, *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. 1, Pt. II, p. 197, n. 2; Peterson's Fourth Report on *Sanskrit MSS. Extracts*, (JBBRAS., Extra Number, 1886-92), p. 176; *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 195. The translation of the passage as suggested by D. R. Bhandarkar in 1902 differed from that given by Fleet. According to the former it referred to the King of Avanti in the east, King Vatsarāja in the west and the victorious and brave Varāha in the territory of the Sauryas. See also JBBRAS., XXI, p. 421, f.n. 4. Bhandarkar's translation was accepted by R. Chanda, *GRM.*, p. 19; S. Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 200; V. A. Smith, *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 253; R. D. Banerji, *MSB.*, Vol. V, p. 50; Bāṅglār Itihās, p. 144. But it was ably disputed by R. C. Maumdar, *JDL.*, X, pp. 24-25. Bhandarkar has recently expressed his acceptance of Fleet's translation followed above, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 289.

² *ASI.*, 1903-04, pp. 277-85; *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 99-114.

³ *JRAS.* (old series), 1889, Vol. V, p. 243 f.; Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 156 f. (ll. 46-47, text date given as S. 78) for S. 728 which was the Vyasa Saivatsara).

(806-07 A.D.), and the Rādhapur grant¹ (expired S. 790) of Govinda III (808 A.D.), the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I² (S. 793=871 A.D.), and the Unā,³ inscription of Avanti-yarman II (V.S. 956=899 A.D.), the Chālukya feudatory of Māhendrapāla. From the *Harivaṃśa* we learn that in A.D. 783-84, when this work was completed, Indrāyudha was ruling in the north, Śrī Vallabha in the south, Vatsarāja (*Vatsādhirāja*), the king of Avanti, in the east, and in the west Varāha or Jayavarāha in the territory of the Sauryas (*Śakeshv = ābdaśateshu saptaśu diśaṃ pañch-ottareśh = ūttarām pāt = Indrāyudha-nāmnī Kṛishṇa-nṛipa-je śrī-Vallabhe dakshinām | pūrvām śrīmad = Avanti-bhūbhṛiti nṛipe Vatsādhirāje = parām Sauryaṇām-adhi-maṇḍalaṃ jaya-yute vire Varāhe = vati ||*). The different directions noticed in the passage were determined with reference to a town called Vardhamānapura, identified with the modern Waḍhwān in the Jhālāvād division of Kāthiāwār. Of the several rulers mentioned, Vatsarāja was identical with the Gurjara-Pratihāra king of this name, the great-grandfather of Bhoja, referred to in the Sagar-Tāl inscription. The title "*Vallabha*" used to be frequently applied to the Rāshtrakūṭa rulers of the Deccan. The "*Vallabha*" king of the *Harivaṃśa* is described as a son of Kṛishṇa. A Rāshtrakūṭa king of this name (Kṛishṇa I) was alive in 783 A.D. He had two sons, Govinda (II) and Dhruva. That Govinda (II) actually reigned is proved by the evidence of the Cambay Plates⁴ of Govinda IV. But the Jaina

¹ Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 239 f.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 59 ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 225-57.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 6 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 28; D. R. Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS.*, XX, pp. 133-34. Cf. Fleet, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 170-71. The Wasi grant (807 A.D.) states that Dhruva obtained the sovereignty by "leaping over his elder brother (jijeshṭh-allaṅghana)." — *Ind. Ant.* XI, p. 187, text line 7. The Cambay Plates, which are dated long after the event, have a verse (9) devoted to this Govinda, preceding the mention of Nirupama (v. 10), his younger, as rājānuja.

The main difficulty in deciding the question is due to the conflict between the positive evidence of the Dholia Plates of 779 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 189 ff.) that Govinda reigned and the negative evidence of the Pimperi grant of 775 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, X, pp. 81 ff.) which makes no reference to him but refers to Dhruva. According to Fleet (*loc. cit.*)

Harivamśa probably does not refer to him but to his brother Dhruva [Nirupama Dhruva (Dhora) Kalivallabha], as the latter has been actually mentioned as a contemporary of the Gurjara king Vatsarāja in the Wari and Rādhapur grants of the time of his successor Govinda III of the Rāshtrakūṭa line.¹ The identity of Indrāyudha is of crucial importance in the settlement of the Pāla chronology. In the Bhāgalpur Plate of Nārāyaṇapāla,² belonging to the dynasty founded by Gopāla, mention is made of Indrarāja, who was overthrown by Dharmapāla from the royal seat of Kanauj. Few now dispute the identification of this Indrarāja with Indrāyudha³ referred to in the Jaina *Harivamśa*. The result of Dharmapāla's interference in the affairs of Kanauj is also alluded to in verse 12 of the Khālimpur inscription of the 32nd year of his reign. But on the evidence of the *Harivamśa* it appears that his control had not been established even by 783-84 A.D., when Indrāyudha was still exercising sovereignty in that territory. Indrāyudha had to give in some time before A.D. 808 A.D. According to the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda III, the successor of Indrāyudha's contemporary Dhruva, was visited by two kings—Dharma and Chakra—in the course

Dhruva occupied the throne immediately after his father's death and Govinda had not any real part in the succession. For the genuineness of the Dhulis Plates and a careful marshalling of evidence of Govinda's reign, see Altekar, *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 48-51, especially fn. 12 on p. 51.

¹ Dr. Altekar gives information of a grant of Dhruva, dated in S. 702 (780 A.D.), which finally settles the identity of the Deccan king noted in the *Harivamśa*, see *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, Addenda, facing p. 420.

² E. Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 334; GLM., p. 57.

³ But R. C. Majumdar considered it probable that Indrarāja, overthrown by Dharmapāla, was identical with Indrarāja, Govinda III's younger brother, 'the ruler of the province of the lord of Lāṭa,' mentioned in the Barots Plates.—*Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 163; JDL., X, p. 37, n. 2. D. R. Bhandarkar previously identified him with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 32, n. 3; U. C. Bapatyal identified him with Indra, brother of Govinda III, *JASB.*, LXIII, p. 61. It was Kielhorn who first made the correct suggestion, *s. Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 246. *Of. Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 188 for his earlier conjecture that Chakrāyudha = Ādivarāha = Pratibhā Bhojadeva of Kanauj, and that Indrāyudha was his brother.

of his northern campaigns. In the Rādhapur grant, dated A.D. 808, Govinda is said to have defeated a Gurjara king whose name is not given in that inscription, but the Sanjan Plates inform us that his name was Nāgabhaṭa (II).

It is likely that Govinda came into contact with Nāgabhaṭa II, the son and successor of Vatsarāja, during his victorious expeditions in Northern India, which thus appear to have been undertaken in A.D. 808, a little later than the date of the Wari inscription (807 A.D.), which does not refer to his conquest of the Gurjara king. Thus the conclusion may be arrived at that about A.D. 808 four kings—Govinda III, Chakra, Dharma and Nāgabhaṭa—were ruling synchronously in different parts of the country. The Bhāgalpur inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla refers to the installation of Chakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj under the direct patronage of Dharmapāla. When Govinda invaded Northern India and attacked the Gurjara king Nāgabhaṭa, Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha volunteered their friendship to the conqueror from the south. Thus it is clear that the overthrow of Indrāyudha and the subsequent coronation of Chakrāyudha took place some time after 784 A.D. but before 808 A.D. The contemporaneity of Chakrāyudha, Nāgabhaṭa and Dharmapāla can be further established from the combined evidence of the Sāgar-Tāl and Unā inscriptions. The Sāgar-Tāl inscription speaks of the contact of the Gurjara king with Chakrāyudha and an unnamed king of Gauḍa, which must have happened after the incidents relating to Govinda III's campaigns in the north, as described in the Sanjan Plates, and consequently after 808 A.D., for in that inscription Nāgabhaṭa's hostilities are stated to have caused the expulsion of Chakrāyudha from Kanauj. It may be found easy to settle the identity of the Gauḍa king who, according to the same inscription, felt the impact of the Gurjara king's forces. The Unā inscription of Avanivarman II, dated V.S. 956 (899 A.D.), makes mention of an engagement that took place between Dharma and his great-grandfather (Bāhuka?)-dhavala, who fought on behalf

of a *Rājādhirāja Parameśvara*. As Avanivarman II was a contemporary of his overlord Mahendrapāla, the great-grandson of Nāgabhaṭa, it may be safely inferred that his great-grandfather Bāhukadhavala was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa and that Dharma against whom he fought was, consequently, identical with Dharmapāla, mentioned as the lord of Gauḍa in the Sagār-Tāl inscription, of Bhoja. Nāgabhaṭa was seated on the Gurjara throne in A.D. 815, as is proved by his mention in the Buchkalā inscription, dated in that year (V.S. 872).¹ The reign-period of Dharmapāla, therefore, may be extended till 815 A.D. or a little later. For the purposes of a rough calculation we may take 819 A.D. as the last year of his reign extending over 44 years, his accession taking place in about A.D. 775. This result will no doubt clash with the unknown factors already noticed, but it can be taken as a near approximation to truth in view of the fact that Mahipāla's reign may have actually extended a little beyond 1026 A.D., and that a considerable part of the eighth century preceding the advent of Gopāla was occupied by the events described in the last chapter. There is no similar datum for fixing the reign-period of Gopāla. According to Tāranāth he ruled for a period of forty-five years. But as two of his successors reigned for at least forty-four and thirty-nine years respectively, it will be more natural to conclude that Gopāla did not sit on the throne for more than twenty-five years. In a round number Gopāla may have commenced his career about A.D. 750. Though the traditions gleaned from Tibetan literature differ from the evidence of inscriptions regarding names of individual rulers of this family as well as the reign-periods assigned to them and others, the period of Dharmapāla's reign that may be worked out on the basis of the former appears to agree generally with the conclusion that may be arrived at from independent sources. The ground for this reconstruction is supplied by the informa-

¹ JRAS., 1907, p. 1011. For the correction of the date, see Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 4, fn. 1.

tion that the death of the Buddhist saint Śānta-Rakshita who visited Tibet in 749 A.D. when it was being ruled by Thirong-deu-tsan, and stayed there till 762 A.D., took place during Dharmapāla's reign.¹ As incontestable evidence, brought to light in recent times, shows Dharmapāla to have been flourishing in the first quarter of the ninth century, any theory placing the beginning of his reign in a later period must be considered obsolete and useless to a modern student. The discussions of the older school of historians, principally Cunningham, Hoernle and Rajendralal Mitra, in respect of Gopāla's dynasty, are out of date.

Cunningham suggested A.D. 831² as the probable date of Dharmapāla's accession. His supposition was based on astronomical grounds. According to his calculation, the twenty-sixth year of his reign, mentioned in the Mahābodhi inscription³ (*Bhādra-vahula - pañchamyām sūnōr-Bhāskarasya*),

¹ The list of Pāla kings given by Tāranāth may be inserted here as follows for the purpose of a comparative study of epigraphic and traditional material bearing on this subject: (1) Gopāla (660-705 A.D.); (2) Devapāla (705-73 A.D.); (3) Rasapāla (753-65 A.D.); (4) Dharmapāla (765-829 A.D.); (5) Vasu Rakshita (829-37 A.D.); (6) Vanapāla (837-47 A.D.); (7) Mahipāla (847-99 A.D.); (8) Mahāpāla (899-940 A.D.); (9) Śāmapāla (940-52 A.D.); (10) Śreṣṭhapāla or Praishṭhapāla (952-55 A.D.); (11) Chāpaka (955-83 A.D.); (12) Bheypāla (983-1015 A.D.); (13) Nayapāla (1015-50 A.D.); (14) Āmrāpāla (1050-63 A.D.); (15) Hastipāla (1063-78 A.D.); (16) Kshāntipāla (1078-92 A.D.); (17) Rāmapāla (1092-1138 A.D.); (18) Yakshapāla (1138-39 A.D.). For the names of monarchs during the Pāla period, furnished by Tāranāth, see Ind. Ant., IV, pp. 366 ff. For the above table, see also Satis-chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic, Cal. Univ., 1900, App. B., pp. 148-49, for a chronological scheme of the Pāla history based on Tibetan sources; Tāranāth (Schiefner, pp. 302-52); Pag sam-jon-zung (ed. by Saratchandra Das, pp. 112-21); also the Vajrīyākārpa in Cosma de Koros's Tibetan Grammar, p. 183. The Pāla king Mahipāla was a contemporary of Khriṣal regarded as identical with Ral-pa-chaṇ who died in 829 A.D. But he has been assigned a different date in the table of the Tibetan Kings in JASB, 1891, p. 234. For another theory about his date, see SPP, 1833 B.S., pp. 52-53. See also Rockhill, Life of Buddha, p. 223; D. C. Bhattacharyya, IHQ., 1927, p. 585.

² CASR., XV, pp. 150-51.

³ Mahābodhi Inscr. (or The Keśava Prasasti)—J. & Proc. ASB. (N.S.), IV, pp. 101-02. D. C. Bhattacharyya attempts to determine the date on an astronomical basis, applying both the Amānta and Pūrṇimānta schemes. He points to a series of dates, A.D. 762, 765, 778, 785, 786, 798, 796, as nearly equivalent to the date given in the inscr., IHQ., 1927, Vol. III, pp. 588-89. The three most probable dates as marking the commencement of Dharmapāla's reign are suggested to be 788, 744, 748, and 751 A.D., out of which he chooses the second. This is

corresponded to A.D. 856. In his paper on the chronology of the Pālas, published in the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,¹ Hoernle put forward the suggestion that the date of Gopāla's accession to the throne must have lain in the neighbourhood of A.D. 906. He was led to this position by a mistaken view of the identity of a Devapāla, mentioned in a Gwalior inscription (Sīyaḍonī)² of the tenth century A.D., whom he took to be a member of the dynasty founded by Gopāla, but who actually belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra family. Hoernle's reconstruction was further vitiated by an inaccurate interpretation of the genealogical references in the Āmgāchhi³ inscription of Vīgrahapāla III. He took him to be the same as Vīgrahapāla I and contended that names of some kings were repeated in that inscription for the purpose of supplying further particulars about their reigns. This view is wrong, as from a comparative study of the Āmgāchhi Plate and a number of other records it has been found that the former brings the genealogy further down by several generations than Vīgrahapāla I. The only certain evidence available to Rajendra Lal Mitra,⁴ when he wrote his paper on the Pāla Rājās of Bengal in

impossible to support on historical grounds. T. Bloch in his *Notes on Bodh-Gayā* (ASI, 1908-9, p. 150) suggests that the year 26 of the Keśava Praśasti probably fell somewhere between A.D. 850 and A.D. 950.

¹ CRASB., 1784-1833, App. II, pp. 203, 207, 208.

² For the inscr., see F. E. Hall, JASB., XXXI, pp. 6-7; Cunningham, *ibid.*, XXXIII, p. 227; Kielborn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 152 f. (Devapāla); JRAS., 1909, p. 271.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 293 ff.; MASB., Vol. V, p. 80; GLM., p. 122; cf. CRASB., *op. cit.* p. 205. The inscr. adds the following names in the order of succession as shown below to the list of kings supplied by the Bhāgīpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla—Rājyapāla, Gopāla (II), Vīgrahapāla II, Mahipāla (I), Nayapāla, Vīgrahapāla III. Of these the first four names are mentioned in the Bāngarb inscr. of Mahipāla. The genealogy downwards from Vīgrahapāla I can now be followed in a definite manner; Colebrooke's interpretation of the genealogical stanzas in the Āmgāchhi Plate was very nearly correct—AS. Res., Vol. IX, p. 436.

⁴ JASB., 1878, p. 384 ff. Another exploded theory is the one advanced by D. R. Bhandarkar while editing the Cambay Plates, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 32-33. This view was based on the proposed identification of the Kanauj king Indrarāja with the Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III (A.D. 915). The theory has since been abandoned by him, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII.

A.D. 1878, was the date in the Sārnāth inscription of Mahīpāla I. Calculating generally at the rate of an average of twenty years (Cunningham's average was twenty-five or thirty years; Prinsep's average sixteen to eighteen years), he concluded that A.D. 855 was the initial year of Gopāla I's reign. But it is now known that most of the kings from Dharmapāla to Mahīpāla I had a much longer reign.

Chiefly speaking, four different sources throw light on the origin of the dynasty, viz., their own epigraphy,¹ a commentary on the Sanskrit Buddhist work, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, written by Haribhadra,² the Kamauli inscription of Vaidyadeva,³ the Rāmacharita, by Sandhyākara Nandī and the commentary thereon. Despite the information they supply, which is of a conflicting character, the subject remains partially obscure. In the whole range of the epigraphy relating to this family, it is only the Khālimpur inscription of Dharmapāla that mentions two predecessors of Gopāla, viz., his grandfather Dayitavishṇu and his father Vapyāṭa. Dayitavishṇu has been described as the origin of the best offspring of the rulers of the earth (*Prakṛitir-avanipānām santater-uttamāyāḥ*, v. 2). He was, besides, a scholar well-versed in the different branches of knowledge (*Sarva-vidyāvadātāḥ*, v. 2). From him was descended Śrī Vapyāṭa ' (Bappaṭa) who

p. 239. R. P. Chanda in GRM., p. 23, suggested that Dharmapāla ascended the throne c. 815 A.D., but as his contemporaneity with Govinda III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, is established by the Sanjan Plates, this date is in conflict with the fact that Govinda's successor is known from the Sirur inscr. (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 210) to have ascended the throne c. 814-15 A.D. See Kielhorn's List of South Indian Inscr., Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 8 (Govinda III, 794-816 A.D.); R. D. Banerji, Bāṅglār Itihās, pp. 185-86.

¹ That the dynastic title was 'Pāla' seems to be implied in the fact that two kings—Dharmapāla and Rāmapāla—have been mentioned in the Badāl Prāsasti of Guravāmīra and the Kamauli inscr. respectively simply as Dharma and Rāma.

² MASE., Vol. III, pp. 56. The MS. is preserved in the Vira Library, Nepal. H. P. Sastri's theory connecting Dayitavishṇu with the family of Dhanyavishṇu mentioned in the Kuran stone ins. of the first year of Toramāpa (CIL., Vol. III, p. 166) is so imaginary that it does not call for any comment.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 350; GLM., p. 127 f.

⁴ Kielhorn writes the name as 'Vapyāṭa' as found in the plate, some copies reading 'Bappaṭa' as Dr. Barnett suggests.

deserved praise (*Ślāghya*) having crushed his enemies (*Khaṇḍit-ārāṭiḥ*, v. 3), and his fame pervaded the whole earth extending up to the sea (*āsīd-ā-sāgarād-urvvīm gurvībhiḥ kīrtībhiḥ kṛti maṇḍ-ayan*, v. 3). The inscriptions of the dynasty seem to maintain a conspiracy of silence regarding the appellation by which they were known in their time. It is only in the solitary Kamauli inscription of Vaidyadeva, belonging to the first half of the twelfth century, that the term 'Pālakula' has been applied to them (*Pāla-kul-ābdhi-śīta-kiraṇaḥ*). It is interesting to note that the author of the inscription, Manoratha, describes Vigraphapāla III, a member of this dynasty, as born in the solar lineage (*vaṁśe Mihirasya jātarān*). Thus in the twelfth century A.D. an effort was made in certain quarters to trace the origin of the family to the solar race. Vaidyadeva himself and his predecessors had served under the Pālas. He was naturally interested in glorifying a dynasty to which he had reason to be grateful. The claim is as unfounded as unique; it is nowhere suggested in the inscriptions of the Pālas themselves. The tradition recorded by Abul Fazl¹ that the Pālas belonged to the Kāyastha (*Kāyeth*) caste is hardly credible. His list comprises names of ten kings, ending with 'Pāla,' of whom only two, Devapāla and Rājapāla (for Rājyapāla), may be recognised as members of the dynasty founded by Gopāla. The grotesqueness of his account is obvious from the fact that he assigns a period of 698 years to the rule of these ten princes collectively. The figures against some of the individual kings are impossibly high, such as a period of 95 years for the second prince Dhripāl, that of 98 years for the seventh, i.e., Rājapāl, and a period of 83 years for Devapāl. It is curious that this author gives the history of the country as if wholly that of the Kāyasthas ruling uninterruptedly for centuries beginning from a remote past. The title 'Pāla' is a misnomer and indeed a source of utter con-

¹ Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 145. The list contains the following names: (1) Raja Bhopāl (55 years), (2) Dhripāl (95 yrs.), (3) Devapāl (83 yrs.), (4) Bhūpatipāl (70 yrs.), (5) Dhanapati-pāl (45 yrs.), (6) Bigan [Bijjapāl] (75 yrs.), (7) Jaipāl (98 yrs.), (8) Rājipāl (98 yrs.), (9) Bhogpāl, his brother (5 yrs.), (10) Jaypāl, his son (74 yrs.). The view that the Pālas later became Kāyasthas by caste is held by N. N. Vass, see *Vadgar Jātīya Itihās, Rājanya-Kāpā*, p. 161.

fusion ; it was a wide loophole as it were through which princes of all sorts, disconnected from one another, got mixed up in popular memory, and it is strange that this hotch-potch was used by the writer as sober history. On the other hand, the information furnished by Haribhadra, who completed his work on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* during the reign of Dharmapāla (*rājye.....Śrī-Dharmapālasya*) perhaps contains a useful hint regarding the former history of the Pālas. Dharmapāla, the second Pāla monarch, is described by him as '*Rājabhāṭa-ādi-vamśa-patita.*' There is a divergence of opinion as to the meaning of this epithet. N. N. Vasu ¹ connects the Pāla family with Rājabhāṭa, who ruled Samatāṭa during the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Seng-chi in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. It may be remembered in this connection that a considerable volume of opinion exists in favour of ascribing the Ashrafpur Plates to the line represented by this monarch. In the opinion of H. P. Śāstrī, the above-quoted phrase means that Dharmapāla ² belonged to the family of a military officer of some king. R. D. Banerji ³ similarly rejects the view that there is any reference to a king of the name of Rājabhāṭa in the passage in question, which, according to him, only suggests that Dharmapāla's family originally held some office under a royal dynasty. He considers the attribution of the Ashrafpur Plates to the seventh century as doubtful, but the evidence of the Chinese literature proves the existence of a king of the name of Rājabhāṭa during that period. The original association of the Pālas with his dynasty cannot, therefore, be regarded as improbable on chronological grounds. There is some truth in the argument advanced in support of this view that both Dharmapāla and Rājabhāṭa were Buddhist monarchs. In the Chāṭsū ⁴ inscription of Bālāditya, mention is made of Śaṅkaragaṇa's victory over

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 147.

² *MASSB.*, III, pp. 6-7.

³ *Bāṅglār Itihās*, p. 166.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 10 ff.

'Bhaṭa, the Gauda King' (*raṇe bhaṭam jivā Gauda-kshitipam*). Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar seems to be right in not taking this word in the mere sense of a warrior. He identifies him with Śūrapāla of the Pāla dynasty, but as Dr. R. C. Majumdar¹ shows, Saṃkaragaṇa was most probably a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II, and fought against Gauda on behalf of his master. The grounds for the supposition that the Gauda king whose defeat by Nāgabhaṭa is referred to in the Gwalior inscription was none other than Dharmapāla, have already been discussed. Thus it appears that it is Dharmapāla who has been called 'Bhaṭa' in the Chāṭsu inscription. Can this suggest his descent from Rājabhāṭa?²

The Rāmapālacharita composed by Sandhyākara Nandī³ in the twelfth century gives a different story of the origin of the Pālas. According to the commentary on this work they were connected with a family sprung from the sea, as Dharma (i.e., Dharmapāla) is described in it as *Samudra-kula-dīpa* or the lamp of the family of the sea. Mr. N. N. Vasu⁴ holds that there is probably a veiled allusion to this special association of the Pālas with the sea, as implied in the Rāmacharita commentary, in a passage of the Khālimpur inscription of

¹ JDL., Vol. X, pp. 40-41, also f.n. 4 on p. 40.

² I find with pleasure that the probability of this interpretation has also been noted in IHQ., IX, p. 431. There is, however, no inherent improbability in the view that 'bhaṭa' should mean a warrior only and that the king should be described as such. R. C. Majumdar understands the word in that sense. It is doubtful if 'bhaṭa' can really be an abbreviation of 'Rājabhāṭa.'

³ A MS. of this work was collected by H. P. Śāstri in 1897. The book is written in double entendre like the Rāghava Pañjavīya. From one standpoint it gives the story of the epic hero Rāmachandra and from the other that of Rāmapāla. It was written by Sandhyākara Nandī probably during the reign of Rāmapāla's son Madanapāla (iti Madanodita-vṛttāntaḥ, Canto IV, 48, MAB., III, p. 54) in the twelfth century. His father held the post of Minister of War and Peace under Rāmapāla and the family lived in Varendrimaṇḍala (see the Kaviprasasti, *ibid.*, p. 55). The MS. includes a commentary on the first canto and a few verses of the second. The meaning of the text is so abstruse that the commentary is practically the only means of utilising the work for historical purposes. Hence the greater part of it is almost a sealed book to us.

⁴ Rājanya-Kaṇḍa, p. 149.

Dharmapāla, where Dayitavishṇu, the founder of the family, has been compared to the sea from which the moon and the goddess of fortune have emerged¹ (*Sriya iva subhagāyāḥ sambhavo vāri-rāśiḥ*—v. 2). But the intention of the author seems merely to produce a poetical effect, to describe Dayitavishṇu in a conventional style as the source of the great glory that awaited

¹ J. C. Ghosh tries to prove (I.H.Q., IX, p. 479 f.) that the origin from 'samudra-kula,' attributed by this text, means in fact nothing but solar lineage, firstly, on the ground that Samudra somewhere has been mentioned as a kinsman of Rāmachandra who was a member of the solar race, secondly, on the assumption that 'samudra-kula' in the Rāmcharita is a mistake for 'Sāgara-kula' or 'Sāgara-vaṃśa,' since Samudra is not known to have left any heirs, and thirdly, because Sāgara is one of the 108 names of Sūrya. If in fact the author's or the commentator's intention was to convey the information that the Pālas were Kshatriyas of the so-called solar category, this round-about way was certainly not the appropriate one. The same writer (*ibid.*, pp. 490, 487) in upholding the Kshatriya origin of the Pālas refers to the Udayasundari-kathā, composed by the Gujarati writer Sodḍhala who flourished in the 12th century, in which mention is made of a Dharmapāla of the Māndhātā family, described as a ruler of Uttarāpatha, who was defeated and imprisoned during the reign of Śilāditya (Gaekwad Oriental Series, p. 4). There is in the text no evidence as to the date and identity of this Śilāditya. What ground is there for concluding that this particular monarch flourished in the 8th century so that he might be regarded as a contemporary of Dharmapāla, the Pāla king of Gauḍa? Sodḍhala merely says that he was descended from a Kalāditya, the brother of Śilāditya. The text moreover does not definitely imply that Dharmapāla was the lord of the whole (*sakala*) of Uttarāpatha. The connection with Māndhātā, as referred to in the above text, it is pointed out, is also alluded to in verse 11 of the Khālimpur grant which describes the advance of Dharmapāla's army: *dhātte Māndhātṛi-sainyavyatikara-chakita dhyāna-tandri-Mohendraḥ*. Here Māndhātā is to be taken as doing duty for Dharmapāla. This is an impossible view. For the correct interpretation of the verse, see Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 252, and f.n. 2. It is significant that even such a late authority as Tārānāth does not believe in an undiluted Kshatriya origin of the Pālas. The founder of the dynasty, according to him, was born of a Kshatriya woman by a Tree-spirit. The Kshatriya affiliation claimed for the Pālas by some 12th century protégés evidently had doubters who were content with giving a legendary origin.

K. P. Jayaswal points to certain verses in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa which are to be regarded as applying to the political condition of Gauḍa before and after Gopāla's accession, and also throwing light on the caste of the Pālas. Verse 683, which begins with *tato Gopālako rājā bhavati sarvada (ta)-s-tadā* introduces the history of a king of this name. Again, verse 683: *tataḥ paraṃ bhūpālā Gopālā dāsa-jivinaḥ | bhaviṣyati na sandeho dyūṣṭi-kṛipāṃ janā ||* which refers to a line of kings, the Gopālas, is interpreted as being connected with the first verse. Thus it is found that Gopāla and his line were originally Śūdras (whose occupation was to serve others). There is reason for regarding vv. 681-684 with some amount of suspicion, but this is one of the traditions which must have been current regarding the real position of the Pālas originally. See Imperial History, pp. 45, 71, 72.

his family. The reason why the origin of the Pālas has been ascribed to the Sea remains inexplicable unless perhaps it is conceded that the commentator on the Rāmacharita¹ suggests their association with Gauda standing on the borders of the Bay of Bengal (cf. the Harāha inscription—*Gauḍān samudr-āśrayān...*). Perhaps belonging to an offshoot of Rājabhāṭa's dynasty, they at first lived in the close vicinity of the sea, where they were already reputed for their military and intellectual abilities, prior to Gopāla's elevation to the throne. Northern Bengal is considered by some to have been the original home of the Pālas, but the grounds on which this belief is entertained should be carefully scrutinised. The occupation of a part of Northern Bengal by the Kambojas² is proved by the Dinājpur inscription of their king, belonging to the tenth century. It was probably by defeating them that he is said to have succeeded in effecting the restoration of 'rājyam pitryam' to his control.³ In the Rāmacharita commentary there are passages which describe the territory (Varendrī) held by the Kaivartas as 'Janakabhūh' 'of the Pālas, later recovered from their hands (janakabhūr-dasyun-opadhi-ratinā; [tātā] bhūmim). The same expression has been also used in the Kamauli inscription of

¹ Com. on I, v. 3, MAB., III, p. 20, anyatra samudra-kula-dīpo Dharmmah Dharmma-nāmā Dharmmapāle iti yāvat | ,pripatir-abbhūt | Cf. Rājanya-K., p. 149. Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests that Samudra here may mean Samudragupta, the Gupta emperor of the 4th century, on the evidence of the Javanese work, Tantri Kāmandaka, "which belongs to the Far Eastern Group of Pañchatantra texts." This mentions a mahārāja named Aiśvaryapāla, who ruled at his capital Pātaliputra 'in old times,' tracing his descent from Samudragupta. The former is to be identified with Rāmapāla's son Vittapāla, mentioned by Taranāth. There is no epigraphic evidence, however, that this Vittapāla ever ascended the throne; the element 'Pāla' in the name Aiśvaryapāla is no sufficient proof of connection with the Pāla dynasty; 'old times' in the description of this monarch is too vague an expression to serve as an accurate sign-post. Moreover, if the tradition regarding the origin of the Pālas from Samudragupta got current in the 11th century as suggested by the scholar, the Rc. commentary would have surely mentioned Samudragupta in explaining 'samudra' of the text.

² JAB., N.S., Vol. VII, p. 680.

³ See v. 12 of the Bāngarh Inscr., Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 286; GLM., p. 95.

⁴ Com. on Canto I, vv. 26, 30, MAB., III, pp. 31, 34. The commentary explains it as paitra (paitra) bhūmim Varendrī.

Vaidyadeva in connection with the defeat inflicted by Kāmapāla on the Kaivartas, that resulted in the re-establishment of the Pāla control in Northern Bengal (*tene yena jagattraye janakabhū-lābhād*, v. 4). But the term '*janakabhūh*' in these different sources may well be taken to mean the ancestral kingdom (*pitryam rājyam* as in the Bāngarh ins.) of the Pālas rather than their native district.

From these preliminary discussions on the chronology of the Early Pālas and their antecedents,¹ we may pass on to a

¹ Dr. Sahidullah's reconstruction of early Pāla history (IHQ., Vol. VII, p. 570 f.) contains a series of assumptions: (1) that Bappaṭa (Gopāla's father) was the king of Paṇḍra, who was defeated by the Śaila invader of the 8th century; (2) that Gopāla's wife, Daddadevī, was a descendant of Rājabhāṭa; (3) that Gopāla was first elected king of Vaṅga, and as such fought against Yaśovarman of Kanauj and Harsha of Kāmarūpa; (4) that Gaṇḍa did not come into the possession of the Pālas before Dharmapāla's reign. Because the later kings of the Pāla dynasty referred to Varendri as their ancestral dominion, it does not necessarily follow that Bappaṭa must have been a king of Paṇḍravardhana. Dharmapāla's dominions included North Bengal, and as continuity of Pāla rule in that region is fairly proved through a succession of reigns, it could appropriately be referred to as the ancestral kingdom of the family on such occasions as are recorded in literature and epigraphy. It must be understood that Bappaṭa is not definitely known to have been a king at all. According to Tibetan tradition Gopāla 'lived principally in Paṇḍravardhana,' but Varendra was conquered by Dharmapāla. Regarding the suggestion that Gopāla defeated Harsha, the Kāmarūpa king, it is based firstly on the Tibetan tradition that he was a contemporary of the Kaśmir king of this name, but as he belonged to the 10th century, Tāranāth's Harsha may be identified with the Kāmarūpa king, mentioned in a Nepāl inscription already referred to, and secondly, on the interpretation of a passage occurring in the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (*jitvā yaḥ Kāmakāri-prabhavam-abhībhavam*). As to the first point I may be permitted to express my agreement with it (see IHQ., 1927, 588), since no other Harsha of this age is known to history and the Kāmarūpa king who was alive in about the middle of the 8th century could be reckoned as a contemporary of Gopāla. But this contemporaneity does not prove that the one fought against the other. What about the so-called 'Later Guptas' of Bihār? What did Gopāla gain by defeating Harsha? Did he succeed in conquering Gaṇḍa? It is urged that the interpretation of 'Kāmakāri' in the above text as meaning the enemy king of Kāma (which he thinks stands for Kāmarūpa), is grammatically possible, but we are not aware of the actual use of the word Kāma as denoting the Kāmarūpa country. Moreover, the simple meaning of the verse is so obvious and can be so suitably applied to Gopāla as a review of his career, that it surely deserves to be preferred. The verse clearly shows Gopāla's success in dealing with lawless elements (kāmakāri—those who acted according to their own will or caprice). If he actually defeated Harsha of Kāmarūpa, who had conquered Gaṇḍa, his success did not, according to Dr. Sahidullah's own showing, bring any benefit

detailed history of the dynasty. The circumstances under which Gopāla was raised to the throne have been already discussed. The purpose for which he was elected to the throne was realised under his reign. The words of the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, repeated in the Bāngarh inscription of Mahipāla, the Āmgāchhi Plate of Vighrahapāla III, and the Manahali inscription of Madanapāla, leave little room for doubt that he was able to restore the country to peace and order, in consequence of which victory was established over forces tending to anarchy and lawlessness (*Jitvā yaḥ kāmakāri-prabharam-abhibhavam śāśvatīm prāpa śāntim*—: he attained to eternal peace, having vanquished those who acted as they willed—).¹ According to Tāranāth² he originally ruled in Bengal but afterwards succeeded in reducing Magadha. If there is any kernel of truth underlying the episode of Jayāpīḍa's association with Gauda, as recorded by Kalhaṇa, it seems not improbable that Jayanta, the contemporary ruler of Paundravardhana, was identical with Gopāla. It is useful to remember two facts in this connection. The Kashmīr historian refers to the good government (*sauryāya*) that prevailed in Northern Bengal under Jayanta, and secondly, the prince whose sway originally flourished in a comparatively small region ultimately became the ruler of the Five Gauda's. The information relating to Gopāla, gleaned from the account of Tāranāth as well as the epigraphy of the Pāla dynasty, seems to be in accord with the facts presented in the *Rājataranginī*³

to the conqueror. In the circumstances a later inscription of the family would not have referred to it as something most important to be recorded about Gopāla's reign. Regarding the dates of accession of Gopāla and Dharmapāla, as suggested by Dr. S., all that may be said here is that it is necessary to deal with the Pāla chronology as a whole and not in a piecemeal manner, and that it must be based on those broad landmarks which are obtainable from different sources. It will be impossible to settle Pāla chronology mainly with the help of Tibetan literature. There are many points in which it does not deserve credence, e.g., the contemporaneity of Gopāla with Hareha of Kashmīr, the succession of Gopāla by Devapāla, etc.

¹ GLM., pp. 57, 93, 123, 149.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, p. 366.

³ This point was noticed by Cunningham, see OASR., Vol. XV, p. 111.

regarding Jayanta as mentioned above. The proposed identification does not seem to offer any chronological difficulty, as the approximate date of Jayāpīḍa's intervention in the affairs of Gauda falls within the reign-period of Gopāla (according to the scheme adopted by us). Provided the latter's identity with Jayanta be assumed as correct, the Chronicle of Kashmīr may be regarded as throwing some light on the circumstances that helped him in the expansion of his kingdom. But the suggestion cannot be carried too far, as there is no epigraphic corroboration of the story related in that work. The inscriptions of the Pālas do not supply any specific details about Gopāla's military activities. In the Monghyr grant¹ of his grandson Devapāla, it is stated that he conquered the whole earth extending up to the sea (*vijitya yen = ā-jaladher-vasundharām rimochitā mogha-parigrahā-iti*, v. 3). The inference may be drawn that the Gauda territory was limited by the Bay of Bengal in the south during his reign. In the same inscription he has been described as the lord of the earth (*patir-abhavat-vasundharāyāh*, v. 2) and in the Khālimpur inscription of his son Dharmapāla his pre-eminence among the rulers of his time is indicated in his description as "the crest-jewel of the heads of monarchs" (*Kshitīṣa-śirasām chūdāmaṇiḥ*, v. 4).² But no definite conclusion can be deduced from such vague panegyrical expressions. There is no extant inscription that can be assigned to Gopāla's rule. An inscription found at Nālandā (modern Bargaon) mentioning Gopāla was regarded by Cunningham as belonging to the reign of the founder of the dynasty.³ But its palæography proves it to be of a much later date.⁴ The evidence of the Āmgāchhi Plate was once interpreted⁵ as suggesting that

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 304; GLM., p. 35.

² Ep. Ind., IV, p. 248 ff.

³ CASR., Vol. III, p. 120.

⁴ MASB., Vol. V, p. 65.

⁵ Colebrooke, AS. Res., Vol. IX, p. 435. The correction was made by H. H. Wilson. CASR., App. II, p. 204.

the name of Dharmapāla's father was Lokapāla, but in that inscription as well as in some of the other Pāla grants, it has been clearly used as an epithet of the Daśabala Buddha (*Śrīmal-Lokanātha jayati Daśabalo' nyaś-cha Gopāla-devaḥ*, v. 1). In its literal sense the term can be fittingly applied to any monarch ; and it has been actually employed in this signification with reference to Rājyapāla, in a different passage of the same inscription (*madhyama-lokapāla*, v. 7). Gopāla's wife was called Daddadevī. Kielhorn took her to be the daughter of a king of the name of Bhadra, about whom nothing is known from any source.¹ It is more probable, as A. K. Maitreya² holds, that the verse in the Khālimpur grant does not really give the name of Gopāla's father-in-law, but only invests his queen with the halo of a Purāṇic character. His devotion to his wife is probably implied in a passage which occurs in the introductory portion of the grant, proclaiming the dual triumph of Daśabala and Gopāla (*Maitrīm kārūṇya-ratna-pramudita-hṛdayaḥ preya-sīm sandadhānaḥ.....jayati Daśabalo ' nyaś-cha Gopāla-devaḥ....*, v. 1).³

All that is known about Gopāla's administration is that he deserved the popular confidence reposed in him by the success he achieved in his domestic policy, and that the foundations of an empire destined to play an important part in the future history of India were firmly laid during his reign.

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. IV. p. 246, n. 6; one writer suggested that Gopāla figures in the Nadhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman as a *Sāmanā* and that he married the daughter of Jyeshtha-bhadra who also appears in the same text, IHQ., VII, pp. 752-53. But the uncertainty of the reading of the latter's name is not so serious an obstacle to the acceptance of this view as the impossible chronology which it involves. The arguments of this writer have been well criticised by A. C. Banerjee, IHQ., Vol. VIII, pp. 367-70. He has also contradicted himself in IHQ., Vol. V, p. 479 f.

² GLM., p. 80 f.n.

³ This verse is included in the subsequent copper-plate grants of the family, found at Bāngarh, Āngāchhi and Manahali.

CHAPTER VII

DHARMAPĀLA AND THE EPOCH OF DIGVIJAYA

The invasion of Gauḍa by the Gurjara king Vatsarāja. Political rivalry between the Gurjaras and the Rāshtrakūṭas. An attack on Kanauj by Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva—Humiliation of Vatsarāja. A Gauḍa king's flight from the region between the Ganges and the Yamunā. An opportunity for the expansion of political power by Dharmapāla. His supremacy in Kanauj. His *digvijaya*. Govinda III's Northern campaigns. Dharmapāla's interview. His authority reduced by the Gurjaras. The Tippera grant of Lokanātha, a feudstory of Dharmapāla (?). Dharmapāla's popularity. His imperial policy. Brahmin ministers; matrimonial alliance, etc.

With the assumption of sovereignty by Gopāla's son, Dharmapāla, the history of Bengal entered upon a complicated stage characterised by the rivalry of the Pāla dynasty with other Powers of the time, specially the Gurjaras and the Rāshtrakūṭas. The period of Dharmapāla's reign, which extended over almost half a century, may be divided into three parts. During the first few years of his rule Gauḍa was again thrown into the background. It was attacked and humiliated by the Gurjaras, but a determined attempt was made by the Pāla monarch to retrieve the loss of prestige suffered at the hands of his enemy. His activities in this direction were crowned with success, but in the concluding period of his reign a considerable set-back in the tide of his fortune was caused by the recurrence of Gurjara hostilities. During his reign the Pālas came for the first time into contact with the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan, who had founded an independent dynasty in A.D. 753, after having ousted the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, whose most powerful representative, Pulakeśin II, was an enemy of Harshavardhana of Northern India in the first half of the seventh century. As the persistent hostility between the Gurjaras and the Pālas constituted an outstanding feature of the political transactions of Northern India during the period under review and nearly a

century subsequent to it, it may not be out of place to refer here to certain salient points in the preceding history of the former, so that the significant rôle played by them afterwards may be viewed in its proper perspective. The Gurjaras are believed by some scholars to have come from Central Asia and entered India along with the Hūnas in the fifth century. But this alleged foreign origin is disputed on grounds, some of which cannot be ignored.¹ With the collapse of the short-lived empires of Mihirakula and Yaśodharman, they found an opportunity for building up a political power, which they did not fail to exploit to their best advantage. About the middle of the 6th century a clan of the Gurjaras established a ruling dynasty under the leadership of Harichandra, whose four sons occupied Māṇḍavya-pura (probably identical with the modern Mandor, five miles to the north of Jodhpur in Rājputāna). That portion of Rājputāna

¹ V. A. Smith, JRAS., 1909, p. 54; Baines, Ethnography, p. 81; Bomb. Gaz., Vol. IX, Pt. I, pp. 471-78. According to Cunningham they were connected with the Yue-shi, s. CASR., II, p. 70.* The Gurjaras and the Hūnas are sometimes mentioned separately in old records, cf. HC., p. 101 (Cowell and Thomas). Some hold that there is a probable reference to the Gurjaras in the Tamil work, Maṇimekhalai, as having built a temple on the Kāveri, s. JDL., Vol. X, p. 3, n. 2. Dr. Barnett doubts whether the Gurjaras really came from Central Asia with the Hūnas. His remark is as follows: "The fact that they were nomad warriors does not prove they were foreign in origin; the Vedic Aryans were in part also nomads. Some of their descendants 2,000 years later may have been living the same sort of life." The foreign origin of the Gurjaras is strongly opposed by C. V. Vaidya, History of Medieval Hindu India, Vol. II; also Newfield, Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, pp. 12-13; D. C. Ganguly, IHQ., 1934 (June), pp. 337-43 (for a criticism of points raised in this article, see Ind. Cult., 1935, pp. 610-13). R. S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj (1937), pp. 220-24, supports the theory of foreign origin. It is to be noted that Harichandra (sixth century), the founder of the first known Pratihāra dynasty, married two wives—one of the Brahmin caste and the other a Kshatriya woman. His sons by the first wife became Pratihāra Brahmins. Harichandra claims descent from Lakshmapa, a brother of Rāmachandra of the solar group. The same claim is made by the family of Bhoja, as recorded in the Gwalior inscription where Vatsarāja is described as 'the foremost amongst the most distinguished Kshatriyas' (ekaḥ Kshatriya-puṅgavaśu....., v. 7). Also Rājasekhara, a contemporary of Bhoja's son and successor Mahendrapāla (ninth century), speaks of the latter as Raghukulatilaka in the Viddhaśālabhañjika (Canto I, śloka 6) and Raghurāmeṇi in his Bāla-bharatī (Canto I, śloka 11). All these belong to the 9th century, when, naturally enough, the powerful rulers of this stock, if at all of foreign origin, would not brook any allusion to it, since after purification they had already become zealous champions of Hinduism.

extending from about Didwāna, Siwa and Maglona, which was held by this family, came to be known as Gurjaratrā¹ in the ninth century, from the fact of its having been reckoned as a stronghold of the Gurjara dynasty. All information regarding Harichandra's family, which extended over twelve generations, is to be principally gathered from the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka² and the five Ghaṭiyālā inscriptions of Kakkuka,³ both sons of Kakka by different wives, with whom the family ended. The Jodhpur inscription is dated, according to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, in *Vikrama Samvat* 894 (=837 A.D.)⁴ and of the five inscriptions of Kakkuka three belong to *Samvat* 918 (=A.D. 861). The fourth king of the dynasty established his capital at Meḍantaka which Munshi Deviprasād⁵ identifies with Merta, 120 miles north-east of Mandor. A Gurjara line (*Gurjara-nripavarṇa*) was also founded in Broach by the *Samanta* Dadda,⁶ probably dependent on the Jodhpur Pratihāra line, about the close of the sixth century, and it may be that he is to be identified with Harichandra's youngest son of this name by his Brahmin wife. The third king of this line associated with Broach, Prasāntarāga (I) Dadda II,⁷ was alive in 629 A.D. Several grants⁸ belonging to the last of the Gurjaras of Broach, Jayabhaṭa III, are dated A.D. 706 and

¹ Ep. Ind., IX, p. 250; JBBRAS., XXI, pp. 414-15. Cf. the Ghaṭiyālā ins. of Kakkuka (Gurjaratrā-bhūmi in which was comprised Deṇḍvānsakaviśaya), JRAS., 1896, p. 517; the Daulatpurā Plate of Bhojadeva I, Ep. Ind., V, p. 206 ff. (Gurjaratrā-bhūman); an inscr. from Kūlañjar, *ibid.*, p. 210, n. 3 (Gurjaratrā-maṇḍala).

² JRAS., 1894, p. 1 ff.; Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 87 ff.

³ JRAS., 1895, p. 513 ff.; Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 277 ff.

⁴ The date was read as '910' by Munshi Deviprasād and as only '4' by Kielhorn. See JRAS., 1894, p. 9 and f.n. 2. For D. R. Bhandarkar's reading, see JBBRAS., XXI, p. 421. R. C. Majumdar supports Bhandarkar's reading in Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 89. See Prog. Rep. ASI. (W. Circle), 1906-07, pp. 30, 31. But R. D. Banerji differs, see JBORS., XIV, pp. 500-01.

⁵ JRAS., 1894, p. 8.

⁶ Ind. Ant., XVII, pp. 191, 195; JDL., X, p. 11; Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 91.

⁷ Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 818.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 118, n. 7; Vol. XIII, pp. 73, 77; Kielhorn's List, Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 57, Nos. 402, 403.

A.D. 736. The Gurjara principality founded by Dadda covered, according to Fleet, "the country from the north bank of the river Kim to the south bank of the Mahi" which "inland extended to the Ghats."¹ The Chinese traveller, Hiuen-tsang,² noticed the existence of a Gurjara kingdom (Kiu-che-lo) about 300 miles north of Valabhī, the capital of which was situated at Pi-lo-mo-lo.³ Its king was a Kshatriya by caste. Perhaps the Chinese traveller refers to the same territory in Rājaputāna as was ruled by Harichandra's line.⁴ The growth of the Gurjaras as a political power in Rājaputāna and Broach was not considered desirable by the two imperial dynasties of contemporary Northern and Southern India respectively, viz., the Vardhanas of Thānesar and the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi in the Bijāpur district, who succeeded for the time being in resisting an increase of their influence. Bāgabhaṭṭa⁵ speaks of Prabhākara-vardhana's causing 'sleeplessness' to the Gurjaras, but the *Sāmanta* Dadda II of Broach is mentioned as having granted protection to the lord of Valabhī against Harshadeva.⁶ The submission of the Gurjaras to the arms of the Chālukya king Pulakeśin II, is recorded in the Aihole inscription, dated A.D. 634.⁷ The

¹ Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 315.

² Watters, Vol. II, p. 249; Beal, Si-yu-ki, Vol. II, p. 270.

³ Pi-lo-mo-lo = Bhilmāl (Dr. Barnett). This corresponded to the central and northern Rājaputāna. Pi-lo-mo-lo has been identified by some with Jaisalmer State. As to the antiquity of the name Bhilmālā, it is stated that Brahmagupta, the famous astronomer of the 6th century, is mentioned in his *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta* as a resident of this place, see Ind. Ant., 1928, p. 182. Objections against this view were offered by D. R. Bhandarkar long ago, see JBBRAS., XXI, p. 418. The Jodhpur Inscription of Bāuka refers to the grandson of Śiluka (a probable contemporary of Nāgabhaṭṭa I's nephew Davarāja) by the name Bhilmāditya; see Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 96. It is not unlikely that he was so called because of some association with Bhilmāl.

⁴ JDL., Vol. X, p. 9. For a different view, see Bühler, Ind. Ant., XVII, 192; V. A. Smith, JBRAS., 1907, p. 923.

⁵ JBBRAS., Vol. XXI, p. 415.

⁶ Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 315-16; Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 77.

⁷ Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 67 ff.; Vol. VIII, p. 237 ff.; ASWI., Vol. III, p. 129 ff.; Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 1 ff. The text has the following verse (No. 22): 'Pratāp-opanatā yasya Lāṭa-Mālava-Gurjarāḥ daṇḍ-opanata-sāmanta-cherry-śchāryyā iv-śbbavan.'

Gurjaras (called Jurz¹ or Juzr by the Arab historians and geographers, such as Sulaiman, Al Bilāduri and Al Mas'ūdī) seem to have undergone a temporary eclipse of power owing to the successful Arab raids undertaken by the officers of Khalif Hashām's (724-43 A.D.) general, Junaid, son of 'Abdu-r Rahmān al-Marri, whose career came to a close about 726 A.D.² But a remarkable destiny awaited the Pratihāra clan under a new line which commenced its career at Bhilmal in Rājputāna under Nāgabhaṭa I, in the early part of the eighth century. If his identification with Nāgāvaloka, mentioned in the Hānsoṭ Plates (V.S. 813=756 A.D.)³ of the Chāhamāna Bhratrivaḍḍa II, as proposed by D. R. Bhandarkar⁴ and accepted by Sten Konow,⁵ be adopted, it will be seen that he had established control over Broach by the year A.D. 756. It may be noted here that this Nāgāvaloka is mentioned to have defeated the armies of the *Mlechchhas*, who are named as Valacha (Baluchs) in the said grant according to D. R. Bhandarkar's reading,⁶ and that a victory over the same people is attributed to Nāgabhaṭa I also in the Gwalior *Praśasti* of Bhoja. The Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan succeeded to the anti-Gurjara policy of the Western Chālukyas whom they had overthrown. The almost hereditary struggle between the two Powers began when Dantidurga, the founder of the Deccan dynasty, conquered Avanti and performed the Hiranyagarbha sacrifice at Ujjain, where the Gurjara king with others was made to officiate as a door-keeper⁷

¹ In Appendix A, Elliot's Hist. of Ind., Vol. I, pp. 358-59, it is said that "Juzr closely resembles the name 'Guzerāt,' especially in its Arabic form 'Juzarāt' and the other known conditions are satisfied by this identification." See also *ibid.*, p. 4, n. 2, p. 126, n. 4; J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 264; J.D.L., Vol. X, p. 20, p. 126, n. 4.

² Elliot, Hist. of Ind., Vol. I, pp. 125, 126, 441-442. Junaid also sent a force against Uzain (=Ujjain).

³ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 197 ff.

⁴ Ind. Ant., 1911, p. 240.

⁵ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 200.

⁶ Ind. Ant., 1911, p. 240, n. 12.

⁷ The Gurjara king may have been the same as Vatsarāja's father Devarāja, see J.D.L.,

(*Hiranya - garbham rājanyair - Ujjayanyām yadāsitam | Pratihārikritamāyena Gurjar - eś- ādi - rājakam ||*).¹ Vatsarāja, the son of Devarāja² or Devaśakti, probably identical with the prince of this name, who, according to the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, suffered a defeat at the hands of Śiluka of the rival Pratihāra family, was the first prominent member of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Bhilmal. In the Gwalior inscription³ he is said to have forcibly captured the empire (*sāmrajyam*) from the hands of Bhaṇḍi's clan (vv. 6-7). The text clearly gives the impression that this was by far the most successful *coup* achieved by the family since its history began, but as nothing is known about the particular clan at whose cost the victory was won, it is difficult to unfold its exact implications in the onward march of the dynasty. Bānabhaṭṭa furnishes some details about Bhaṇḍi who was Harshavardhana's cousin, but he tells us nothing on the strength of which any suggestion can be ventured regarding his political status. Even if it were possible, it would require at least some evidence to bring the history of his family in a chain of continuity down to the time of Vatsarāja (latter half of the eighth century). In the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka it is said that he was the son of Kakka by his wife Padminī who belonged to the Bhaṭṭi family. A theory has been advanced that the Gwalior inscription refers to this family, by defeating which Vatsarāja became the master of an empire.⁴ If this view is to be accepted, it is far from clear how one can say that the reference in the Gwalior *Prasasti* means in fact the seizure of the dominions

¹ V. 9 of the Sanjan grant, dated S. 793—Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp. 239, 243. Cf. the *Jeina Harivamśa* which assigns Avanti to (Gurjara-Pratihāra) king Vatsarāja. For another reference to the sacrifice held at Ujjain, see *Dādāvatāra* inscr., at Ellora, ASWL, Vol. V, p. 88.

² This Devarāja is described as the ruler of Valla-maṇḍala in v. 19 of the Jodhpur ins., see Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 96.

³ Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp. 98, 94, 108.

⁴ JDL, Vol. I; Ep. Ind., XVIII, 93-94. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 28-29, identifies the Bhaṇḍi clan with Bhaṭṭivamśa, and thinks that the importance of the family may be realised from the fact of its matrimonial alliance with Bāuka.

of the rival dynasty of Harichandra whose descendant Bāuka was, since it was not he but his wife who is said to have been connected with Bhaṭṭi's clan in the Jodhpur inscription. It is to be pointed out here that the reading of the name Bhaṇḍi is conjectural. Can it be that the name actually given in the record was that of Vajra, *i.e.*, Vajrāyudha, who was on the throne of Kanauj before it came to be occupied by Indrāyudha? ¹ His supremacy in Central Rājputāna is proved by the Daulatpurā copper-plate of Bhojadeva I, ² renewing the grant of a village in Deṇḍvānaka-*bhukti*, originally made by Vatsarāja I, and the Jaina temple inscription at Osia (formerly Ukeśa), ³ 32 miles north of Jodhpur, which refers to Vatsarāja II. The first recorded contact between the Gurjaras of Bhilmal and the ruling family of Gauḍa took place during his reign, when a three-power struggle ensued involving the Pratihāras, the Pālas and the Rāshtrakūṭas, which opened with an act of aggression on the part of Vatsarāja. According to verse 12 of the Waṇi grant (A. D. 807), ⁴ repeated in the Rudhānpur inscription ⁵ (v. 8) (A.D. 808), the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Dhruva, by his matchless armies, drove away, "into the trackless desert (Marwar) Vatsarāja" who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of royalty of Gauḍa [(*Helā*)-*svī(kṛi)ta*-*Gauḍa-rājya-kamalā-mattain-praveśy* = *āchirāt durmārgam maru-madhyam* = *aprativa* (*ba*)*lair* = *yo Vatsarājān va*(*ba*)*lai(h)*]. He snatched away the two royal parasols of Gauḍa, "white like the rays of the autumn moon," from the hands of the Gurjara king and destroyed his fame "that had spread to the confines of regions "

¹ *Karpūramañjarī*, III, 5, pp. 74, 266.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 206. The date is the year 900, as corrected by D. R. Bhandarkar, see *JBBRAS.*, XXI, pp. 410-11 ; *JDL.*, X, p. 33, n. 8.

³ Marshall, *JBAS.*, 1907, p. 1010 ; *Prog. Rep. ASI. (W. Circle)*, 1900-07, pp. 15, 26.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 157.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 59 f. ; *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 248 f.

[*Gauḍīyaṃ śaraḍ-īndu-pāda-dhavalāṃ chchhatra-dravyaṃ kevalaṃ tasmān = n = āhṛita tad = yaśo'pi kakubhaṃ prānte sthitaṃ tatksaṇāt*]. In verse 14 of the Sanjan¹ grant of Amoghavarsha it is stated that Dhruva took away the royal parasols of "the king of Gauḍa as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna" (*Gaṅgā-Namunayor-mmadhye rājño Gauḍasya naśyataḥ* | *Lakṣmī-līl-āraṇīkāni śṛeta-chchhatrāṇi.....*) This evidently refers to the same conflict as is recorded in the Wari and Radhānpur grants, but it is not clear why the Sanjan inscription has introduced a Gauḍa king in this connection.² If he was a ruler of Bengal, what brought him to Kanauj? Probably the king of Gauḍa or one of his lieutenants was forced to accompany Vatsarāja when the latter returned to Kanauj after his triumphant activities in Bengal. When the Rāshtrakūṭa invader appeared in that territory, he might have found it necessary to retreat to Gauḍa for his own safety. The information supplied in the Sanjan grant is in conformity with the fact recorded in the Baroda inscription³ of *Mahāsāmantā-dhipāti* Karka II that Dhruva seized the territory lying between the Ganges and the Jumna and was thus in a position to use the emblems of the two rivers as a symbol of his conquest.

Vatsarāja's defeat at the hands of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva proved highly advantageous to the Pālas. The Gurjara king was

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 241

² Dr. Barnett thinks that "apparently he was a native King of Gauḍa who suffered severe thrashings from both Vatas and Dhruva."

According to D. R. Bhandarkar, the Gauḍa King, Dharmapāla, after the defeat of Vatsarāja, made common cause with the Kanauj king and "began to pursue the Rāshtrakūṭa invader" and encountered him before he was able to reach his dominions, see Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 289. The alliance between the Pāla king and Vatsarāja is a mere guess-work. R. C. Majumdar holds that the King of Gauḍa was defeated by the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva between the Ganges and the Jumna, see JDL, X, p. 35, n. 2. It may be noted, however, that the establishment of the Gauḍa sway in Kanauj was a later event.

³ Ind. Ant., XII, p. 159, ll. 22-23. Fleet translates the passage as follows: "who, taking from his enemies the *Gaṅgā* and the *Yamunā*,... acquired at the same time that supreme position of lordship (which was indicated) by (those rivers in) the form of a visible sign." That the Rāshtrakūṭa king referred to in the passage was not Govinda, as suggested by Fleet, but his father Dhruva, was first pointed out by R. C. Majumdar in JDL, X, p. 35, n. 2. D. R. Bhandarkar accepts the identification, see Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 239, n. 4.

driven into the desert of Mārṅar ; and before his dynasty could recover from the serious shock they had sustained, Dharmapāla was emboldened to set out on a policy of expansion, which gradually drew him and his dynasty into an inevitable competition with the Gurjaras for supremacy in Northern India. To prevent a recurrence of Gurjara raids on Gaṇḍa it was necessary to secure an effective control of the western route to his kingdom. It was therefore designed to reduce Kanauj to a Pāla stronghold. For some time past the political condition of the territory had been unsatisfactory. One of its kings, Yaśovarman, was probably killed by Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa of Kashmīr in the first half of the eighth century. Another king of Kanauj, Vajrāyudha, seems to have been dethroned by Lalitāditya's grandson, Jayāpīḍa.¹ In A.D. 783-84 Indrāyudha was seated on its throne, but the pressure exerted in turn by Vatsarāja and Dhruva must have interrupted the course of normal government in this unfortunate country. After the withdrawal of Dhruva from Northern India, Dharmapāla's aggressive activities ultimately brought him into close touch with the affairs of Kanauj. The Khālimpur grant,² dated in the 32nd year of his reign, mentions that a king of Kanauj owed his sovereignty to an act of patronage on the part of the Pāla monarch, which was acclaimed by the rulers of the Bhojas, Matsyas, Madras, Kurus, Yadus, Yavanas, of Avanti, Gandhāra and Kīra. The ceremony of his installation was performed with the help of the elders of Pañchāla, who "lifted up the golden coronation jar" (*Bhojair-Mmatsyair sa-Madrair Kuru-Yadu-Yavan-Avanti-Gandhāra-Kirair = bhūpair = rājā-lola-mauli-pranati-parīṇatair sādhu saṅgīryamānaḥ | hrīṣyat Pañchāla-vṛiddh-oddhṛita-kanaka-maya-sv-ābhishek-odakumbho dattaḥ śrī-Kanyakubjas-salalita-chalita-bhrūlatā-lakshma yena || v. 12*). Further light on Dharmapāla's work in Kanauj is shed by a passage in a later document, viz., the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla,³ which

¹ Karpāramajeri, III, 5—p. 266; Stein, *Rajast.*, Ek. IV, 471.

² *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 248.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 804.

states that having defeated Indrarāja (Indrāyudha) and others, he seized the fortune of Mahodaya¹ and later placed on its throne his own nominee, Chakrāyudha,² a suppliant of his favours just as Vāmana was to Bṛh (Jitv = *Indrarāja-prabhritin-arātīn upārjitā yena Mahodaya-śrīḥ dattā punaḥ sa Balin = ārthayitre Chakrāyudhāya nati-Vāmanāya*—v. 5). The policy of imperialism which emerged from the throne of Gauda not only reduced Kanauj to subjection but operated adversely against a number of kings who were forced to acquiesce in his paramountcy (*mauli-praṇāti-parīnataiḥ*). The establishment of his authority in the *Gangā-Yamunā* doab was the crowning act of Dharmapāla's career, which had begun rather ingloriously with the humiliating defeat inflicted upon Gauda by Vatsarāja. The extent of Dharmapāla's imperial supremacy may be determined from an examination of the list of princes given in the Khālimpur inscription, who tendered their submission to him. The Chammak grant of the Vākātaka king Pravarasena II shows that the Bhoja territory (*Bhojakāṭaka*) must have corresponded to the Ilichpur district in Berar.³ It was situated to the north of the Tāpti River, the region lying between the Jumna in the north and the Narmadā in the south. The Matsyas⁴ were connected with the whole of the present state of Alwar and portions of Jaipur and Bharatpur. The Madras⁵ are known to have lived in the central portions of the Punjab. The Kurus were associated with the famous Kurukshetra or Thānesar, about 30 miles to the south of Ambala and 40 miles north of Pānīpat.⁶ From the Lakkhā Maṇḍal *Prasasti*⁷ (A.D. 600-800), recording the dedication of a temple by a princess called Iśvarā, it appears probable that a Yādava dynasty ruled in the

¹ Mahodaya = Kanauj ; cf. Halāyudha's *Abhidhānatnamālā*—*Kanyakubja Mahodaya*—II, 132.

² Tibetan tradition also knows Chakrāyudha to have been a contemporary of Dharmapāla.

³ JRAS., 1914, p. 299. Also *Raghuvardha*, V, 39-40.

⁴ CASR., II, pp. 273-79 ; VI, p. 98 ; XX, p. 2 ; AGI., pp. 267, 290.

⁵ PHAL., pp. 12, 27 ; AGI., p. 693.

⁶ CASR., XIV, pp. 22-23 ; Ind. Ant., 1904, pp. 298-300.

⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 10 f. ; JRAS., Vol. XX, p. 462.

Punjab with their capital at Singhapura, being in the enjoyment of a matrimonial alliance with the royal family of Jullundur in the same province. Some of the Purāṇas refer to the settlement of a branch of the Yadu family at Mathurā.¹ The Kīras² seem to have been connected with the village of Kīragrāma or the site of the famous temples of Baijnāth, about 25 miles to the east of Kangra in the Punjab in latitude 32° 3' N. and longitude 76° 41' E. It was once under the supremacy of Trigarta which included Jalandhar and Kot Kangra. Gandhāra,³ which, in the topographical portion of the Brihatsaṃhitā, is placed in the Northern Division, comprised the present districts of Peshāwar and Rawalpindi. Avanti is the ancient name of Western Mālwa which included the famous city of Ujjain. According to Kielhorn⁴ the inclusion of the Yavanas in the list along with the Yadus is a mere poetical device. But it is likely that these Yavanas represented the Arabs who had already founded a settlement in Sind and were exercising some influence on Gujarat and Kaṭhīāwār at the time.⁵ That the empire built up by Dharmapāla was quite extensive is mentioned in Tāranāth's history, where it is said that he brought Kāmarūpa, Tirahuti (Tirhut) and Gauḍa, etc., under subjection, and that his dominions, reaching on the east as far as the ocean, extended on the west inland to Tili (Delhi), on the north of Jalandhar, and on the south to the Vindhya mountains.⁶

But the Pāla dynasty soon lost their footing in Kanauj, being unable to resist the impact of the revived Gurjara power, and thus their enemy secured an important strategic position

¹ PHAL., p. 56.

² GASR., Vol. V, p. 178; ASI., 1902-03, p. 268; Brihatsaṃhitā, XIV, v. 29; Ep. Ind. (Kīragrāma), Vol. I, p. 124; Vol. II, pp. 9, 15, 194, 482; Ind. Ant., XVII, p. 9; AGI., p. 688; IHQ., IX, pp. 10-17.

³ Foucher, Gandhara.

⁴ Ep. Ind., IV, p. 246.

⁵ JRAS., 1904, p. 257; ASI., 1903-04, pp. 279-80.

⁶ Ind. Ant., IV, p. 866.

whence they could direct their efforts to cripple the influence of Gauḍa. It was Nāgabhaṭa II (Nāgāvaloka II),¹ the son and successor of Vatsarāja, who brought Kanauj under his control, having defeated Dharmapāla's protégé, Chakrāyudha, the meanness of whose character, according to the Gwalior² inscription of Bhoja, had been displayed in his humility towards others (*jītvā par-āśraya-kṛita-sphuṭa-nīcha-bhāvaṃ Chakrāyudhaṃ vinaya-namra-vapur = vyarājat*, v. 9). The *digvijaya* of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Govinda III, son of Vatsarāja's conqueror Dhruva, seems to have preceded the Gurjara occupation of Kanauj under Nāgabhaṭa II. Govinda was probably engaged in a series of campaigns in Northern India in A.D. 808, in the course of which he defeated Nāgabhaṭa. In the Sanjan grant³ of his son, Amoghavarsha, we are told that he carried away in battles "the fair and unshakable fame of kings Nāgabhaṭa and Chandragupta" (v. 22), and the Rāshtrakūṭas took effective measures for checking the intrusive power of the Gurjaras by easily forcing the king of Mālwa⁴ to submit to their arms and by utilising the services of *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Karka II (S. 734=812-13 A.D.) "as a door-bar to prevent" its invasion by the enemy (v. 39 of the Baroda grant).⁵ In verse 23 of the Sanjan Plates it is mentioned that while "the water of the

¹ The reference to Nāgāvaloka in the Pathāri pillar inscription of Parabala (Ep. Ind., IX, p. 248 ff.), whom the latter's father Karkarāja put to flight, must apply to him. The same prince appears in v. 13 of the Harsha inscription of Vīrabharāja (Ep. Ind., II, p. 121, v. 13, also f.n. 26) in such a manner as to imply that possibly he was the overlord and contemporary of the Chāhamana Gūvaka I (c. 816-38).

² ASI, 1903-04, pp. 277-83; Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 108.

³ Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp. 245, 258.

⁴ This is stated in the Wāgi (Ind. Ant., XI, p. 157) and Radhānpur (Ep. Ind., VI, p. 233) grants. V. 24 of the former inscription, repeated in the Radhānpur grant, says about the Mālwa lord: 'What wise man, possessed of but little strength enters into the extremity of competition with a strong man?' According to the Baroda grant (see below) the King of Mālwa had been already struck down by the Gurjaras (-Gauḍendra-Vaṅgapati-nirjaya-durvidagdha, v. 80).

⁵ Ind. Ant., XII, p. 156.

springs of the Himalayas was drunk by his horses" Dharma and Chakrāyudha approached Govinda and surrendered themselves to him of their own accord (*Svayam-ev-opanatau cha yasya mahatas-tau Dharmma-Chakrāyudhau*). It seems that the fear of the Gurjaras drove both Dharmapāla and his ally into the arms of the Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda. But they were mistaken if they supposed that this diplomatic friendship would keep Nāgabhaṭa permanently at bay. With the departure of Govinda from Northern India the situation became favourable for the Gurjara king, who removed Chakrāyudha from the throne of Kanauj as a punishment for his servility (v. 9) to Dharmapāla and Govinda.¹ Not satisfied with this, he seems to have undertaken a vigorous war against the Gauḍa king and his allies, which resulted in Dharmapāla's utter discomfiture and a considerable diminution of his empire. The reason for assuming that the Vaṅga king, mentioned in the Gwalior inscription to have been defeated by Nāgabhaṭa, was Dharmapāla himself has been already stated. In this record Nāgabhaṭa's enemy, the Vaṅga king, has been described as irresistible (*durvvāra-vairi*) with ample military resources at his command. The Gurjara king "revealed himself like the rising sun.....after having vanquished the lord of Vaṅga, who was like the dense and terrible array of a flood of chariots and multitude of horses and elephants" (.....*rara-rāraṇa-rāji-rārayān-augha-saṁghaṭana-ghora-ghanāndhakāram* | *nirjjitya Vaṅgapatim-āvirabhūd-vivasvān-udyann = iva*, v. 10). The war between Nāgabhaṭa and Dharmapāla appears in fact to have assumed the proportions of a mighty struggle for imperial supremacy between two great Powers. In another passage of the Gwalior inscription (v. 11), Nāgabhaṭa is said to have defeated the kings of Andhra, Sindhu, Vidarbha and Kalinga, and captured forts belonging to the rulers of Anarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turushka, Vatsa and Matsya.² A few of these

¹ Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 99 ; ASI., 1908-04, p. 277.

² Anarta = Northern Kāśhīwār—see Ind. Ant., VII, p. 251. For the Kingdom connected with Nepal, see Sylvain Lévi, Le Népal, Vol. II, pp. 77-78. Vatsa = Kāśhīwār. The

names may have been given for purely ornamental purposes, but it is interesting to note that some of them are also found enumerated in the Khālimpur inscription of Dharmapāla in connection with his settlement of the Kanauj question [*cf.* the Matsyas, Bhojas, Vidarbhas, Avantis (Mālava in the Gwalior inscription) and Yavanas (probably the same as the Turushkas mentioned in the Gwalior inscription)]. Nāgabhaṭa's operations against these peoples may have constituted an essential part of a wider programme designed for the purpose of defeating the imperial policy of Gauḍa. His success in the eastern campaigns was due to the valuable help that seems to have been rendered to him by several feudatory chiefs allied to his house, whose exploits are noted in the later inscriptions of their respective families. In the Jodhpur inscription¹ of his son Bāuka by his *mahārāṇī* (chief queen) Padminī, dated A.D. 837(?), Kakka, the great-grandson of Śiluka, is described as having achieved fame in an encounter, with the Gauḍas, that took place at Monghyr (*Yaso' Mudgagirau labdham yena Gauḍaiḥ samam raṇe*, v. 24). Another feudatory who may have similarly assisted Nāgabhaṭa II in his struggle with Dharmapāla was Kalla's grandson, Bāhuka(?)-dhavala, the chief of Surāshṭra, who, according to the Unā (in Kaṭhiāwār, Bombay Presidency) inscription,² dated V.E. 956 (= 899 A.D.) of his great-grandson Avanivarman II, defeated Dharma and other kings through the prowess of his own arms on behalf of his suzerain (*Rājādhirāja*), whose name, however, is not given. The reference to Dharma in this inscription as

identity of Kauṣāmbi with Kosām in the district of Allahabad, first suggested by Cunningham but doubted by V. A. Smith, seems to be certain. See Daya Ram Sahni's article in *JRAS.*, 1927, pp. 690-93.

¹ *JRAS.*, 1894, p. 1 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 87 and Plate. The family traces its descent from Haribhandra. Kakka was the son of Bhillāditya, grandson of Jhoṭa and great-grandson of Śiluka.

² Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 7 ff. The name is given simply as "Dharmma," Vā(Bā?)-huka-dhavala's grandson Avanivarman was alive in 898 A.D., the date of another inscr. from Unā (*ibid.*, p. 8). Kielhorn identifies Dharma of the Unā inscr. with Dharmapāla and assigns the middle of the ninth century to Bāhuka-dhavala.

well as the fact that the great-grandson of his victor was a subordinate chief (*Mahāsāmanta*) under Nāgabhaṭa's great-grandson Mahendrapāla makes it highly probable that Bāhukadhavala paid his homage to Nāgabhaṭa and contributed his share to the forces that brought about the success of the Gurjara king over his great Pāla rival. The third chief whose name has come down to us in this connection is the Guhilot prince Saṁkaragaṇa, mentioned in the Chāṭsū (in the Jaipur State) inscription¹ of Bālāditya as having vanquished ḍBhaṭa, the king of the Gauḍa country, and made an offering of this kingdom to his master [...*raṇe bhaṭam jītvā Gauḍa-kshitipam = aranim... (pra)bhu-charaṇayor = yaḥ*—v. 14]. Saṁkaragaṇa's son Harsharāja by his wife Yajjā was a contemporary of Bhoja (acc. c. 836 A.D.); and his family (*Guhilasya vaṁśa*), descended from Bhartṛipaṭṭa, a Brahmakshatri like Paraśurāma, probably ruled over the region extending from Chāṭsu in Jaipur to Dabok in Udaipur with their capital at Dhavagarta (= Dhod in the Jahajpur district in Mewar?). They made themselves conspicuous by their loyal services to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.

The occupation of Kanauj by Nāgabhaṭa II was the most important and abiding result that came out of his struggle with Dharmapāla. The capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty was removed from Bhilmal to Kanauj, which remained their headquarters during the next eight reigns of Nāgabhaṭa's successors. The trilateral contest that had started over the possession of the Upper Gangetic Valley in the latter part of the eighth century thus practically ended, after a short period of shuffling and commotion, in the success of the Rājput dynasty, which definitely put them in a more advantageous position in regard to their chances as an imperial power.

A Chronological Problem.—An organic connection seems to have been preserved between Gauḍa and Vaṅga during the reign of Dharmapāla. In the Wapi and Radhānpur grants the two

¹ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 10 ff.; text, p. 14; B. C. Majumdar holds that Saṁkaragaṇa was a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II and Dharmapāla. See *ibid.*, XVIII, p. 106, n. 8.

white parasols, taken away by Vatsarāja, have been described as belonging to Gauḍa alone. In the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha, too, the same view seems to be implied. But in the Baroda grant of Govinda III's feudatory, Karka, Gauḍa and Vaṅga have been mentioned together in the passage that speaks of the Gurjara king "evilily inflamed" by this conquest (*Gauḍendra-Vaṅgapati-nirjjaya...*). There is no evidence of discrimination in the use of the two names in the inscriptions of the period which refer to the transactions between Bengal and the different Powers. Thus in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja Nāgabhaṭa's enemy has been described as a *Vaṅgapati*, while to the author of the Jodhpur inscription (V.S. 894) of Bāuka the same monarch seems to have been known as a *Gauḍa*. In their own inscriptions, however, the Pāla kings are invariably called "Lords of Gauḍa" and the epithet '*Vaṅgapati*' has nowhere been applied to them. On the above-mentioned grounds, the conclusion appears to be well warranted that Vaṅga during this time was not outside the realm of Gauḍa. If the Tippera inscription of Lokanātha¹ can be assigned to the reign of Dharmapāla, a further link of evidence will be available connecting the Pāla empire with eastern Bengal at this early period of its history. But the attribution of this record to Dharmapāla's reign may be considered as only hypothetical; furthermore, it is not possible to state in a definite manner that the dynasty mentioned in the inscription must have ruled in Vaṅga. From the evidence of its find-place it has been tentatively concluded that the inscription is one of a ruling family of eastern Bengal. The family to which Lokanātha belonged does not appear to have enjoyed the status of an independent dynasty. Its founder, whose name is illegible (-nātha) in the inscription, is styled an *Adhimahārāja*. The title *Adhimahārāja* does not carry with it the inevitable sense of paramount sovereignty; it may signify that the holder of it was the chief

¹ Bloch, *ASI.*, 1908-04, p. 190; R. G. Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 301 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, 1932, p. 44.

of the feudatories who belonged to the rank of a *Mahārāja*. This interpretation will be consistent with the subsequent history of the family, for none of his successors appears to have exercised the power of an independent sovereign. The *Adhimahārāja*'s son, *Srinātha* (?), was a *Sāmanta* who had two sons, *Bhavanātha* and another. *Bhavanātha* renounced the world resigning his post in favour of his brother. The latter's son, whose name is not given, married *Gotradevī*, the daughter of *Keśava*, who was a *Pāraśava* by caste.¹ Their son was *Lokanātha*; *Lokanātha*'s son *Lakshmīnātha*, styled *rājaputra*, figures as the *dūtaka* of the grant recorded in the inscription. *Lokanātha*'s maternal grandfather, *Keśava*, was a man of repute who held a military command and was in constant touch with his royal master [*prakhyāto nṛipa-gocharā(o) va(ba)la-gana(ṇa)-prāpt-ādhikārah*, v. 6].

The inscription² refers (11.12-16) in a cryptic sort of way to certain events bearing on the career of *Lokanātha*. In v. 7 (11.12-13) it is stated that the *Parameśvara*'s army suffered severe casualties, but it is not clear under what circumstances this happened. The text as it stands can only mean that the loss sustained by him was due to his hostility with *Lokanātha*,³ not, as Dr. R. G. Basak⁴ suggests, inflicted in the course of some battle which the former fought on behalf of the latter. If the construction permitted, the text might have been construed so as to mean that the *Parameśvara* fared badly in a war with *Jayatūṅgadharmā*, which is referred to in the next verse beginning with '*durlaṅghye Jayatūṅgadharmā-samare*.' This conflict with *Jayatūṅgadharmā* was the second great event to

¹ *Gotradevī*'s father was *Keśava* and her mother was called *Aśṭāyikā*. Her great-grandfather (on the mother's side) *Śhāvara* and grandfather *Vira* are described as *dvijavara* and *dvijasattama* respectively (v. 6), but her father was a *Pāraśava*. For the *Pāraśava* caste, see *Manu*, IX, 178; *Gautama*, IV, 16 and 21.

² The inscr. was recorded (?) by an official of the status of *Sādhivigrahāna*, *Pradānta* deya by name (1.55).

³ *IEQ.*, XI, pp. 226-27; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 310.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, XV, 304; *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 106.

which Lokanātha's rise to power is traced (*labdha-pratāp = odaya*). In the narration of these significant happenings, the first place is given to the indefinite circumstance which accounted for the military loss suffered by the *Paramēśvara*. If this were an event entirely unconnected with the second, it would be difficult to explain why the former has not been pointed to as a landmark, not to say the first of its kind, and the latter singled out as heralding a progressive career for Lokanātha. The third event mentioned in v. 8 was the restoration by one Śrī-Jivadhāraṇa of his own *viśaya* to Lokanātha as the sequel of a royal charter obtained by the latter. This step was taken by the former after he had fully deliberated upon the significance of Lokanātha's achievements, recorded in the two preceding verses. The *Paramēśvara* whose plight is broadly hinted at in v. 7 was surely Lokanātha's overlord, but it is difficult to agree with the view expressed by some scholars that he is to be regarded as the same as Jivadhāraṇa and that the latter must be identified with Jivitagupta II of the family of the Later Guptas of Magadha. As a ground for this identification it is stated that Jivadhāraṇa appears to have been a Gupta monarch since 'Dhāraṇa' is given in the Poona Plates of Prabhāvatiguptā as the name of her *gotra*, i.e., of her father Chāndragupta II. If this is granted, Jiva can be taken as standing for Jivitagupta. It is further suggested that the lacuna before the phrase '*chatus-chatvāriṃśat-samvatsare*' (l. 29) can be filled by the insertion of '*eka-śat-ādhike*,' in which case the date of the inscription would not be simply the year 44, but 144, which, being referred to the Harsha era, would correspond to 750 A.D., a date which does not conflict with the proposed identification. These arguments are open to criticism. In the first place, although the *gotra*-name Dhāraṇa is available, it was neither the custom nor the practice of the Gupta monarchs to call themselves by that name. Secondly, it is yet to be shown in what way the Later Guptas of Magadha were connected with the Imperial Guptas. As the proposal to

identify the *Paramēśvara* with Jīvadhāraṇa, it must be taken into account that there is no compatibility between the statement regarding the catastrophic defeat inflicted on the *Paramēśvara* and the implication that he actually succeeded in seizing a part of his opponent's territory ; the implication will have to be recognised, since otherwise there would be no point in speaking about the restoration of the lost dominion. It is also to be noted that if Jīvadhāraṇa were Lokanātha's *Paramēśvara* he would not have been referred to as a mere *nriṇa* like Lokanātha himself.

As mere speculation would be useless, it would be wiser to accept, at least as a working hypothesis if not as a final conclusion, that the date of the inscription is the year 44 which can be read definitely in the existing condition of the text. This date is given in l. 29 ; practically the whole of ll. 27 and 28 is illegible except for a few syllables here and there. The last word read by the editor in l. 26 is '*Parama*,' after which again there is a gap. May it be that here the name of Lokanātha's suzerain was given, in whose regnal year 44 the inscription was engraved ? Dr. Basak, assigning the date to the Harsha era, takes it as equivalent to 650 A.D. ¹ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar concludes that it corresponds to A.D. 750 ² (year 144 of the Harsha era).

But according to Dr. Theodor Bloch, ³ the Tippera grant should, from the palæographical point of view, be placed in the 9th or the 10th century A.D., approximately. Dr. Basak holds that this theory is barred by the fact that tops of certain letters, *e.g.*, *n*, *p*, *m*, *y*, *l*, *sh* and *s*, etc., in this inscription are almost quite open. But it should not escape one's attention that in several other instances they are almost perfectly closed. The fact that in some cases the tops of those letters are slightly open cannot be urged as a decisive proof of the early character of the inscription. For the Khālimpur grant of

¹ Ep. Ind., XV, p. 301.

² Ind. Ant., 1932, p. 44.

³ ASI., 1906-07, p. 120.

Dharmapāla also exhibits this peculiarity (tops of *p*, *m*, *s* mostly open)¹ to a certain extent, which is missed in the later records on stone, *e.g.*, the Badāl *Prasasti* and the Dinājpur inscription. The loop on the left side of *m*, present in the latter two inscriptions, is absent in the Khālimpur as in the Tippera grant.² The palæographical evidence of the Tippera grant does not seem to oppose its ascription to a period nearly corresponding to the date of the Khālimpur inscription, *i.e.*, about the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. The only internal datum which might be of positive help in fixing its time approximately is its mention of *Jaya-tuṅga-dharmā*, with whom Lokanātha himself is said to have been involved in a deadly struggle. But it is by no means easy to identify him. A similar name is to be found in the Gayā inscription of Purushottama-siṃha,³ Asokachalla's tributary, dated in the year 1813 of Buddha's *Nirvāṇa*. As he probably flourished in the twelfth century, his grandfather Jayatuṅga-siṃha, the prince of the Kāmā country, was too far removed from the time of the Tippera grant to have been a contemporary of Lokanātha's suzerain. Another Bodh-Gayā inscription, dated in the year 15, preserves the memory of a Rāshtrakūṭa chief Tuṅga-Dharmāvaloka,⁴ the son of Kīrtirāja who was a son of Nanna-Guṇāvaloka. But the paleography of this inscription makes it impossible for him to have been a contemporary of Lokanātha. The Rāshtrakūṭa sovereigns of the Deccan are known to have used not infrequently titles ending in *varsha* and *tuṅga*.⁵ These and other such *birudas* were adopted

¹ See Kielhorn's introductory note on the Khālimpur Inscr., Ep. Ind., IV, p. 243.

² This peculiarity has been noticed by Kielhorn—see *ibid.*, p. 243. The "m" with the loop "is still the exception" in the Ghoelrāwā inscr. of the time of Devapāla, see Ind. Ant., p. 309, Plate, but in the Badāl *Prasasti* (on stone) and the Bhāgalpur grant it is throughout used, see Ep. Ind., IV, p. 244, n. 2.

³ His father's name was Kāmadeva-siṃha, see Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 342, and Plate. In line 25 of the inscr. the date is given as follows :—Bhagavati parinirvṛte Saṃvat 1813... vātubdhe, see Kielhorn's List (Northern) of Inscriptions, No. 575.

⁴ R. L. Mitra, *Buddha-Gaya*, p. 105, Pl. XL.

⁵ Fleet, Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 188-89. Bask's proposal that the date in the inscr. is to be assigned to the Harsha era and thus to the middle of the 7th century A.D. does not appear to agree with the chronological position of the Khadgar.

by others also who formed matrimonial connections with that family. May it be suggested that he was either Govinda III, who was also known as Prabhūtarsha Jagattuṅga, or some general of his army who may have been actually called Jayatuṅga-dharmā? According to the Nilgund¹ inscription (S. 788) of Govinda's son, Amoghavarsha, he "fettered the people of Kerala, Mālava and *Gauḍa*...together with the *Gūrjaras*." But it should be noted in this connection that the Sirūr inscription,² dated A.D. 866, mentions Śauṭa in place of *Gauḍa*.

In verse 24 of the Sanjan grant of Amoghavarsha, dated S. 793, there is a passage in connection with the successful campaigns of Govinda III which reads as '*sa-Kośala-Kaliṅga-Vegi-Ḍahal-Auḍraka(ā) n Mālarā(n)*.' The editor of the inscription suggests the reading 'Vaṅga' in the above text.³ But Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar simply suggests that Jayatuṅga-dharmā may have been somehow connected with the line mentioned in the Bodh-Gayā inscription. He was certainly not any one of the three successive princes named in that record, and if that family had earlier any direct relationship with Jayatuṅga-dharmā, this would have been surely referred to in the Bodh-Gayā *Prasasti*, for undoubtedly he was a man of substantial importance. In a period when the Rāshtrakūṭas from the South are known to have led a series of expeditions against the North, it is not improbable that princes of their family were often left behind to keep watch over the political condition there or to carry out such tasks as had not been completed by their sovereigns hastening back to their home-territories. But apparently a reference to that region here is considered unlikely⁴; consequently, it has been proposed to take "Vegi" mentioned in the passage as referring to the Andhra kingdom of Vegi or Vengi. It is thus not possible to form any definite conclusion as to whether Govinda III had any dealings

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 102, and n. 14.

² Int. Ant., XII, p. 213.

³ Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 245, n. 29; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 240, 253, n. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245, fn. 29.

with Bengal except on the historic occasion of Dharmapāla's interview with him, which has been already referred to. If, however, this identification is entertained, it will appear that Govinda may have been entangled in a war with Gauḍa in the early part of his reign, but that afterwards a friendship was established between him and Dharmapāla for the purpose of frustrating the plans of their common enemy, the Gurjaras. If Vegi in the Sanjan grant is to be regarded as a mistake for Vaṅga, the passage already quoted will seem to show, on the other hand, that Govinda's success in that province was achieved after he had met Dharmapāla in the Himalayas, as mentioned in the preceding verse 23. In verse 24 it is said that when Govinda returned from the Himalayas [*tata(h) pratinicṛitya*] "(thinking) that it was now the work of the ministerial servants, and following again the bank of the Narmadā as if (following his own) prowess, and acquiring the Mālava country along with the Kosala, the Kāliṅga, the Vaṅga, the Dāhala and the Oḍraka," he (Vikrama) "himself made his servants enjoy them."¹ It is difficult to understand why Govinda should move against Vaṅga after Dharmapāla had tendered his submission to him. The history of the Pāla relations with Govinda III is not known in all its detail, but the probability of the latter's hostility towards Dharmapāla at a certain stage of his career cannot be discounted. Probably the first Pāla king who assumed the title of *Paramēśvara* was Dharmapāla, and it is to be observed that Lokanātha refers to a *Paramēśvara* who seems to have been his overlord. As regards the identity of Jivadhārāṇa nothing definite can be said at present. It is quite likely that he was a feudatory under the same *Paramēśvara*, ruling over a neighbouring region, and that while Lokanātha was engaged in that bitter struggle against Jayatūṅga-dharmā, he took advantage of this pre-occupation of his neighbour by invading his territory which he partly occupied. This he had to return in view of the charter received by Lokanātha

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

from his master. Had he not done so, he might have exposed himself to a joint attack by the *Paramēśvara* and Lokanātha.

The secret of Lokanātha's success lay in his association with learned men ; in his popularity with his subjects and the efficiency of his cavalry [*dor-daṇḍa-jralit-ottam* = *āsi-si(sa)chira-prajñā-jayat-sādhanah* ; *nir(ryā)j-orjjita-sattra-sāra-turagaḥ* (ll.12-13) ; *nitya-praṛishṭa-prajaḥ* (l.14) ; *vidra(t-pri)ya* l.15.]. His *mahāsāmanta* was a Brahmin by caste. These features of his administration, again, may be adduced as some evidence suggesting that he was probably related to the period when Dharmapāla flourished, sharing with him his desire for popularity and association with Brahmin ministers, which is claimed to have been an undoubted source of strength to the Pāla monarchy.¹

Side-lights on Dharmapāla's Digvijaya

The temporary failure of the Gurjara dynasty to cope with the forces of the Rāshtrakūṭas, and the flight of Nāgabhaṭa to the deserts of Rājputāna must have given an excellent opportunity to Dharmapāla to undertake a plan of imperial expansion. He is the only Gauda king whose military career has been explicitly described as that of a hero who aimed at "the conquest of the world." He is, therefore, entitled by reason of his policy, if not by the result that attended it, to take his place with the *world-conquerors* of Ancient India. But Pāla inscriptions, unlike Harishena's *Prasasti* of Samudragupta, do not weave the different stages of his *digvijaya* into the texture of an intelligible narrative.

* Dharmapāla's father had directed his energies mainly to internal consolidation but, as we have already seen, his life-history was not entirely barren of territorial conquests. In the

¹ I agree with Dr. F. W. Thomas that the Tippera grant was "issued from the office of the Kumārāmātya of Lokanātha's overlord, and only countersigned (cf. the seal) by Lokanātha himself." See *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 308, n. 1.

Monghyr¹ grant of his grandson, Devapāla, there is a verse which in a conventional style depicts the march of Gopāla's victorious army: "*Chalatsv-ananteshu baleshu yasya viṣvambharāyā nichitām rajobhiḥ | pādā-prachārakshamam-āntariksham = vihaṅ-gamānām suchiram = babhūva*"—v. 4. But the earth was not yet trodden by the procession of a Gauḍa army, led for the deliberate purpose of a *digvijaya*. This was reserved for the time of Dharmapāla (*yasminn-uddāma-līlā-charita-balabhare dig-jayāya pracṛitte*—v. 7). In the Khālimpur inscription the whole atmosphere is poetically described as charged with dust raised by the jubilant march of his soldiers returning from their victorious expeditions (*yat-prasthānc-prachalita-bal-āspṛāṇa*—v. 8). A sense of satisfaction prevailed among his army during this period of stir and activity (*pulakita-vapushām vāhinīnām*—v. 11).

The outcome of his campaigns can be best seen in the alliances formed with the rulers of the Kurus, Yadus, Avantis, Yavanas, Bhojas, etc. Indrāyudha, or Indrarāja, the Kanauj king, who seems to have been well supported in his resistance to Dharmapāla, was ultimately removed from the throne to make room for one whom the conqueror himself selected. The Monghyr grant of Devapāla² contains a verse which is believed by some to indicate that the limits of Dharmapāla's conquest

¹ Ind. Ant., XXI, p. 253 ff.; Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 304 ff.

² Ind. Ant., 1892, p. 255; Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 305. This verse in the Monghyr grant refers to (1) Kedāra, (2) the junction of the Ganges with the sea, and (3) Gokarṇa, as the places visited by Dharmapāla's army. As to the identification of the first, there cannot be any controversy, since only one Kedāra, that situated in the Himalayas, is known. The identification of the second also is equally clear; it must denote 'the estuary of the Ganges in Lower Bengal.' Mr. Nalini Nath Das Gupta (Ind. Cult., Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 266) makes the unwarranted assumption that the verse names Gaṅgāsāgara in the expression Gaṅgā-samet-āmbudhau, and then on the authority of Wilson, who says that it 'has no necessary connection with the ocean,' identifies it with 'Gaṅgā-Sāgara in the sthān of Kapila Muni,' i.e., in Kapilavastu in the Nepalese Terai mentioned in the Svayambhū Purāṇa (Hodgeon, Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet, etc., p. 119). It may be that the name Gaṅgāsāgar has no reference to the ocean, but the expression quoted above surely means some place where the Ganges is joined to the sea. As to the third, it was Kielhorn who suggested that this was the same as Gokarṇa in the North Kanara district of

were Kedāra in the Himalayas and Gokarṇa in the Bombay Presidency. The Pāla emperor permitted his followers to perform religious rites at these holy places after the wicked had been uprooted (*Kedāre vidhin-opayukta-payasām Gaṅgā-samet-āmbudhau Gokarṇdishṇ chāpy-ānushṭhitavatām tīrtheshu dharmmyāḥ kriyāḥ*—v. 7). On the successful termination of his expeditions he turned his attention to the settlement of his future relations with the captured princes, who were now set free and restored to

the Bombay Presidency, 'a place, of pilgrimage frequented by Hindu devotees from all parts of India' (Ind. Ant. 1892, p. 257, n. 57). This identification has found general approval amongst scholars. A. K. Maitreya once agreed to this view but later proposed that this was the Gokarṇa tirtha on the Mahendra Mountain in Kalinga (GLM., p. 42, n.). I do not think with Mr. Das Gupta that this was an absurd theory. Recently Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri has expressed his agreement with Kielhorn's proposal (Krishnaswamy Aiyangar Commemoration Vol., p. 197 f.), but I am unable to accept his date for Dharmapāla. The matter has been reopened by Mr. Das Gupta (*loc. cit.*, pp. 264-67) and we must welcome the evidence which he has adduced in this connection. He refers to the fact that there is a village called 'Gaukarna, on the banks of the Bagmati, about two miles above and north-east of Pashupati' (Wright, History of Nepal, p. 22), mentioned in Nepalese traditions, which was the capital of the Kirātas of Nepāl, and that there is a tradition recorded in the *Svayambhū Purāṇa*, according to which Dharmapāla, the king of Gauḍa, got the throne of Nepāl from its Chinese ruler Dharmākar, who abdicated it out of disgust (Hodgson, Essays, pp. 117-18; Wright, History of Nepal, pp. 82-83). Dharmapāla may have later left the government of Nepāl in the hands of a Kirāta chief. It may be added here that Nāgabhaṭṭa II, according to the Śāgar-Tāl inscription, secured the submission, among others, of the ruler of the Kirātas. Thus perhaps it so happened that Dharmapāla's nominee on the Nepāl throne was compelled to accept the overlordship of the Gujara king just to avert the fate to which the other nominee, Chakrāyudha of Kanauj, was doomed. It seems that the northern frontier of India was looming large in the political horizon at the time. Even Govinda III was drawn to the Himalayas where he met Dharmapāla. I do not, however, think that it has been finally proved that Gokarṇa of the Monghyr grant is to be located in Nepāl; it is not safe to attach too much importance to the evidence of the *Svayambhū Purāṇa*, nor is it possible to assert that Dharmapāla mentioned in that work was none but Dharmapāla, the son and successor of Gopāla I. One cannot agree to the conclusion that the verse in this grant is intended to demonstrate that Dharmapāla was very generous to his followers. It is expressly stated that the opportunity given to his soldiers to perform holy rites at the above-mentioned places was only incidental to the 'uprooting of all the wicked and subduing this world,' a task which was effected with ease. Hence it must be agreed that the enumeration of the above place-names implies more or less the furthest points up to which his political influence prevailed when it was at its height. It is not impossible to hold that after the diplomatic talk with the Bhadrakṛtṣa sovereign Govinda III, he contributed a body of soldiers to his army, which followed him on his return journey, and happened to visit Gokarṇa in the North Kanara

their territories. According to verse 8 of the Monghyr grant, "when he had completed the conquest of the regions (*dig-jay-ā-vasāne*), he released the princes," and they were made to forget all their distress by the various great honours shown to them. The idea of a permanent annexation of the conquered territories to his empire was either not present in his mind, or was not perhaps feasible.

The policy thus adopted by Dharmapāla in this respect resembles the one followed by Samudragupta towards the princes of the South whom he is said to have overpowered in the course of his *digvijaya*. Dharmapāla was content with the submission of the vanquished monarchs and with their ready assent to his political leadership, as shown by their acceptance of his plan concerning Kanauj. He appears to have assumed the responsibility for preserving the integrity of the different (*maryyādā-paripālana - aika-nirataḥ*—Bhāgalpur grant, v. 2) states subordinate to him. The Bhāgalpur grant¹ states that he was the sole protector of the kings who were afraid of their wings being clipped off (*Pakṣiā-chchheda-bhayād-upasthitaratām-ekāśrayo bhū-bhritām*—v. 2). The terms he may have exacted from them as a price for his support are not really known, but his cavalry was reinforced by rich contributions made by the princes of Northern India, who had accepted his paramount authority² (*Udichin-āneka-narapati-prabhṛitīkrit-āprameya-haya-vāhinī*—l. 26).

The Khālimpur and Monghyr grants would make out that the credit for all his great undertakings belonged exclusively to Dharmapāla himself (*Sāhāyā yasya bāhvor-nikkhila-ripu-kuladhamsinor-n-āvakāśaḥ*). But the evidence of the Bhāgalpur inscription and the Badāl *Prasasti*³ of Bhaṭṭa Guravamiśra throw light on certain extraneous factors that claim to have contributed to the success of his activities, although it is not unlikely that

¹ Ind. Ant., XV, p. 204 f.

² This is a conventional phrase used in all the grants of the dynasty.

³ Ep. Ind., II, p. 180 f.

they exaggerate their importance to some extent. In the Bhāgalpur inscription it is said that his younger brother (*anujah*) Vāk-pāla, who was his equal in respect of greatness (*tulya-mahimā*), a unique dwelling-place of courage and state-craft (*naya-vikram-aikavasutih*), cleared the world of the flags of enemies, and brought it under the subjection of Dharmapāla's royal parasol (*bhrātuḥ sthitah śāsane sūnyāḥ śatru-patākinībhīr-akarod = ek = ātapatrā diśah*). The Badāl Pillar inscription sets up a similar claim on behalf of his Brahmin minister, Garga. The poet remarks that he was even superior to Bṛihaspati, who was instrumental in making Indra the ruler of the East only, while Garga established him as the master of all the directions (*Śakraḥ puro diśi patir-nna dig = antareshu... Dharmmah kṛitas-tad = adhipas-tr-akhilāsu dikshu svāmī may-cti—v. 2*). There is no doubt that Dharmapāla considerably benefited by the prudent service of his minister in his military and diplomatic transactions. One of the ancestors of Garga appears to have been named *Pāñchāla*. Is it just a hint that Garga's family came from Kanauj, and with their personal knowledge of the state of things in that country were able to render useful assistance to their patrons, the rulers of Gauḍa, especially Dharmapāla, in regard to his plan affecting the Gangetic doab?

Dharmapāla began well, but the end of his reign saw the undoing of his principal work abroad. The overthrow of his favourite Chakrāyudha and the weakening of his empire caused by the defection of a number of allies, who fell victims to the attacks of the Gurjara king Nāgabhaṭa, were the blots that disfigured the concluding years of his career. The skilful and successful expeditions conducted by Govinda III in Northern India must have already undermined the imperial position of Dharmapāla and overshadowed the reputation he had obtained through his previous victories. Instead of offering any resistance to the Southern invader, he seems to have been bent on securing his support against the Gurjara king, but his surrender was a sign of weakness. He was not sufficiently aggressive to have

attempted an invasion of the Gurjara kingdom when it was still lying prostrate under the shock of the humiliating defeat inflicted by Dhruva. Hence, when the Gurjaras revived from their brief spell of inertia, the Pāla emperor found it difficult to resist the progress of their arms. He was defeated by Nāgabhaṭa (c. 815 A.D.) in the closing years of his reign. In the 32nd year of his reign his camp was pitched at Pāṭaliputra (*Pāṭaliputra-sam-ārāsita-Srīmaj-jayaskandhārārāt*). It appears, as we have already seen from the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, that a battle between the Gurjaras and Dharmapāla may have been fought at Monghyr.

Dharmapāla, his family, etc.

Dharmapāla married Raṇṇādevī, the daughter of the Rāshṭra-kūṭa Parabala (*Srī-Parabalaśya kshiti-patinā Rāshṭrakūṭa-tilakasya Raṇṇādergāh pāṇir-jagrihe*—Monghyr grant). Kielhorn identified the latter with Govinda III, but there is no evidence to show that he was ever known by this name. An inscription found at Pathārī¹ makes mention of a Parabala; the difficulty in identifying him with Dharmapāla's father-in-law is due to the date of the inscription, which probably corresponds to A.D. 861, long before which the Pāla emperor's reign came to an end. It may be suggested that Dharmapāla's father-in-law was younger than he and that he married his daughter at an advanced age. He had at least two sons, Tribhuvanapāla and Devapāla. The former, who acted as the *dūtaka* of the Khālimpur grant and was his heir-apparent, does not seem to have survived him, as Dharmapāla's successor was Devapāla. The possibility of a fratricidal struggle after Dharmapāla's death in which the Crown-

¹ Ep. Ind., IX, p. 256; GRM., p. 34. Parabala was the grandson of Jeṣṭha and son of Karkarāja. The last-named is said to have fought against Nāgavaloka who was probably the same as Nāgavaloka of the Hānsot Plates (Ep. Ind., XII, p. 197) of the Chāhamāna feudatory Bhartṛi-vaḍḍha (818 V.S.). The latter Nāgavaloka is supposed to be identified with Nāgabhaṭa II, the Gurjara-Pratihāra king, see Ind. Ant., 1911, pp. 299-40. N. N. Vasu identified Parabala's father Karkarāja as a nephew of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda III, see Rājanya-Kaṇḍa, p. 155, n. 3. But this is obviously untenable, see Bāṅglār Itihās, pp. 196-97.

Prince might have lost his life cannot be admitted, as in the Monghyr grant Devapāla's accession has been described as quite peaceful (*nir-upaplatam*). In the statement of the boundaries of the land donated in the Khālimpur inscription, reference is made to an *ālī* constructed under the auspices of the *rājaputra* Devaṭa (*Rājaputra-Devaṭa-kṛit-ālī*—l. 32; cf. the name Vapyāṭa or Bappāṭa), who may have been identical with Devapāla. Dharmapāla's brother was Vākpāla who rendered useful services to him in the expansion of his empire.

The Khālimpur record gives the name of an important official who served under Dharmapāla. He was the *Mahā-sāmantādhipati* Nārāyaṇavarman (the head of the feudatories) at whose request his master made the grant. The Keśava *Prasasti*,¹ dated in the 26th year of Dharmapāla's reign, recording the excavation of a tank at Gayā (*Mahābodhi*), and the Khālimpur copper-plate, issued from the victorious camp at Pāṭaliputra, show his position fully established in Bibār. The Khālimpur inscription relates to a land-grant which was situated in the Paundravardhana-*bhukti*.² His supremacy extended up to the sea, as is implied in a passage of the Bhāgalpur grant (*dugdh-āmbhodhi-vilāsa-hāsi-mahimā Śrī-Dharmmapālo nṛipah*—v. 2). His own inscription bears a poetical testimony to the extensive popularity he enjoyed.

¹ Proc. ASB., 1880, p. 80; JASB., (N.B.), Vol. IV, p. 101 ff.; GLM., p. 99 ff.

² For some clay-seals of Śrī-Dharmapāla-deva, recently discovered during the excavations at Pāṭarpur in the Rājshahi district (North Bengal), see ASI., 1922-23, p. 115 ff. Plates XV and XVI; Cal. Rev., May, 1928, p. 240.

CHAPTER VIII

DEVAPĀLA AND A RENEWED ATTEMPT AT IMPERIAL EXPANSION

Devapāla's campaigns. The Gurjaras, the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Kambojas defeated. Expeditions against Utkala and Kāmarūpa. The policy of the Rāshtrakūṭas and that of the Gurjaras checked for a short while. Devapāla's ministers. The revival of the Gurjaras under Mihira Bhoja. Devapāla subdued. His relations with Sumatra and Java.

Dharmapāla was succeeded by Devapāla, his son by Raṇṇādevī, the daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Parabala. He seems to have abandoned his father's policy which had led him to capitulate with Govinda III and enter into a matrimonial alliance with the Rāshtrakūṭas. There was a temporary embroglio in the affairs¹ of the Deccan empire. An internal revolution was set on foot, which aimed at the prevention of Amoghavarsha from succeeding to the throne, and the feudatory Karka II was actually supplanted by his brother in Gujarat (A. D. 812). The early years of Amoghavarsha I's reign might have appeared to Devapāla as suitable for striking a blow at the Rāshtrakūṭa power. So far as the Gurjaras were concerned, the replacement of the aggressive Nagābhata by the pacifist Rāmabhadra (*jagad-viṭṛishṇu*), who had little ambition or interest in life, gave the Pāla emperor a similar opportunity for the expansion of his supremacy. In the Monghyr grant,² dated in the year 33 of his reign, it is stated that his army (elephant) in the course of its victorious career wandered about in the midst of the Vindhya forests (*bhṛāṇyadbhir = vijaya-krameṇa*). A successful plan of military operations may have thrown this region into Devapāla's possession (*tām-eva Vindhy-ājavīm*—v. 13). The same grant speaks of his success in dealing with other

¹ Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 402, 403.

² Cf. Ind. Ant., XXI, p. 263 f. See GLM., p. 88 ; Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 204 f.

kings, enabling him finally to lead his army into the territory of the Kambojas (*Kambojeshu cha yasya vāji-yuvabhir-dhvast-ānya-rāj-ajaso heshā-misrita-hāri-heshita-ravāḥ kāntāś-chiram vikshitāḥ*—after he had crushed the power of other kings, his “young chargers in Kamboja at last saw their mates”). The identification of the Kambojas,¹ referred to in the Monghyr inscription, who are by some scholars regarded as having been probably a branch of the Tibeto-Chinese settled in Tibet at this time, is a matter of controversy. In the Garuḍa Pillar inscription² Devapāla's empire has been specified as extending from the Himalayas to the Vindhya (*ā-Rerā-janakān-mataṅgaja..... ā-Gauri-pitūr-iśvar-ṇdu-kiraṇaiḥ*—v. 5) which was compelled to pay tribute to him by the pressure of the policy (*nityā yasya*) emanating from his Brahmin minister, Darbhapāṇi, the son of

¹ The Kambojas known to the Vedic literature were probably a North-Western people, see JRAS., 1911, pp. 801-02; also Wilson, Vi-P., 11, 132. These seem to have been closely connected with the Persian Kambojīya, see JRAS., 1912, p. 256. The Kambojas along with the Yonas and the Gandhāras are referred to in the inscriptions of Aśoka (cf. RE., V). Rājapura, the home of the Kambojas, mentioned in the Mahābhārata, is supposed to have been situated to the south or south-east of Pūnā. The western boundaries of their country ‘must have reached Kafiristan,’ see PHAL., pp. 94-95. In Luders's List (Nos. 176 and 472), Nandinagara is given as a city of the Kambojas. It is to be noted that the north-western Kamboja country was famous for its horses. Fausböll, IV, 464; Mahāvastu, ii, 185. The grants of Devapāla in referring to the Kamboja country also imply that it was reputed for its horses. For further details, see B. C. Law, Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India, 1924, pp. 230-56. Nepalese tradition regards Tibet as the Kambojadesa and Tibetan to be the Kamboja-bhāṣā, Foucher, L'Iconographie Bouddhique, p. 134; DG., (Rā'shāhi), 1915, p. 26. The savage customs of the Kambojas are mentioned in a Jātaka verse, Fausböll, Vol. VI, p. 210. There seems to be a general agreement among scholars that the Kambojas who came into contact with Bengal were of the Tibeto-Chinese or Mongol stock, see HODBL., Pt. i, p. 69; GRM., p. 37; MAB., V, p. 69. This is, however, far from certain. In Indo-Chinese inscriptions, Kamboja = Cambodia, but the Kambojas known to Bengal were not probably connected with Cambodia, see Bijan Raj Chatterjee, The Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, p. 303—Kamboja = Yunnan and Szechwan, see R. C. Majumdar, Champa, p. xiv; Harvey, History of Burma, p. 109, n. 1 (Kamboja-sangha). The Tibetan work Pag-sam-jon-zang knows two Kambojas, one in the east and the other in the north-west, the former comprising the Lushāi Hill tracts between Burma and Bengal, see Part I, pp. 4, 74, and Index, p. 10. For a MS. of the Smṛiti treatise compiled by order of Jagannātha of the Kamboja clan, see R. L. Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. V, No. 1790.

² GLM., p. 72.

Garga, who had himself rendered valuable services to his father Dharmapāla. The statement of the limits of Devapāla's dominions to be found in this inscription appears to be in keeping with the evidence of the Monghyr grant, already noticed, which mentions his victories in the Vindhya region and the Kamboja country, apparently marking the two extremes of an area which seems to have been subdued by him. Further details about his conquests are supplied in another passage of the Garuḍa Pillar inscription, which says that Devapāla inflicted a crushing defeat upon the whole host of the Utkalas, deprived the Hūṇas of their prestige and broke the conceit of the lords of the Draviḍas and the Gurjaras (*utkilit-Utkala-kulam hr̥ita-Hūṇa-garvraṁ kharvīkṛita-Draviḍa-Gurjjara-nātha-darpan*—v. 13). The Bhāgalpur inscription¹ throws some light on the circumstances that brought the Pāla empire into contact with Utkala, ultimately leading to the acceptance of his authority by the king of Kāmarūpa as well. According to this inscription, the immediate object of the Pāla expedition against Utkala seems to have been the prevention of a war between that country and Kāmarūpa. The mere news of the advance of the Pāla army led by Devapāla's brother, Jayapāla, caused the Utkala king to fly in despair from the seat of his government (*Sīdan-nāmn-aira dūrān-nija-puram-ajahād-Utkalā-nām=adhīśah*—v. 6). Another important effect resulting from the expedition was that the king of Kāmarūpa was forced to abandon his project of war against Utkala, acknowledging the superiority of the Pāla dynasty (*Prāṇayi-paricṛito bibhṛad-uchchena mūrdhnā rājā Prāṅgyotishānām-upaśamita-samit-saṁkathām yasya chājñām*—v. 6). The king of Prāṅgyotisha enjoyed peace at last, surrounded by friends, bearing on his lofty head the command of that [prince] which bade [his forces] cease to plan battles. The undated Ghoshrāwā *Prasasti*² of Viradeva, a pupil of Sarvajña-sānti, who came from Nagarahāra in *Uttarāpatha* and was later

¹ Ind. Ant., XV, p. 305.

² Ind. Ant., XVII, p. 307 f.

appointed as the head of the Nālandā monastery, describes Devapāla, his contemporary, as the lord of the earth (*Śrī-Devapāla-bhuvan-ādhipa-labdha-pūjaḥ*—v. 3). In the Monghyr grant it is mentioned that his empire extended up to Adam's Bridge (?) and was bounded by the seas on the east and the west (*ā-Gaṅg-āgama-mahitāt - sapatna - śūnyām - āse(toḥ)-prathita-Daś-āsya-Ketu-kīrt-teḥ urvīm = ā-Varuṇa-niketanāch-cha Sindhora = ā-Lakshmī-kula-bhavanāch-cha yo bubhoja*—v. 15). But the description is too conventional to permit of any serious deduction as regards the actual limits of his dominions. Nevertheless, these are the details on which we must mainly base our reconstruction of Devapāla's political and military career. According to R. D. Banerji, 'most of his victories were achieved in the Vindhyan region, which lay to the south-east and the north-east respectively of the Gurjara and Rāshtrakūṭa territories. But it is more probable that he did not enter into any direct hostilities with these Powers. What Devapāla seems to have aimed at was the dissolution of the Rāshtrakūṭa hegemony built up by Govinda III in the Vindhya. It may be further recalled that Govinda's victorious march took him as far north as the Himalayas. The reference to Devapāla's defeat of the Draviḍa king or kings contained in the Badāl *Prasasti* has been generally taken to mean the discomfiture of his Rāshtrakūṭa contemporaries at his hands. But it is doubtful if the expression in question should signify a member of the Rāshtrakūṭa family in the present instance. In the Sanjan grant of Amoghavarsha I (v. 30) the 'Dravila' kings are included among those against whom the Rāshtrakūṭa king's aggressive plans were directed. These Dravilas seem to be referred to in v. 32 of the same grant as Kerala and Pāṇḍya kings. It may be that Devapāla's plan was to press the Rāshtrakūṭas from all sides, particularly in the Vindhya region and on the frontiers of the Tamil kingdoms of the extreme south. The establishment of his influence in the latter direction seems to be indicated in the passage which refers

to the extension of his authority up to Adam's Bridge. Amoghavarsha probably resisted this influence of the Pālas as shown in v. 32 of the Sanjan Plates, but this must have happened after Devapāla's death. Perhaps he also succeeded in securing a guiding influence for his family in the Kamboja country, which was reacting unfavourably to the interests of the Pālas. Devapāla, by defeating the Kamboja chief, took an effective step towards rendering this antagonistic force innocuous for the time being,¹ but it was probably the same Kamboja clan which in later times penetrated into Guṇḍī and constituted themselves into a political power within the Pāla empire. As we have already seen, among the territories conquered by Govinda, mention is to be found of Odraka (Orissa). Now, with the establishment of Devapāla's control over Utkala, another link was broken in the chain of Rāshtrakūṭa domination forged by that ambitious Deccan monarch, which was a menace to the safety of the Pāla dynasty. A passage in the Nālandā grant of Devapāla confers the epithet "*Parabala-dalane sahāya-nirapekshaḥ*" on Balavarman, the subordinate ruler of *Vyāghrataṭi-maṇḍala*, who was "like his own right-hand" (*dakṣiṇabhujā iva rājñāḥ*). If it is possible to read into the expression the name of a particular individual rather than a vague reference to the forces hostile to Devapāla in general, it will appear that this chief may have defeated on behalf of his master (independently of any help) the Rāshtrakūṭa Parabala mentioned in the Pathārī inscription (861 A.D.),² whose identity with Dharmapāla's father-in-law has been assumed by some as probable. The acceptance of Pāla supremacy by the Assam king³ militated against the chance of a revival of

¹ Dr. Barnett's comment on the above suggestion is "This is possible but very doubtful."

² Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 266.

³ R. P. Chanda thinks that he was Jayamāla-Virabāhu, see GRM., p. 29. But the period of his reign cannot be accurately determined. The Assam kings who seem to have ruled in succession during the period were Harjara (c. 829 A.D.), Vanamāla (c. 836), Jayamāla (c. 852)—Gait's Assam, 1926, App. A; cf. H. C. Ray, Dynastic History, Pt. I, p. 268. H. P. Sastri refers to the conquest of Kāmarūpa and Keliāga by Lācena, whose exploits are described in a Bengali work, the *Charmamāhala* by Ghanarāma, see MASB., Vol. VII

friendship between Kāmarūpa and Kānauj, now under the Gurjaras, which early in the seventh century had impeded the development of Gauda into a full-fledged empire.

Perhaps it was not possible for Devapāla to embark on a more ambitious scheme of conquest. The presence of some troubles of unknown character inside the empire is perhaps indicated in the Bhāgalpur grant. While he had been engaged in his expeditions abroad, he may have left his brother in charge of affairs at home. It was probably during this period of his absence that an opposition was organised against his authority, which may have developed into an open fight. But thanks to Jayapāla, he was able to pacify the movement, which could not make serious headway (*Dharma-dvishām yudhi śamayitā—*v. 5).¹ The leadership of the army that was despatched against Utkala and Kāmarūpa was entrusted to Jayapāla (*Yasmin bhrātur-nnideśād-balarati paritah prasthite*). If this expedition followed Devapāla's campaigns abroad, it may be concluded that the reason for this arrangement was that the emperor probably apprehended a fresh outbreak of the old trouble in the event of his absence from home again. It has been already noted that Devapāla's minister, Darbhapāṇi, is claimed in the Garuḍa Pillar inscription to have been instrumental through his counsel in making the whole earth from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas tributary to his master. Darbhapāṇi was followed by his son Someśvara, but he does not seem to have lived long. His son was Kedāramiśra, of whose intellectual attainments Devapāla was an ardent admirer (*Bhū-pīṭham-abdhi-raśan-ābharaṇam-bubhoja | Gauḍeśvaraś-chiram-upāsya dhiyam yadiyām ||*). The occurrence of the word "*chiram*" in the above passage may go

p. 8. But the poem is comparatively modern and there is no reason why Dharmapāla mentioned in it should be regarded as the father of Devapāla of the Pala Dynasty, see GRM. p. 99, f.n. K. L. Barua also thinks that it was Jayamāla Virabāhu with whom Jayapāla came in contact and that it is not true that the latter subdued the former, see Early History of Kāmarūpa, pp. 128-29; on this point, see Ray, *loc. cit.*, p. 248.

¹ This may not necessarily mean internal trouble, but as the latter later deals with the external Powers defeated by Jayapāla at the instance of his brother, it seems probable that the preceding verse refers to some domestic difficulty.

to show that he served under Devapāla for a respectable period of time. It appears, therefore, that Kedāramiśra's grandfather, Darbhapāni, flourished during the earlier years of his reign, when he seems to have attained most of his military triumphs. There is nothing on record to show that Someśvara signalised his office by any achievement like that put to the credit of Darbhapāni.¹ In the meanwhile the cloud of obscurity which had hung over the destiny of the Gurjara-Pratihāras was soon dissipated with the accession of Rāmabhadra's son, Mihira Bhoja, unquestionably the greatest sovereign of the dynasty, who had a long and active reign extending over about half a century (c. 836-85 A.D.). The Barah inscription shows that he had already ascended the throne by A.D. 836.² He appears to have been opposed to the Gaudas like his predecessors, Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa II. Verse 18 of the Gwalior *Prasasti*³ seems to suggest that the goddess of fortune who had been the consort of Dharma(pāla)'s son (Devapāla) favoured Bhoja (*Dharm-āpatya-gaṣaḥ-prabhūtir=aparā Lakṣmīḥ punarbhūr-nayā*—v. 18). If this interpretation of the verse is to be accepted, it will prove that the two rival monarchs, Devapāla and Bhoja, came into hostile contact and that the effect of this engagement was not favourable to the former. But Devapāla could feel proud of one thing. The Gauda empire attained a natural expansion during his reign when Utkala and Kāmarūpa came under its influence, and thus the resources of the eastern territories were united into a compact power dominated by the Pālas. Like Nāgabhaṭa II, Bhoja may have been helped by some of his feudatories in his

¹ From the evidence of the Badāli *Prasasti* it is not necessary to infer that Someśvara's successor-in-office, Kedāramiśra, was instrumental in bringing about the military successes attributed to Devapāla. If the verse (13) relating to the Gaudaśvara's triumphs in connection with the career of Kedāramiśra is studied along with verse 8, both of which have been already quoted, it will appear highly probable that the successful expeditions during his reign were undertaken in its earlier period when Kedāramiśra's grandfather, Darbhapāni, enjoyed office.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 15-19.

³ Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp. 109, 113, f.n. 4.

conflict with the Vaṅga king (Devapāla?). The Kalha (in the Gorakhpur District, U.P.) Plate of Sodhadeva,¹ dated V. S. 1134 (=1077 A.D.), refers to his ancestor Guṇāmbhodhideva (*Guṇasāgara*) who obtained some territory from Bhoja (*Bhojadev-āpta-bhūmiḥ*) and "by his warlike expedition" "took away the fortune of the Gauḍa." Sodhadeva seems to have achieved military laurels chiefly in the east. A remote ancestor of this prince is said to have defeated the kings of the east. This was Rājaputra, the great-grandfather of Guṇāmbhodhideva, a contemporary of Bhoja I, who distinguished himself by rendering them devoid of leisure [*prā(chī)-kshitīndr-ānavasarakāṭṇa-khyāta...*]. Sodhadeva himself flourished on the banks of the Sarayū (*Sarayūpāra-jīvitām*) in A.D. 1077, as mentioned in his Kalha Plate.

Another associate of Bhoja on his eastern expedition was probably Guhila II, mentioned in the Chāṭsu inscription of Bālāditya. His father Harsharāja was a contemporary of Bhoja, to whom he presented horses. Harshadeva's father, who defeated a Gauḍa king, was most probably a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II, grandfather of Bhoja, as the interval between the two reigns appears to have been very short, occupied by the rule of Bhoja's father Rāmathadra. As Bhoja's reign extended over nearly half a century, it is possible that both Harsharāja and his son Guhila II flourished during the period of his government. Guhila II, according to the Chāṭsu inscription, vanquished a Gauḍa king and "levied tribute upon princes in the east" (*jītvā Gaudādhi-nātham.....*). It is not improbable that he showed his military skill during the reign of Bhoja's successor Mahendrapāla, who, as will be seen in the next chapter, extended his authority into Bihār and Northern Bengal.

A particular interest attaches to the Nālandā copper-plate grant,² dated in the 39th year of Devapāla's reign. as the only

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 89.

² ASI., 1930, p. 87 ff.; N. G. Majumdar's Monograph on the Issar., published by the Vaidya Research Society, 1926; H. Sastri, Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 330 ff.

available record that reveals the existence of a contact between the Pāla empire and a Power outside India. The first twenty-five lines of the grant repeat the introductory verses of the Monghyr inscription, which is the earlier of the two, having been issued six years before the date of the other. Recently a third inscription of the reign of Devapāla, engraved on the pedestal of an image of Tārā and dated in his 35th year, was recovered at Hilsa, 24 miles from the Patna Junction Station and 15 miles from Nālandā. The record refers to Devapāla's victorious reign (*śrī-Devapāla-deva-vijaya-rājya*) and Mañjuśrīdeva of Nālandā.¹ The object of the Nālandā inscription is to record a grant of five villages by Devapāla for the benefit of a monastery constructed at Nālandā under the auspices of Bālaputradeva, the king of Suvarṇadvīpa. It is interesting to note that the gift was offered in response to a request for lands from this foreign monarch, conveyed to the Pāla emperor through the governor of the Vyāghrataṭi-maṇḍala (*Vyāghrataṭi-maṇḍal-ādhipatiḥ*—l. 51), Balavarman by name, who acted as the *dūtaka* or messenger of the grant [(*Suvarṇa-ādhipati-mahārāja-śrī-Vālaputra-devana dūtaka-mukhena vayam-vijñāpitāḥ*—l. 37)]. This naturally presupposes some communication between the Lower Gangetic delta and the island kingdom of Bālaputradeva, who belonged to the Sailendra dynasty of Java (*Yava-bhūmi-pālah*). His son Samarāgravira² married Tārā, the daughter of a ruler called either Dharmasetu or Varmasetu of the lunar race (*Somakul-ānvayasya mahataḥ...tasy-ābhūd-aranī-bhujah*—l. 59). Their son was Bālaputra, whose request for an endowment was granted by Devapāla. The existence of a dynasty of this name in the latter part of the eighth century is shown by two inscriptions: one found at Ligor in Malay Peninsula³ and the other at Kalasan in Java,⁴ the

¹ JBORS., Vol. X, 1904, pp. 81-86.

² That this is probably a name rather than an epithet is the suggestion of Mr. N. G. Majumdar, see his *Monograph*.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 311, and f.n. 3 on p. 312.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 312. For fuller references to the history of the Sailendras, see R. C. Majumdar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 261, n. 2 (also Note, pp. 261-64).

former belonging to a date "somewhat later than 775 A.D." and the latter dated in 778 A.D., referring respectively to *Śrī-Mahārāja* and *Mahārāja Pananikarapa*. There is also a third inscription of the same family, which was discovered at Kelurak near Kalasan, giving the name of the Sailendra king *Śrī-Saṅgrāma-Dhanañjaya*. It appears from these records that the Sailendras in the latter part of the eighth century exercised their sovereignty over Malay Peninsula and Java. The Nālandā copper-plate belongs to the first half of the ninth century, and a still later reference is provided by the Lurg-r Leiden Museum Grant¹ of the Chola king *Rājārāja alias Rājakeśarivarman* (A.D. 985-1013), according to which *Māravijayottuṅgavarman* of the Sailendra dynasty, the lord of *Śrīvishaya* (San-fo-ts'i of the Chinese Annals = Palembang in Sumatra)² and *Kaṭāha* (var. *Kaḍāra*, *Kiḍāra* = Keddah in Malay Peninsula), and the son of *Chūlāmaṇivarman*, caused a monastery to be built at *Nāgapaṭṭana* named after his father, which was endowed with the donation of the village *Āṇaimaṅgalam* (ll. 73-86) by the southern king in the 21st year of his reign. The gift made by this Chola king was subsequently ensured in the form of a permanent edict embedded in the Sanskrit portion of the inscription by his son *Rājendra Chola* (*Madhurāntaka*). Soon after this, hostilities broke out between him and the Sailendras, as recorded in several inscriptions of the former, the earliest being the *Tiruvālaṅgādu* Plates, dated in the sixth year of his reign. In the course of this struggle which continued for several decades the Cholas succeeded in conquering portions of the Sailendra territory, *Rājendra* himself defeating *Saṅgrāma**vijayottuṅga*, who may have been the successor of *Māravijayottuṅga*, as suggested by Mr. Hirananda Śāstrī. Peace was apparently restored by the 20th year of the reign of *Rājakeśarivarman alias Kulottuṅga I*,³

¹ Burgess and Natcha Śāstrī, *ASSI.*, IV, p. 204 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, Pt. VI, p. 213 ff.

² *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 21; Bijan Raj Chatterjee, *loc. cit.*, p. 81.

³ *ASSI.*, IV, p. 224 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 267 ff.

who offered valuable concessions concerning the gift originally made by Rājarāja, as recorded in the Smaller Leiden Plates, at the request of the king of Kīḍāra, communicated to him by his messengers, Rājavidyādhara *Sāmanta* and Abhimānottuṅga *Sāmanta*.¹ It is believed that the Arab writers "from the ninth century onwards" refer to the Śāilendra empire under the name Zābag or Zābaj; and the Chinese Annals, while mentioning the embassies from San-fo-ts'i sent to China in the tenth century, mean that they came from the Śailendras. The latter, as shown by these sources as well as by the Chola records above referred to, must have considerably developed their power by the tenth century, when their territories included the whole of Malayasia, i.e., Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula, in which must have been comprised Śrī-Vijaya in Su-natra. It is also held likely that they enjoyed the possession of Kamboja (Cambodia) and Champā (Annam) for some time. As regards the origin of the Śailendras, it may be mentioned here that there is no direct evidence to show that they were connected with either of the three ruling families of the mainland having similar names, the Śailavaṁśa,² the Śailodbhavas or the Śilāhāras.³ But their Indian origin may not be regarded as improbable. Emigrants from India are still called Kelings or Klings, a fact which suggests that Kalinga including the Telugu country has been particularly known to Java and Sumatra.

There was no political basis of the relationship between Devapāla and Bālaputra. The latter seems to have been regarded as belonging to a domain unconnected with Indian politics. Hence there was no hesitation in praising him almost in a superlative degree. The Nālandā inscription compares him with Śiva's son, Skanda, and as an expert in crushing the pride of all the rulers of the world (*sarva-śrīvīpati-garva-kharvāṇa-chaṇaḥ*).

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 148. For the Śailendra feudatories of the Chojas, see ASI., 1911-12, p. 176.

³ Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 314.

The Nālandā grant is not the only record which evidences contact between the Sailendras and Eastern India. The Kelurak inscription mentions that the preceptor of the Sailendra king Śrī-Saṅgrāma-Dhanañjaya was Kumāraghosha, a *resident* of Gauḍa (*Gauḍī-dvīpa-guru*), who set up an image of Mañjuśrī.

CHAPTER IX

THE DECLINE AND THE RECOVERY

A discussion of the Pāla genealogy, Śūrapāla, Vīgrahapāla, Jayapāla, Vīgrahapāla ; the Hathaya Alliance. Vīgrahapāla I's abdication. Nārāyapāla. Gurjara authority in Bihār and North Bengal. The decline of the Gurjara power ; Rājyapāla of the Pāla dynasty ; his Rāshtrakūṭa alliance. Gopāla II. The Chandel attack on Gauḍa. The Chandras and the Kambojas in Bengal. Mahipāla I and a new epoch. His activities and contemporary politics. The Choja attack. The Śūras. Mahipāla's victory over the Karṇāṭas. An estimate of his achievements.

The history of the succession to the Gauḍa throne after Devapāla presents a problem which is somewhat difficult to solve. Probably a domestic struggle broke out after Devapāla's demise, which added to the weakness resulting from Mihira Bhoja's well-organised expedition against the empire during his reign. Devapāla had a son, named Rājyapāla, the worthy son of a worthy father, (*ātmānurūpa-charitam*), whose heir-apparency was a settled fact in the 33rd year of his reign (*sthira-yauvarājyam*), when he was appointed by the emperor to act as the *dūtaka* of the Monghyr grant (*akarod - - - śrī-Rājyapālam-ihā dūtakam-ātmaputram*—ll. 51-52). As in the subsequent documents of the Pālas there is no mention of this Rājyapāla, it may be reasonably concluded that he was not fortunate enough to have been able to ascend the throne, having either died during the life-time of his father or been defeated in an unrecorded, though probable, struggle for succession. From the *Badāl Praśasti* it appears that Devapāla's immediate successor was Śūrapāla, both of them being mentioned in connection with the office held by Kedāramisra during their reigns.¹ Beyond this, there is no other

¹ V. 18 of the *Badāl Praśasti* (Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 180 f.) speaks of Gaṇḍeśvara's defeat of the Utkalins, Gurjaras, etc., accomplished through the counsel of Kedāramisra. The name of the Gauḍa king is not, however, given. But it is highly probable that he was Devapāla whose name occurs in v. 8. The unnamed king could be either Devapāla or

indication as to the relationship between these monarchs in this inscription. The names of the Pālas supplied in the *Badāl Prasasti* stand in the following order of succession : Dharmapāla, Devapāla, Śūrapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla. From the fact that in the Bhāgalpur grant the name preceding Nārāyaṇapāla is given as Vighrapāla, while in the *Badāl Prasasti* its place is occupied by Śūrapāla ; it has been surmised that the two names are of the one and the same king.² But from the former inscription it can be definitely understood that Vighrapāla I was Nārāyaṇapāla's father. On the other hand, no such direct information is furnished by the *Badāl Prasasti* regarding Śūrapāla. Moreover, it cannot be urged that the absence of Vighrapāla's name in Guravamiśra's inscription must be necessarily explained by his assumed identity with Śūrapāla. The object of that inscription is to give the history of Guravamiśra's family. Vighrapāla's name may have been omitted from the account for the simple reason that this family did not receive any patronage from him. The manner in which Nārāyaṇapāla's regard for Guravamiśra, who in the Bhāgalpur grant acts in the capacity of his *dūtaka*, has been expressed in the *Badāl Prasasti*, is well worth attention. While his predecessors had received a homage bordering on worship from Dharmapāla, Devapāla and Śūrapāla, Guravamiśra felt gratified beyond measure at the mere fact that he was praised by Nārāyaṇapāla (*Śrī-Nārāyaṇapālaḥ prasastir-aparās-tu kā kathā—* v. 19). This feeling may have been due to the acceptance of his services by the new Pāla emperor, notwithstanding his father's

Śūrapāla (v. 15). But there is little probability that he was Śūrapāla. There is no proof of Śūrapāla's military success or of long reign. But v. 13 alludes to the Gauḍa king's long reign. The Nālandā inscr. of Devapāla shows that he ruled at least for 89 years. The Bhāgalpur grant shows that Utkala was conquered by Devapāla. This is also mentioned in v. 18 of the *Badāl Prasasti*. Śūrapāla's association with Kedāramiśra who seems to have served under Devapāla also is proved by the reference in v. 15 to his presence at the sacrifices performed by the Brahmin minister.

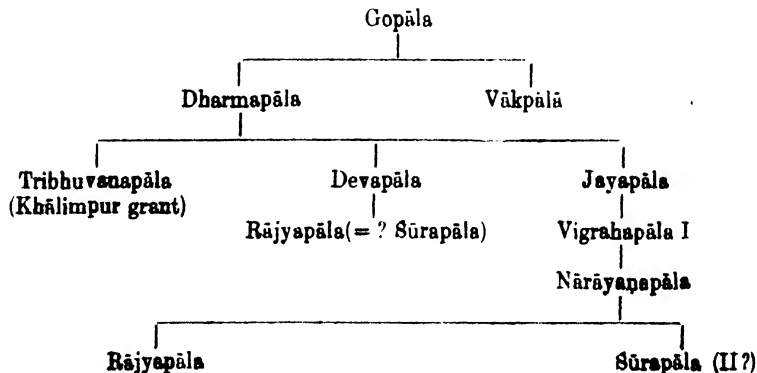
² See Hoernle, CR., ASB., Part. II, App. II, p. 206. His view was accepted by Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., VIII, App. I, p. 17; R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅglār Itihās*, p. 316.

association with a different ruler who probably represented a rival cause. In the genealogical portions of the Pāla inscriptions, Vīgrahapāla is mentioned in a verse which follows an eulogistic allusion to Jayapāla's military activities during the reign specified as that of Devapāla in the preceding verse. Thus obviously the expression "*tatsūnu*"¹ (*Srīmān Vīgrahapālas-tat-sūnur-ajāta-śatrur-iva jātaḥ*) attached to Vīgrahapāla (I) in the passage, is required to be connected with Jayapāla rather than with Devapāla. In addition to this, the fact that in all these later inscriptions a prominent emphasis has been laid on the part played by Jayapāla during the reign of Devapāla, who is thereby almost thrown into the background, may not be altogether without significance. The view held by Kielhorn that Vīgrahapāla and his line were descended from Jayapāla will thus appear to be well-founded.² The subject of Jayapāla's parentage is not free from controversy. The earliest reference to him in the Pāla inscriptions is to be found in the Bhāgalpur grant. Since Devapāla is described in one verse as Jayapāla's "*pūre(va)ja*" and "*bhrātā*," one would feel inclined to conclude that they were related as brothers and that Devapāla was the elder of the two. It is to be pointed out, however, that Jayapāla is mentioned immediately after Vākṣpāla, and that the remark "*tasmāt putro babhūva*," which precedes the phrase "*rijayī Jayapālanāmā*" in the same passage, may be taken to mean that Jayapāla was the son of Vākṣpāla. But this goes counter to the evidence that seems to show him to be related to Devapāla as a brother, for it is impossible to hold that Devapāla was a son of Vākṣpāla, in view of the testimony of his own inscrip-

¹ V. 7 (Bhāgalpur grant) ; v. 5 (Bāngarb, Amgāebhi and Manabali grants). The verse ends incidentally with the mention of Devapāla but deals with the career of Jayapāla. As the nearest pronoun is Devapāla, Hoernle supposed that the epithet '*tatsūnu*,' applied to Vīgrahapāla (I) should mean Devapāla's son. But the construction of the verse preceding the mention of Vīgrahapāla does not seem to agree with this interpretation. The verse ends with the line '*yaḥ pūr-vaje bhuvana-rājya-sukhāny-anaiśhit*.' '*Tatsūnu*' is to be connected with '*yaḥ*,' hence with Jayapāla. But A. K. Maitreya supports Hoernle (GLM., p. 67, n.). R. D. Banerji differs from this view, see Bānglār Itihās, pp. 218-19 ; MASB., Vol. V, p. 87.

² Ep. Ind., VIII, App. 1, p. 17, fn. 6.

tions introducing him as Dharmapāla's son.¹ It is thus a trying problem how to harmonise the description of Devapāla as the *pūrvvaja bhrātā* of Jayapāla with the view suggested by the interpretation of "*tatsūnu*" as connecting the latter with Vākpāla. Indeed there may be some confusion in the genealogical account itself. The term "*bhrātā*" has been used on two occasions : once to signify Vākpāla's connection with Dharmapāla, and again, to signify the relationship existing between Devapāla and Jayapāla. There is no doubt among scholars that Vākpāla and Dharmapāla were brothers; and it is not improbable that the term bears the same meaning in both the cases, qualified by the expression "*anuja*" (younger) in one instance and "*pūrvvaja*" in the other. The upshot of the discussion may be reduced to a tabular form as follows² :—



The above shows, in agreement with Kielhorn's theory, the descent of Vighrahapāla's line from Jayapāla. It further acknowledges the force of the argument advanced by A. K. Maitreya that Jayapāla should be regarded as Devapāla's brother.³ The view that Sūrapāla is not identical with Vighrahapāla is supported by

Kielhorn, JASB., LXI, p. 80.

The discussion regarding the relationship between Jayapāla, Devapāla and Vighrahapāla is based on two verses, common to the Bhāgalspur, Bangarh, Langschhi, and Manabali grants.

² *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101, n.

Mr. N. N. Vasu.¹ If it were possible to establish the identity of Śūrapāla with Rājyapāla, who appears as Devapāla's heir-apparent in his Monghyr grant, the genealogical table presented here would be readily acceptable. There is a mention of one Jayapāla in a very short inscription found on a stone "in the courtyard of the large modern monastery to the north of the main shrine" at Sārnāth² [*Viśvapālaḥ daśa chaityāṁś = tu yat-puṇyam kārayit = ārjitam mayā | sarva-loko bhava (t = tene) sarvavajñāḥ karuṇā-mayaḥ Śrī-Jayapāla...etān = uddiśya kṛitam = Amritapāle(na)*]. It is not known where the inscription originally came from, but as its characters belong to the ninth century, it has been suggested that it refers to the Pāla prince of that name. A manuscript (No. 1028) of Keśava Miśra's *Chhāndogyaparīśiṣṭa*, together with a commentary entitled the *Parīśiṣṭaparakāśa* by Nārāyaṇa, is preserved in the India Office Library, which speaks of a *Kṣhmāpāla* Jayapāla.³ One may not be certain about his identity. R. G. Basak is of the opinion that he was 'the same as the Assam king of this name mentioned in the Silimpur inscription, probably dated in the eleventh century.'⁴ Chronological considerations, as explained in a former chapter, require the limiting of the distance intervening between Devapāla's death and Nārāyaṇapāla's accession to a very short period not exceeding three or four years, which is represented by only two records⁵ from Bihār, inscribed on the pedestals of two

¹ Vaidya Jitīya Itihāsa, Rājanya-K., p. 216.

² ASI, 1907-08, p. 78, Pl. XXI, 6.

³ Eggeling, Cat. of the Sansk. MSS., in the India Office Library, London, Pt. I, pp. 92-93 (1897). The commentator Nārāyaṇa was the grandson of Umāpati, who received a gift from Jayapāla while the latter performed a 'Mahā-Śrāddha' ceremony. R. D. Banerji and H. P. Sastri identify this Jayapāla with the Jayapāla of the Pāla dynasty, see Bāṅgār Itihāsa, p. 210. But there is no information that Devapāla's 'brother' was a ruler (Kṣhmāpāla-Jayapālaśab).
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⁴ *Op. Ind.*, XIII, p. 399.

⁵ SPP., XV, p. 12; N. Chakraverty in JASB., 1906, pp. 107-08, assigns these inscriptions to the second year of Śūrapāla II's reign; but see MAB., Vol. VIII, No. 8, p. 57; *IBQ.*, 1927, pp. 590-57; Bāṅgār Itihāsa, n. 223. They are dated in the year 8 of Śūrapāla's reign.

images of Buddha, dated in the 3rd year of Śūrapāla's reign. (*Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Śūrapāladeva-rājye samrat*). It is almost impossible to accommodate Vīgrahapāla in this short period in succession to Śūrapāla. The former is not known to have had dealings with any external enemies. Epigraphic references to his military successes, vague and indefinite though they be, may be interpreted to mean that he had the better of Śūrapāla, who predeceased him. In the Bhāgalpur grant¹ it is said that it appeared as if Vīgrahapāla 'was born without any enemies' (*Śrīmān Vīgrahapāla.....ajātaśatru-iva jātaḥ*—v. 7),² but it is curious that the same inscription in a different passage refers to the calamities caused by him to his enemies (*ripaṇo yena gurvīṇām vipadām = āspadīkṛitāḥ*—v. 8). An allusion is made to the widowhood caused to the wives of his enemies by the potency of his sword (*Śatru-vaṇitā-prasādhana-vilopi-rimal-āsi-jaladharah*).³ His wife was Lajjā,⁴ an ornament of the Haihaya family, whom he must have married several years before his reign (*Lajj-eti tasya jaladher-iva Jahnu-kanyā patnī babhūva kṛita-Haihaya-vaṃśa-bhūshā*—v. 9). There is no reference, however, to this matrimonial alliance in this record of the Haihayas themselves. Kokalla (c. 880-90⁵ A.D.),⁶ from whom the history of the dynasty is traced as the founder of a new kingdom, appears to have been a contemporary of Vīgrahapāla I. If Lajjā was his daughter, it is difficult to explain the absence of his name in the Bhāgalpur grant, for he was a ruler of great achievements, as can be understood from the Benares grant of Karna and the Bilhari inscription, not to speak of the Cambay

¹ The same verse is repeated in the later land-grants of the family, viz., those from Bāgarh, Āṃgāchhi and Manabali.

² Acc. to Hultzsch, Ind. Ant., XV, p. 307, Ajātaśatru = Bimbisāra's son, but = Yudhiṣṭhira, says A. K. Maitreya, see GLM., p. 67, n. Cf. V. 18, the Cambay Plates. Probably the intention of the poet is to refer to his religious temperament as was shown by his abdication of the throne.

³ V. 7 (Bhāgalpur); v. 5 (Bāgarh, Āṃgāchhi, and Manabali).

⁴ This verse is present only in the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 300-01; MASL, No. 28, p. 28.

Plates of Govinda IV, the Rāshtrakūṭa king, in which also his power is duly recognised, and a reference to his name in the Pāla records would have been quite justified in view of his pre-eminent position. The only reason for this omission may have been the fact that friendly relations between the Haihayas and Bengal did not last long. The Haihaya or the Kalachuri princes of Tripurī (or Tewar, six miles from Jubbulpore) or Ḍabbālā formed a sort of traditional alliance with the Rāshtrakūṭas.¹ Amoghavarsha's son and successor, Akālavarsha or Śubhatuṅga Kṛishṇa II (Prakrit Kannara) married the daughter of Kokalla I belonging to the Haihaya race. Their son Jagattuṅga² renewed the relation with the same family, having married Lakshmī, the daughter of his maternal uncle Raṇavagrha, probably identical with Saṁkaragaṇa, mentioned in the Karda grant of A.D. 972. He took as his wife another Chedi princess named Govindāmbā who seems to have been Lakshmī's sister.³ Again, Jagattuṅga's son Indra (III) took as his wife the daughter of Kokalla's grandson Aṅganadeva, while another grandson of his son, Yuvarāja I, who succeeded his father, Muḍḍhatuṅga Prasiddhadhavalā, gave his daughter in marriage to Indra's step-brother Amoghavarsha (III).⁴ Whether the Haihaya alliance was useful to Vīgrahapāla in a probable conflict with some rival within the empire is more than one can say. The chief work of his reign seems to have consisted in the establishment of his line as the future rulers of the Pāla empire (*nyāy = opattam-alaṅchakāra dharmm-āsanam*).⁵

Vīgrahapāla abdicated the throne in favour of his son⁶ Nārāyaṇapāla, to adopt a life of austerities (*tapo mam = āstu*

¹ See the list of Kalachuri kings of Tripurī in CASR., Vol. IX, p. 85. The marriage is mentioned in the Karda grant of A.D. 972 (Ind. Ant., XII, p. 968) and the Sangli grant of A.D. 968 (Ind. Ant., XII, p. 947).

² *Ibid*

³ Bomb. Gas., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 419.

⁴ Ind. Ant., XII, p. 253.

⁵ This expression has been used with reference to Nārāyaṇapāla, see v. 10 (Bhāgalpur grant), v. 6 (Amagachhi, Bāgarh and Manabali grants).

⁶ Bhāgalpur, v. 10; Bāgarh, Amagachhi and Manabali, v. 6. It is worthy of note

*rājyam te dvābhyām-uktam-idam dvayoh yasmin Vighrahapālena Sagarena Bhagīrathe—Bhāgalpur grant—v. 17).*¹ Nārāyaṇapāla had a long reign extending over more than half a century. The available records of his time, all connected with Bihār, are dated respectively in the 7th,² 9th,³ 17th,⁴ and 54th⁵ years of his reign. In the 17th year he enjoyed the homage of a galaxy of dependent princes (*yaḥ Kṣhoṇi-patibhiḥ śiromaṇi-ruchā-śliṣṭāṅghri-piṭh-opalam*). There is a total lack of Pāla documents for a continuous period of about thirty-seven years, which must have been characterised by a positive decline in the fortunes of the family. None of the extant inscriptions of the dynasty credits him with any military success, while there is reason to believe that the empire got much reduced in extent during the period for which no record of the family is available. The Gurjara king Mahendrapāla, son of Bhoja by his wife Chandrabhaṭṭārikā-devī lost no time in following in the footsteps of his father, and succeeded in establishing his control over Bihār and Northern Bengal. The prevalence of the Gurjara authority in the east during his reign⁶ is proved by several inscriptions, viz., (1) the Dighwā-Dubaulī Plate⁷ (898 A.D.), which is connected with the *Śrāvasti-bhukti* (*-bhuktau Śrāvasti-*

that the last three inscriptions which have several introductory verses in common with the Bhāgalpur grant, reproduce everything said about Vighrahapāla I in that inser., but unlike this record do not refer to his marriage with Lajjā of the Chedi family. Does it suggest that the friendship of the family with the Chedis had been broken off?

¹ The verse seems to reproduce a conversation between the father and the son, in the course of which the former appears to have expressed his resolution to renounce the throne in favour of the latter.

² CASB., III, p. 120; MAB., V, pp. 60-61.

³ SP., XV, p. 13; MAB., V, pp. 60-61.

⁴ JASB., XLVII, p. 384; Ind. Ant., XV, p. 304; GLM., p. 55.

⁵ Ind. Ant. 1918, p. 110.

⁶ He was taken by Kielhorn (Ep. Ind., VIII, App., p. 18, n. 5) and H. P. Sastri (MAB., III, p. 16) as a Pāla king. V. A. Smith placed him in the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D., see Ind. Ant., XXXVIII, p. 246. But R. D. Banerji assigns good grounds for placing him in the 9th or 10th century. This suggests his identity with the son and successor of the Gurjara Pratāpāra Bhoja I, see MAB., V, pp. 66-67.

⁷ Ind. Ant., XV, p. 119; D. R. Bhandarkar, "Epigraphic Notes and Questions," No. III, JEBRAN., XXI, p. 406 f.

maṇḍal-āntahpāti...), (2) the Rām-Gayā inscription of the eighth year,¹ (3) the Guneriya inscription dated in the ninth year,² (4) the Itkhori inscription,³ (5 & 6) two other inscriptions from Bihār,⁴ (7) an inscription, dated in the fifth year from Pāhārpur⁵ in the Rājshāh, district, and certain records noticed by Kittoe (which cannot be traced at present).⁶ Mahendrapāla's empire extended from North Bengal to the Arabian Sea and the Karnul district in the Panjāb.⁷ The Rāshtrakūṭas also were on the move against the Pālas. From the Deoli Plate⁸ it is to be understood that Amoghavarsha's son and successor, Kṛishṇa II (whose last known date is A.D. 911), frightened the Gurjaras, humiliated the Gaudas, deprived the people on the sea-coast of their repose and exacted obedience from Andhra, Kalinga, Gaṅgā and Magadha (*tasy-ottarjijita-Gūrjjaro hṛita-haṭal-Līṭ-odbhata-śrīmado Gaudānām vinaya-vrat-ārpaṇagurus - sāmudra-nidrā-harah | —dvārasth-Āṅga - Kalinga-Gāṅga-Magadhair-abhyarchit-ājñās-chiram—v. 13*). The mention

¹ Rām-Gayā is on the other side of the River Phalgu, opposite the Gadādhara Temple at Gayā, see MAB., V, pp. 63-64. The name given in this record is Mahīndrapāla. R. D. Banerji states that in the Asui inscr. of the Gurjara king Mahīpāla the name is given exactly in the same form. But Cunningham's reading was Mahīshapāla, see Ind. Ant., XVI, p. 174.

² This is also from the Gayā district, see MAB., V, p. 63. The inscr. bestows the adjective 'Gupacharita' on the king.

³ Report of the Patna Museum, 1920-21, p. 44.

⁴ One was believed by Kittoe to be dated in the 19th year, see JASB., Vol. XVII, 1848, p. 234.

⁵ They are now preserved in the British Museum: one of them is dated in the ninth year. R. D. Banerji suggests that the other inscr. dated in the second year may be the one noticed by Kittoe but now regarded as lost. If this is true, Kittoe's reading of the date was wrong, MAB., V, p. 64. Mahendrapāla did not probably rule long, see JRAS., 1909, p. 265.

⁶ Noticed in ASI., 1925-26, p. 141.

⁷ For a list of inscriptions showing his supremacy in Surāshtra, Oudh, Gwalior and the Karnul district in the Panjāb, see JRAS., 1909, pp. 68, 69, 265-68. For the limits of his father's possessions, see *ibid.*, p. 264. An attempt was made by him to extend his authority into the Panjāb, but he was resisted by Saṅkaravarman of Kaashmir, see Rājast. Book, V, v. 151. Acc. to Hultzsch the reference in the Rājast. may be to a king of the Rāshtrakūṭas (Bhojādhirāja), see Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 155.

⁸ Ep. Ind., V, p. 136.

of Magadha and the Gaudas separately in the inscription may suggest that the Pālas were attacked by the Rāshtrakūṭas after they had lost Bihār to the Gurjaras.

The Gurjaras, however, were soon destined to fall down from the great height they had reached: the fatal blow was struck not by the Pālas but by the Rāshtrakūṭas. A rude shock was administered to the power and prestige of the Gurjara dynasty, from which it was impossible to recover, by Indra III,¹ who temporarily overthrew Mahendrapāla's successor Mahīpāla and destroyed the city of Mahodaya or Kanauj (*arinagaram*) sometime between A.D. 915-18. The Uddanāpura image-inscription, dated in the 54th year of Nārāyaṇapāla's reign, proves that he was able to restore his authority in portions of eastern Bihār before his death. It is likely that during the concluding period of his long reign the Rāshtrakūṭa hostility was changed to an alliance cemented by a matrimonial connection with the Pālas. Nārāyaṇapāla's son, Rājyapāla, married Bhāgyadevī, the daughter of Tuṅga, who bore a lofty head and who was like the moon of the Rāshtrakūṭa family (*Rāshtrakūṭ-ānray-endos-Tuṅgasy-oltuṅga-mauler-dduhitari*—Āmgāchhi and Manahali grants—v. 8). R. D. Banerji identifies Rājyapāla's father-in-law with Tuṅga-Dharmāvaloka,² whose grandfather was Guṇāvaloka Nanna, mentioned in a Bodh-Gayā inscription. But although palaeographically this view may not be regarded as impossible, it is doubtful if this Tuṅga-Dharmāvaloka was such an important ruler that an alliance with him would justify a proud mention in the Pāla grants. Kielborn's proposal is to establish his identity with Jagattuṅga, the son of Kṛishṇa II.³ The explicit statement in the Deoli grant⁴ shows that he died without having ascended the throne.

¹ His Nausari grant, dated A.D. 915, does not speak of this victory referred to in the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV, see Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 88. He died before the end of 918 A.D., see JDL., Vol. X, pp. 86-87.

² B. L. Mitra, *Buddha-Gaya*, p. 195; MASB., V, p. 62.

³ JASB., 1892, Pt. I, p. 80.

⁴ *Rājanya-Kāṇḍa*, p. 128.

N. N. Vasu's suggestion that he was Kṛiṣṇa II, otherwise called Śubhatuṅga, seems to be more satisfactory than any of the other two theories. It may be mentioned in this connection that the existence of a family using the " *Tuṅga* " title,¹ which seems to have emigrated from Bihār to Orissa (Jayattuṅga, Śālanatuṅga, Gayāḍatuṅga, Vinītatūṅga) has been brought to light by a number of inscriptions, but their connection with the imperial Rāshtrakūṭas cannot be established for want of proof. The Rāshtrakūṭa alliance with the Pālas may have preceded Indra III's historic attack on Kanauj, which hastened the downfall of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.

The Rāshtrakūṭa expedition which accomplished the destruction of Kanauj, as is stated in the Cambay Plates² (*nirmūlam-unnmūlitam*—v. 19) seems to have brought a part of the conquering army to the junction of the Ganges with the sea, on the evidence of a Kanarese work, entitled the *Vikramārjunavijaya* or the *Pampa*. Bhārata,³ composed by the poet Pampa (born in A.D. 902) in A.D. 941. The author says about Narasiṃha, the father of his patron, the Chālukya prince Arikeśarin II who was a subordinate chief under Govinda IV, that during the expedition against the ' *Ghurjjararāja* ' he had his horse bathed at the junction of the Ganges with the sea, after Mahīpāla whom he was pursuing had fled from the battle-field. As Narasiṃha's son was a contemporary of Indra's son Govinda IV, there is no doubt that he accompanied the Rāshtrakūṭa king on his expedition against the Gurjara lord Mahīpāla. There is no direct proof of Gurjara domination in Western Bengal. Hence it may be supposed that the Chālukya feudatory of Indra III paid a friendly visit to the region, which was probably at the time under the occupation of the Pālas, who may have already entered into an alliance with the Rāshtrakūṭas through Rājyapāla's marriage with Tuṅga's daughter.

¹ See *supra*

² Ep. Ind., VII, p. 38.

³ See *Karṇāṭaka-Śabdānuśāsana*, ed. by Lewis Rice, Intro., pp. 26-27; JBBRAS., XLV, p. 19; Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 466, 469.

Nārāyaṇapāla's son and successor (*tanayaś-cha tasya*) was Rājyapāla, as stated in the Bāngarh inscription of Mahīpāla, the Āmgāchhi Plate of Vīgrahapāla III and the Manahali inscription of Madanapāla and a newly discovered grant of Gopāla II.¹ The inscription of Tūṅga-Dharmāvaloka from Bodh-Gayā above referred to which was composed by a Ceylonese scholar shows that about this time the locality was under control of his family, the only recorded event in whose history was the capture of the fort of Maṇipura. The Nālandā grant of Devapāla² mentions four villages comprised in the Rājagriha-*vishaya*, of which Maṇivāṭaka is one, identified by Mr. Hīrananda Śāstrī with Manianwan in the Bihār Thānā. It may be that this village and its neighbourhood represent Maṇipura which came into the possession of the above-mentioned Rāshṭrakūṭa family. The text of the Bodh-Gayā inscription does not contain any evidence to show whether they ruled as independent sovereigns or as deputies of others. The inscription in the Jaina temple at Bargaon,³ dated in the 24th year of Rājyapāla's reign (*Samvat 24 Mārggadine 2 Śrī-Rājapāla-deva-rāje*), is to be assigned to the period occupied by the rule of Nārāyaṇapāla's successor, for no other king of this name (Rājyapāla) is known to have actually sat on the Pāla throne. The date given in the Bargaon inscription was probably the last year of Rājyapāla's reign, and it shows that the authority of the dynasty prevailed at least in the Patna district at the time. He is described as "*madhyamaloka-pāla*,"⁴ i.e., the ruler of the middle world. He was succeeded by his son, Gopāla II (v. 8 in Āmgāchhi Plate and Manahali Plates and also his own grants). Two inscribed images⁵ found at Nālandā and Bodh-Gayā were attributed by Cunningham to the

¹ Bhāratavarsha, Śrāvapa. 1844 B.S., pp. 262-74.

² Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 317.

³ Ind. Ant., 1917, p. 111; JBORS., 1928, p. 469.

⁴ V. 7 (Āmgāchhi and Manahali grants). He is credited with having achieved great fame by excavating deep tanks and building lofty temples :—*toy-ādayair-jaladhīmūla-gabhira-gaṇbhair-devā'nyais-cha kulebhūdhara-tulya-kakshap...* ; *abhavat-tanayaś-cha janya*.

⁵ See *infra*.

reign of Gopāla I, the founder of the Pāla dynasty ; but their palæography, which bears an affinity to the script employed in the Badāl *Praśasti*, renders this view unacceptable. A MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* was copied in his 15th year in the Vikramaśilā Vihāra.¹ A palm-leaf manuscript of the Maitreya Vyākaraṇa was prepared in the 17th year of Gopāla II's reign.² The Bāngarh, Āmgāchhi, and Manahali Plates say that he was the sole ruler of the earth " for a long time. " (*chirataṛam* = *avaner-eka-patnyā iv-aiko bhartt-ābhūn-naikaratna-dyuti-khachita-chatuḥ-sindhu-chitrāmśukāyāh*—v. 8). Not only is the information given in this passage unreliable, as it is not corroborated by any contemporary evidence, but the expression "*chirataṛam* " can hardly be regarded as furnishing a dependable clue with regard to the actual duration of Gopāla II's reign. The incompetence of the Pāla monarchs of the time and the deterioration of the military efficiency of the Gauḍas invited one calamity after another. It was probably during his rule that the Gauḍas failed miserably in their struggle with a new enemy who had appeared on the political stage. This was the Chandel king Yaśovarman,³ son and successor of Harsha who helped Mahīpāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty to recover Kanauj whence he had been driven by Indra III. It appears that he obtained some time before A.D. 954 an easy victory over the Gauḍas, who have been compared to ' pleasure-creepers ' cut down by his sword (*Gauḍa-kriḍā-lat* = *āsi*—v. 23.....Khajurāha inscription of the year 1011). This description presents a tragic contrast to Kalhana's tribute to the courage, intrepidity and other martial

¹ JRAS., 1910, pp. 180-51. This MS. is preserved in the British Museum.

² H. P. Śāstri, DCBSM., 1917, Vol. I, pp. 18-11. Śāstri gives the date of the work as the year 87 of Gopāla's reign. But D. R. Bhandarkar proposed to read ' 11. ' R. D. Banerji discusses the point at some length. His reading of the date as the year 17th has been tentatively accepted above, see JBORS., 1928, p. 499 ff. D. C. Bhattacharyya follows Śāstri's reading, see IHQ., 1927 p. 585.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 126. The Chandel king who is said to have placed Kshitipāla (Mahīpāla) on the throne was Harsha according to Kielborn, but Hoernle held that he was Yaśovarman himself, see JRAS., 1904, p. 651, n. 1.

qualities of the Gauḍas. Northern Bihār seems to have been outside the political jurisdiction of the Pālas at the time, as is implied by the separate mention of Mithilā (Darbhanga) in the list of territories subjugated by Yaśovarman. The great achievement of the Chandel king was his capture of the fortress of Kalanjar, which dealt another severe blow to the tottering power of the Gurjaras. Besides the Gauḍas, the Mithilas and the Gurjaras, it is claimed that he fought successfully against the Mālavas, the Chedis and the Kurus. The Chandels, who were the rulers of the ancient *Jejākbhuti* (Bundelkhand), later made themselves conspicuous by their efforts to stem the tide of Moslem advance in India. The probability of a Chedi attack on Gauḍa by Yuvarājadeva I, a grandson of Kokalla I, who ascended the throne of his brother Bālaharsha about the second quarter of the tenth century, is indicated by the Bilhari inscription and the newly discovered Gurgi inscription¹ of the Śaiva priest Prabodhaśiva. The former states that Yuvarāja (Keyūravarsa) “fulfilled the ardent wishes of the minds of the women of Gauḍa” and the latter refers in a fragmentary portion to ‘*Gauḍarāja*’ and the water forts of Gauḍa (*jala-nidhi-jala-durggam*—l. 41). No definite conclusion can be drawn from these as to the exact nature of the hostilities involved. As the dates of the Chandel and Chedi attacks are not known, it would be hazardous to decide which of them preceded the other. From the Gurgi inscription it may appear that the contemporary Gauḍa king was compelled to take shelter in a subterranean fort.

An impression may be formed that Gopāla II was not altogether an incapable ruler, but there is no specific detail to show in what respect he gave proof of his ability. His copper-plate grant was issued from his victorious camp at Baṭaparvatikā and it records donations of two villages in the *Paundravardhana-bhukti*. He possessed the qualities of a king (*rāja-guṇair-*) and was endowed with personal vigour, good counsel and power of

¹ Ep : Ind., XXII, Pt. III, p. 127 f.

authority (*utsāha-mantra-prabhu-śakti-Lakshmīh*), which were the causes of his success.¹

Gopāla II's son and successor was Vīrabhāpāla II. The only record associated with his name is a manuscript of the *Pañcharakshā* preserved in the British Museum (Or. 3346), which was written in the 26th year of his victorious reign² (*Parameśvara-paramabhāṭṭāraka-Paramasaugata.....mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Vīrabhāpāladevasya pravardhamāna-vijayarājye samvat 26 Āshāḍham—I. 24*). It may be noted in this connection that this manuscript was provisionally attributed by Bendall to Vīrabhāpāla II. This view was taken by Dr. Barnett³ too, when he referred to the copy of the *Āṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* (Or. 6902), preserved in the British Museum, which was prepared in the reign of a *parameśvara-paramabhāṭṭāraka-paramasaugata-mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Gopāladeva* and which he ascribed to Vīrabhāpāla II's father Gopāla II. Dr. R. C. Majumdar⁴ rejected the ascription of the British Museum copy of the *Pañcharakshā* to Vīrabhāpāla II and put forward the view that the king mentioned in the colophon of the MS. might be taken as the same as Vīrabhāpāla III. It cannot be claimed that this conclusion is based fully on a study of the manuscript-palaeography of the period, the importance of which in the settlement of such problems should be taken into consideration.

The Pāla grants draw, according to some, a significant distinction between Vīrabhāpāla and his father in a passage which has been interpreted to mean that the former was a weak ruler in comparison with Gopāla II (*tasmād-babhūva sariturvasu-koṭīcarshī kālēna Chandra iva Vīrabhāpāladevaḥ... kulāmayena yen-aditena dalito bhuvanasya tāpah*).⁵ Perhaps he

¹ V. 9 (Bāngarh, Āngāchhi and Manahali grants).

² Bendall, *Cat. of the Bud. Sansk. MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 232 ; JRS., 1910, p. 181.

³ JRS., 1910, pp. 151-52.

⁴ JASB., 1921, p. 6, f.n. 1.

⁵ V. 10 (Bāngarh and Āngāchhi), v. 9 (Manahali). This interpretation put upon the

was more peace-loving than his father and was averse to war (*bhuvanasya tāpaḥ*), passivity being the chief attribute of his character. His army, like that of his father, wandered at will (*svairam*), as if it had no active duty to perform (*deśe prāchi prachura-payasi svachchham-āpiya toyam svairam bhrāntvā tadanu-Malay-opatyakā-chandaneshu kṛtvā sāndrais-tarushu jaḍatām śikarair-abhra-tulyaḥ prāley-ādreh kaṭakam-abhajan yasya senā-gajendrāḥ* II—v. 11—Bāngarh inscription).¹ It may be interesting to enquire if the verse preserves in a poetical garb the historical information that a part of the army was disbanded during Vigraphapāla II's reign, and went on a holiday or was in search for service under other Powers.

The period through which the Pālas had been passing since the death of Devapāla was one of storm and stress. Their enemies, the Gurjaras, the Rāshtrakūṭas and finally the Chandels dealt with them as they pleased, and their inability to resist the progress of the invading Powers had the inevitable result of reducing the extent of the empire. It cannot escape notice that for the whole of the period under review not a single record of the Pālas with the exception of Gopāla II's grant has so far been discovered, that throws light on their connection with Bengal. But the inscriptions of the Chandras and the Kambojas reveal the forces which subverted the authority

passage by A. K. Maitreya in GLM., p. 100, n., is considered accurate from the historical standpoint by R. D. Banerji, see *Bānglār Itihās*, pp. 238-39. There seems to be no doubt that Vigraphapāla II's reign saw a decline in the Pāla power as the date of the Kamboja inscr. from Dināpur falls within his reign-period according to our chronological scheme. A complete reading of the śloka in the Bāngarh grant is possible with the help of the other two inscriptions where it is repeated.

¹ This verse is assigned to Vigraphapāla III in his Aṅgachhi Plate. There is no such verse either for the second or for the third king of this name in the Maṇahall grant. R. D. Banerji holds that there is a probable allusion to Vigraphapāla's military activity in the east in the above verse, but the interpretation seems to be far-fetched. Dr. N. K. Bhattachali remarks that the verse shows that after losing his kingdom, "Vigraphapāla took shelter in the eastern country (i.e., *Somataṣa*) where water abounded (*deśe prāchi prachura-payasi*). " But what about other lands referred to in the rest of the verse? Regarding the use of the same verse in the case of Vigraphapāla III, he says that this was due to the ignorance of the real meaning on the part of later writers. This explanation is not convincing. The verse

of the Pālas in certain parts of the province in the tenth century A. D. The gap in the history of Bengal caused by the absence of any Pāla records during the time is filled by four inscriptions of the reign of Śrīchandra, together with the Dinājpur inscription and the Irdā copper-plate of the Kambojas.¹ From the genealogical portions, embodied in Śrīchandra's inscriptions, which have all been found in Eastern Bengal (copper-plates from Rāmpāl,² Edilpur,³ Dhuliā and Kedārpur⁴—the last-named plate is obviously incomplete), his descent is traced from Pūrṇachandra, whose son and successor was Suvarṇachandra. The latter was succeeded by his son Trailokyachandra, and the throne was afterwards occupied by Śrīchandra. Thus the genealogy of Śrīchandra's family can be constructed as follows :—

Pūrṇachandra
|
Suvarṇachandra
|
Trailokyachandra
|
Śrīchandra

Pūrṇachandra, who heads the list, belonged to the ruling dynasty of the Chandras connected with Rohitagiri⁵ [*Chandrāṇām-iha Rohitagi(ri)-bhujām-vaṇṣe*—l. 5].⁶ The name "Rohitagiri"

clearly shows the aimlessness and incapacity of the army, its proneness to pleasure instead of action. I am prepared to agree that for some time Vīrabhāpāla may have strayed in Samatāṣa but it must be added that he nowhere formed a safe and permanent shelter but was driven from place to place, see *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 351. The fact that the same verse is found to be attributed to Vīrabhāpāla's father Gopāla II also in his new copper-plate grant only shows that troubles had already started in his reign.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, No. 3¹, pp. 180-89.

² *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 136-43; I.B., p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, XVII, pp. 186-90.

⁴ I.B., Appendixes, p. 105.

⁵ Thākurāṭh gives a list of Chandra kings, which includes the name of Śrī-Chandra, but the chronological indication is very confusing, see *Ind. Ant.*, IV, 1875, p. 351 f.

⁶ This and other quotations are from the Rāmpāl grant.

occurs in a different set of copper-plates ¹ discovered from Orissa, relating to a Tuṅga family of Gayādatuṅga and Vinītatūṅga II. ² There is not much to be said in support of the theory that seeks to identify it with the Lalmai Hills ³ in the Tippera District, standing between the Maynamati Hill on the west and the Lushai Hills on the east. The generality of opinion is in favour of its identification with Rohtāsgadh in Biḥār. The Chandras were in possession of immense fortune (*viśāla-śriyam*—l. 4) during the time of Pūrṇachandra, the founder of the family, who was a well-known figure in his days (*rikhyāṭ obhūrī*—l. 4). He was the hero of novel panegyrical compositions engraved on copper-plates and pillars of victory, and his name was inscribed on the pedestals of images of gods (*archānām-pada-pīṭhikāsu paṭhitāḥ santāninām-ajratas-tāṅk-otkīrṇa-nava-ṣṛāstishu jayastambhesu tāmreshu cha*—l. 5). Nothing is known about his successor, Suvarṇachandra (ll. 6-8) ; but his son, Trailokyachandra, who purified his relations on both sides (*paritrit-obhaya-kulāḥ*—l. 8) and was famous throughout the world (*trailokyē vidito diśām-utītibhis-Trailokyachandro gunaiḥ*—ll. 8-9) for his manifold qualities, seems to have been the first in the family to have raised it to an imperial status by his assumption of the title of “*Mahārājādhirāja*.” He held Harikela (*Vaṅga*) and Chandraḍvīpa (in Būkerḡinj) in his possession [*ādharma-Harikela-rāja-kakuda-chchhatra-smītānām śriyām yaśchandr-opapade babhūra nṛpatir-dṛiṇe*—ll. 9-10 : “ He was the repository of the fortune symbolised in the smile (splendour) of the royal umbrella of Harikela ”]. “ His authority was acknowledged by all ” (*añchita-śāsanasya*—l. 11) ; he was as glorious as Indra (*Indra-tjāḥ*—l. 13) and was conversant with the science of polity (*nayajñāḥ*—l. 13). Trailokyachandra's

¹ JASS., 1909, p. 347 ; 1916, p. 291.

² JBORS., Vol. VI, p. 238 ; IHQ., 1926, pp. 655-56.

³ IHQ., 1926, pp. 825-37 ; 1927, p. 418.

son Śrīchandra, by his wife Śrīkāñchanā, is poetically described as having brought the whole world under his supremacy (*ek-ātapatr-ābharanam bhuvam*—l. 13). He never allowed himself to be dominated by those who were lacking in intelligence (*Vaidheyajan-āvidheyah*—ll. 13-14). His enemies were put into prison and his fame spread in different directions (*chakāra kārāsu niveśit-ārir-yaśah-sugandhīni diśām mukhāni*). He adopted the paramount titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Parameśvara*. Śrīchandra's victorious camp was pitched at Vikramapura in the Dacca district (*Śrī-Vikramapura-sam-ārāsita-śrīmaj-jayaskandhārārāt*). As an independent monarch he had under him the usual retinue of officials and others of high ranks (*Aśeṣa-rājapurusha-rājñī-rājaka-rājaputra-rājāmātya-mahā-vyūhapati-maṇḍalapati-mahāsāndhirigrahika-mahāsenāpati-mahā-kṣhapāṭalika-mahāsarvādhipā...mahāpratihāra* ... etc. —ll. 18-20). It may be rightly estimated that the power wielded by the dynasty, specially under Śrīchandra, was not confined to a small area. According to R. D. Banerji the Rāmpāl grant of Śrīchandra is to be regarded from the palaeographical standpoint as slightly later than the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, which was engraved about the close of the ninth century A. D. The chronological position of the Chandras, as suggested by a palaeographical study of the Rāmpāl grant, derives its support from other considerations. In the eleventh century the Yādava dynasty ruled in Eastern Bengal with their headquarters in Vikramapura, the same place whence Śrīchandra issued his land-grants, as is evidenced by the synchronism of its second king, Jātavarman, with the Chedi Karna (acc. A.D. 1041).¹ There cannot be any place for the Chandras after the Varmans, as the latter were supplanted by the Senas in Eastern Bengal. Moreover, the script of the Belava grant of the Yādava dynasty is more advanced than that of the inscriptions of

¹ Ep. Ind., XI, p. 146.

Śrichandra.¹ Hence there is no other alternative but to conclude that the Chandras preceded the Yādavas. From the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Chola it appears that a Chandra prince flourished in Eastern Bengal in the first quarter of the eleventh century. He was probably the last of the dynasty, whose place was speedily taken by the Yādavas.

The Chandras of Rohitagiri, associated with Bihār probably as a tributary family under the Pālas, may have been compelled to abandon their territory during Mahendrapāla's régime, and made ample recompense for their loss by their conquests in Bengal. They may have obtained possession of Eastern Bengal by overthrowing the ruling dynasty of Harikela, noted in Kāntideva's inscription of the ninth century. The grants made by Śrichandra are mentioned to have been situated in the *Paundravardhana-bhukti*, from which it is possible to conclude that Northern Bengal formed an integral part of the territory ruled by him. Now, Śrichandra had a reign which extended over at least thirty-five years, as is proved by the Dhuliā grant. As we have already seen, there is no chronological difficulty in placing the end of his government in the middle of the tenth century, or even a little later. The Chandra occupation of *Paundravardhana*,

¹ About the Belava grant R. G. Basak expressed the view that "the inscription is written in Northern characters of the eleventh century A.D.", see *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 37. Regarding the Rāmpāl grant of Śrichandra, he said that "the characters of the inscription belong to a variety of alphabets used in the eastern part of Northern India in the eleventh and twelfth centuries" (*ibid.*, p. 137). Thus in his opinion the Rāmpāl grant is slightly later than the Belava grant of the Yādavas. But a comparative analysis of the scripts of the two grants is opposed to this view. It seems that the grant of Śrichandra is not only earlier than the Belava grant from the palaeographical point of view but probably even the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla and the Bāngarh grant of Mahipāla I. Special attention should be drawn to the use of the initial vowels and among the consonants particularly *kh*, *dh*, *r*. The Belava grant may be placed at a date slightly earlier than the Terpadighi grant of the Fe king Lakshmanasena. Our chronological arrangement of the history of the Chandras and the Yādavas is based on palaeographical considerations, see R. D. Banerji, 'The Date of Śrichandra,' *Sir Asutosh BJV.*, Vol. III, Pt. III, pp. 210-22 and the Plate.

which seems to be implied in Śrīchandra's inscriptions, is to be dated earlier than about the beginning of the third quarter of the tenth century, when it was in the possession of the Kambojas. Not long after this, the Pālas conquered Northern Bengal from the latter. It is, therefore, improbable that Śrīchandra's rule flourished in this region at any time later than the period indicated above. The unfinished condition of the Kedārpur copper-plate may suggest some unexpected occurrence during his reign—probably the cessation of his authority in Pauṇḍravardhana, which now fell into the hands of the Kambojas. The supremacy of the Chandras, however, continued to exist in Eastern Bengal, even though they lost an important portion of their dominions. It seems that the Chandras about the middle of the tenth century had some trouble with the Chedi king Lakshmaparājā, the son and successor of Yuvarāja, who in the Goharwa Plates¹ of Karnaḍa (A.D. 1047) is described as *vaṅgāla-bhaṅga-nipūṇa*,² i.e., one who showed his skill in disrupting the Vaṅgālas. The Pālas were now occupying a definitely subordinate and insignificant position. Hence the enmity of the neighbouring Powers was not directed against them. The centre of gravity had apparently shifted from Gauḍa to the Vaṅgāla territory where the Chandras held their court at Vikramapura. Lakshmaparājā's attack does not appear to have been anything more than a successful raid, for there is no evidence to show that the invaded country was annexed to his dominions. R. D. Banerji³ holds that the word '*Vaṅgāla*' no doubt means Bengal proper and the reference is to a Pāla king of that country. This view must be rejected, for in the first quarter of the eleventh century a Vaṅgāla king did not mean a Pāla king, but a king of East Bengal.

The name of Śrīchandra's successor has been probably preserved in a short record from the Tippera District, in which

¹ Ep. Ind., XI, p. 142.

² MASI., No. 23, p. 12.

a certain Kusumadeva¹ pays allegiance to his overlord, Layahachandra. N. K. Bhattasali in his translation of the text says that it is dated in the 18th year of Layahachandra's reign. But the date cannot be accurately recovered from the inscription.² No idea as to the extent of his territory has been provided in this brief inscription. The usual titles are also wanting, but the fact that for palæographical reasons it may be assigned to the tenth century, combined with the information that Layahachandra's tributary was the ruler of Karmānta (= modern Baḍ-Kamtā, near Comilla town),³ may lead to the hypothesis that he was connected with the famous Chandra dynasty of Eastern Bengal. It may be mentioned in this connection that the history of Arakan⁴ gives us the account of a Chandra dynasty which was founded by Ma-ha-taing-t-sandra in A.D. 788, and lasted for a period of one hundred and sixty-nine years till about A.D. 956, when it came to an end with the death of Tsu-la-taing-t-sandra (A.D. 951-57).⁵ The originator of this dynasty (A.D. 788-810) is said to have built a new capital in Arakan, called Wethali after the city of Vaiśālī in Tirhut. It has been supposed by Dr. Bhattasali that Layahachandra of the Bharella (a village near Baḍ-Kamtā in the Tippera district) Nartesvara image inscription, mentioned above, may have been identical with the last king of this family,⁶ but this is a mere guess. It is difficult to agree with him, as the name of the Arakan king does not appear to be similar to that of Layahachandra. It is more probable that he was related to Śrichandra's family, and

¹ Ep. Ind., XVII, pp. 353-55.

² JASB. (N.S.), Vol. X, p. 88; Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 351. The text has the following words: "Śrīmal-Layahachandra-deva-pādīya-vijaya-rāje."—l. 1. The date may be correct as the letters 'Aṣṭa' are almost clear.

³ Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 351.

⁴ Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 45; *Nomis. Orient.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 42.; JASB. 1872, Pt. I, pp. 201-03; *ibid.*, 1844, pp. 23-52.

⁵ Dr. Barnett's note on the above is: "The Burmese names represented Maha-Chinga Chandra and Chula Chinga Chandra. Chinga seems to be the Tamil form of Śiṅha. But we cannot thence conclude that the family was Tamil."

⁶ JASB. (N.S.), 1914, p. 90.

that he held sway in Eastern Bengal after the latter's death. As the original home (Basarb) of the Chandra kings of Arakan seems to have been situated in the province of Bihār, whence (Rohtāsgadh) Śrīchandra's family also seems to have come, and as there is evidently some correspondence in regard to their respective periods of historical existence, it may be possible to suggest that the two families were linked together by some ties of kinship, on which, however, no light can be thrown for want of any direct evidence. Mr. Hirananda Śāstrī presents a list of nineteen Chandra kings whose names he has read in a Nāgarī inscription found on the platform of Shitthaung temple at Mrohaung in Arakan.¹ This and other inscriptions from the same place were first noticed by Forchhammer in the last century. The Chandra kings of the inscription, above referred to, are mentioned as having belonged to the *Śrī-Dharmarāj-ānujaramśa* headed by Bālachandra and ending with Ānandachandra, king of Tāmrapaṭṭana, an account of whose donations is given in the record. The inscription had originally nothing to do with the temple, where it is found, belonging to the sixteenth century, than which, according to Hirananda Śāstrī, it is earlier by many centuries. Some coins found in Arakan seem to have been struck by rulers of this family, but the names given in the inscription do not agree with those recovered by Phayre from local sources. It is possible, though it cannot be stated definitely, that the Chandras in the tenth century, through different branches of a more or less homogeneous family, attempted to organise extensive dominions in the east, which included Chittagong and went right up to the frontiers of Burma. Tāranāth informs us that there was a king named Bālachandra, son of Simhachandra of Bengal, who extended his authority to Tirhut and Kāmarūpa. This Bālachandra was succeeded by Vimalachandra, who was followed by Gopīchandra, who had his capital at Chatigram.

¹ ASI, 1926-26, pp. 146-48. ; IHQ., VII, pp. 37-40 ; Phayre, Coins of Arakan, Pl. II, 1-12 ; V. A. Smith OCIMCO., Pl. XXXI, No. 9.

Reference has already been made to the Kāmbojas,¹ who are known to have established themselves in a territory once under the rule of the Pālas. Living probably in a Himalayan region on the northern outskirts of the Pāla empire, one Kāmboja clan had already shown a spirit of restlessness against their neighbour during the reign of Devapāla, who may have attacked their own home-land and made it impossible for those people to attempt an intrusion into his dominions which were held firmly by a powerful hand. But the lesson that he taught was forgotten during the decadence of the Pāla authority, and the Kāmbojas, entering Bengal probably in large numbers, found themselves strong enough to proclaim their mastery of Gauda. The date of their settlement in this province is not definitely known, but an approximate clue to it is to be found in the Dinājpur stone-pillar inscription, associated with an unnamed king belonging to this clan. The reading and interpretation of this small record have given rise to some controversy, and its historical importance was not properly appreciated until recently, which accounts for the absence of its notice in Kielhorn's List of Northern Inscriptions. The reading "*Siduapati*"² in line 2 of the inscription by Bloch has been proved to be wrong. It is to be replaced by "*Gaudapati*," which makes the context clear. But more important for chronological purposes is the meaning attached to the phrase "*Kuñjara-ghatā-varshena*" in line 3 of the inscription. According to R. G. Bhandarkar it is an adjective meaning "He who pours forth an array of elephants," but R. L. Mitra suggests that it gives in reality the date of the record, being equivalent to the Saka year 888 (=A.D. 966). Though "*Kuñjara-ghatā-varsha*" (Kāmboj-ānpayajena Gauda-patinā ten-endumauler-ayam prāsādo

¹ R. P. Chanda, JASB., N. S., 1911, Vol. VII, pp. 615-20; R. L. Mitra and R. G. Bhandarkar, Ind. Ant., Vol. I, pp. 127-28, 195-96, 227-28. There is no definite ground why the Kāmbojas defeated by Devapāla should be regarded as the same as mentioned in the Dinājpur inscription although that is most likely. The identification is however not quite certain.

² ASI, 1900-01, Bengal Circle, p. vii.

niramāyi *Kuñjara-ghatā-varshenā bhū-bhūṣaṇaḥ*) may, as suggested by Dr. R. C. Majumdar,¹ be taken not as a chronogram but a *biruda* of the Gauḍa ruler of the Kāmboja family referred to in this inscription, it is difficult to agree with the view that this king is to be regarded as identical with Sāhilladeva of Chambā who is called *Karivarsha* in a copper-plate inscription of Somavarmma-deva and Āsaṭadeva.² Sāhilladeva is said to have acquired the name given him in this record by destroying "in Kurukshetra the array of the elephants of his enemies." As a similarity of meaning appears to exist between "*Kuñjara-ghatā-varsha*" and "*Karivarsha*," the identification of the Kāmboja king with the Chambā king may at first seem highly probable. But such similarity cannot irresistibly point to identity. It will not be safe to determine the identity of persons by finding out the meanings of their names and their parallels. If one is to be identified with another on the basis of names, these must not merely be similar but identical. It is to be added here that unlike the *Gauḍapati*, Sāhilladeva is described as *Paushaṇa-vamśa-bhūṣaṇa*,³ and not *Kāmboj-āncayaja* as the former. Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks that as there was a Kāmboja territory in the north-west, it was quite probable that Chambā, situated between the Punjāb and Kashmīr, found it quite convenient to bring that land under its control. Not only this is a mere guess for which there is no direct evidence in the Chambā copper-plate, it is far from clear how by merely annexing the Kāmboja territory a ruler of Chambā could describe himself in a Bengal inscription as *Kāmboj-āncayaja*. The Chambā copper-plate mentions Trigarta, Kulūta, Durgara (Dogrā) and Kīra as coming within the orbit of his power, but there is no reference to the Kāmbojas in that inscription. This grant is connected with Somavarmma-deva and his successor Āsaṭadeva who were descendants of Sāhilladeva. It must, therefore, be taken as

¹ *Vaḍge Kāmboj-ādhibhāra, Vaḍgavāṇī*, B.S. 1880, Chaitra, pp. 249-53.

² Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, 1902, XVII, pp. 7-13; on Sāhilla and his date, see *ABL.*, 1902-3, pp. 268-70.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, line 10, p. 11.

giving a fairly complete record of the noteworthy events of his reign. Surely it would have referred to the extension of his power into Gauḍa, had it actually taken place. The critical analysis of the palæographical features of the inscription, prepared by Mr. R. P. Chanda, shows beyond reasonable doubt that it is to be assigned to the second half of the tenth century. Thus the Kāmbojas had already succeeded in carving out an independent principality in Northern Bengal by that time, when a member of the tribe (*Kāmboj-ānrayajena*—l. 2) enjoyed the title of the Lord of Gauḍa (*Gauḍa-patinā*—l. 2). As already stated, the Kāmboja clan may have conquered Paunḍravardhana from the Chandras. The Dinājpur pillar-inscription refers to the Kāmboja ruler's "ability in subduing the irresistible forces of the enemy" (*Durvr̥r-āri-varūthini-pramathane*¹), which may lead to the inference that the conquest of Gauḍa is to be dated from his reign. The Kāmbojas continued to rule in Northern Bengal till they had to yield to the revived power of the Pālas towards the end of the tenth century. It may be remembered in this connection that the Kāmboja tribe defeated by Devapāla at an earlier period appears from the evidence of the Monghyr grant to have been somewhat noted for their horses.¹ Their success in Bengal may have been to some extent due to a possible superiority in the use of this animal in their warfare. Another factor may have contributed its share to the development of their political power. The Chandra and the Pāla kings of Bengal were Buddhists, while the Kāmbojas were generally devotees of Hindu gods, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The Dinājpur inscription records the erection of a temple (*prāsādo niramāyi*—l. 3), the ornament of the earth (*bhū-bhūṣaṇaḥ*), in honour of Śiva (*ten-endu-mauler-ayam*—l. 3) by the Kāmboja king, who was much admired for his qualities (*yasya mārḡgaṇa-guṇa-grāmagraho gīyate*—l. 2). Probably the Buddhist creed professed by the Pālas and the Chandras was already on the wane in Gauḍa, where the Kāmbojas, outsiders though they

¹ Devapāla's horses are said to have been united with their 'lovers' in the land of the Kāmbojas: *Kāmbojāṇa cha yasya vāji-yuvabhīr ... kāntāś-chiram vīkṣitāḥ*—v. 12.

were, may have been welcomed in consideration of their attachment to the Brahmanical religion.

Until recently the prevailing theory was that North Bengal alone had been under the temporary occupation of the Kāmbojas during the weak government of the Pālas. But the Irdā copper-plate¹ requires a modification of that view by supplying the evidence of their rule in south-west Bengal (in Varddhamāna-bhukti which included the Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala) also. This new copper-plate, like the other record of the Kāmbojas, viz., the Dinājpur inscription, is on pakeographical grounds to be assigned to the latter part of the tenth century, as explained by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar in the course of his editorial observations. But while the former inscription gives names of three successive rulers of a Kāmboja family, the latter only refers to a certain *Gauḍapati* of the Kāmboja clan, whose name, according to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, was Kuñjaraghaṭāvarsha, as already mentioned in the foregoing paragraph. As the two inscriptions are nearly contemporaneous with each other, and as both are connected with the history of the Kāmboja clan, it is reasonable to conclude that they refer to the same family. But the name *Kuñjara-ghaṭā-varsha* does not occur in the Irdā copper-plate inscription, nor is the epithet "*Gauḍapati*" applied to any of the rulers, named in that record. Among the three rulers of the Irdā plate, the first, viz., Rājyapāla, most probably cannot be taken as identical with the *Gauḍapati* of the Dinājpur inscription, for the latter appears to have been a devotee of Śiva, while the former is described as a *Paramasaugīta*, i.e., a Buddhist. As to the remaining two, there is enough evidence to show that the second, viz., Nārāyaṇapāla, was a worshipper of Vasudeva [*Sa Vāsudera-pād-av(b)ja-pūjā-nirata-mānaśa*—v. 13] and the third, Nayapāla-deva, was a Śaiva, as the invocation to Śiva, with which the inscription commences, would seem to suggest. Thus the only king with whom the *Gauḍapati* of the

¹ N. G. Majumdar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 150 ff. and Plate.

Dinājpur inscription may be identified is *Nayapāla-deva*, but the absence of the title "*Gauḍapati*" is a warning against deducing any definite conclusion. It is also unlikely that different portions of the same province in North and West Bengal were under different ruling families of the same clan, and that a king holding sway in the former area alone went to the extent of assuming imperial titles when there was another Kāmboja king exercising sovereignty over the latter region. Another ruler who may have been of Kāmboja origin was Dharmapāla of *Daṇḍa-bhukti*, who was expelled from his territory by the conquering army of Rājendra Chola in the first quarter of the 11th century. Since *Daṇḍa-bhukti*, in the latter part of the 10th century is known to have been under the control of the Kāmbojas, and their names were similar to those of some of the Pāla kings of Bengal, this Dharmapāla, whose affiliation to the Pāla dynasty cannot be established from any evidence, may be regarded to have been a member of the Kāmboja dynasty which ruled over this area a few years earlier. If so, it will be found that the authority of the Kāmbojas survived in West Bengal even after it had been swept away from the northern districts. It may be that *Mahārājādhirāja* *Nayapāla* annexed *Gauḍa* after the date of the engraving of the *Irdā* copper-plate, but it must have been re-occupied by the Pāla dynasty during the reign of *Mahīpāla* in about 992 A.D. The likelihood of the *Gauḍapati* in the *Dinājpur* inscription having been a Kāmboja vassal under the imperial family issuing the *Irdā* grant from *Priyaṅgu*, an unidentified place, may also be taken into account in reconstructing the history of the Kāmbojas in Bengal. Another probable alternative is that *Kuñjara-ghaṭa-varsha*, the *Gauḍapati*, succeeded *Nayapāla* of the *Irdā* grant and was himself succeeded by *Dharmapāla*. It is evident that the Kāmboja history is not yet free from speculative elements, and it must remain so until further information is obtained on some essential points of chronology.

There is also no definite information about the actual limits of the Kāmboja dominions in Bengal; the *Irdā* grant shows that they

occupied the south-western part of Rāḍha, and the Dinājpur inscription seems to prove that they held at least some of the northern districts of this province. But how could these be welded into a compact state, geographically speaking, unless the northern portions of Rāḍha also had been acquired? It is highly probable that the invasion of Rāḍha by Dhaṅga, the Chandella ruler, in the latter part of the 10th century, left the Kāmboja power considerably weak at an important frontier on the north, just as the revival of Pāla supremacy brought to an end the authority of the Kāmbojas in North Bengal. They somehow survived these attacks, but had no power to reconquer their lost dominions. The last of them was probably Dharmapāla who succumbed to the Chola attack in the 11th century.

The Irdā copper-plate begins with a reference to Rājyapāla, an ornament of the Kāmboja clan [*Kamv(b)oja-raṇṣa-tilakah*], who was succeeded by his son Nārāyaṇapāla. As Rājyapāla is called Prithu in this record, it may show that he was the founder of this ruling family (*Prithur = abhūd = iha*—l. 8). The name of Nārāyaṇapāla's mother was Bhāgyadevī. Rājyapāla ruled without any obstacle or calamity marring his government (*nishkaṇṭakam-anāpāyaṁ paripālayato bhuvam*—ll. 7-8), and his feet were kissed by the heads of kings. After Nārāyaṇapāla's death his younger brother Nayapāla occupied the throne (l. 15). The capital of these kings was Priyaṅgu (*rāja-dhānyāḥ Priyaṅgutaḥ*—l. 5). No further information about these rulers has been supplied, but vague praise occur, which are quite useless from the historical standpoint. The authority of this family prevailed at least in the Varddhamāna-bhukti which included the Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala. The title "Mahārājādhirāja" must have been assumed from the time of Rājyapāla, as shown in l. 19 of the inscription, and he was known for his great gifts (*aśrānta-dāna-mahimā-prabhavaḥ*).

It cannot but attract attention that these kings adopted names which are to be found in the genealogy of the Pāla kings of Bengal.

It is also to be observed that Rājyapāla of the Irdā grant, like Rājyapāla of the Pāla dynasty, his near contemporary, had a queen called Bhāgyadevī. Both the Kāmboja Rājyapāla, and the Pāla Rājyapāla, as pointed out by N. G. Majumdar, are described as *Paramasaugata* in the Kāmboja and Pāla inscriptions respectively. Indeed the similarity seems to be striking in so many ways that it may be tempting to identify the two rulers as one and the same. If such identification is to be upheld, it will mean that there was no distinction between the Kāmbojas and the Pālas, which will be a revolutionary theory to propound, since the history of this period has hitherto been studied on the basis of the recognition that they were different from, and antagonistic to, one another. All available evidence seems to support that view. The copper-plates of Devapāla show that there was enmity between that Pāla king and the Kāmbojas whom he appears to have defeated; the Bāngarh inscription of Mahīpāla I attests the recovery of Varendra by the Pālas, apparently from the Kāmbojas, in whose possession it had remained for some time, as proved by the Dinājpur inscription of the 10th century. It is suggested that although originally there may have been some real difference between the Pālas and the Kāmbojas, an unrecorded matrimonial connection may have changed a "*Pāla*" into a "*Kāmboja*." But it must be noted that Rājyapāla throughout remains a *Pāla* in the inscriptions of the Pāla dynasty. In these records he is mentioned as the father of Gopāla II, while, according to the Irdā grant, the Kāmboja Rājyapāla had two sons, Nārāyaṇapāla and Nayapāla. According to the Pāla inscriptions, again, Nārāyaṇapāla was not the son but the father of Rājyapāla, and Nayapāla was the great-great grandson of Rājyapāla. In these texts Bhāgyadevī, the wife of Rājyapāla, is mentioned to have been the daughter of a Rāshtrakūṭa prince named Tuṅga, while the parentage of Bhāgyadevī, mentioned in the Irdā inscription, is not disclosed.

The Kāmbojas whose dominions included the Varddhamāna-
bhukti were not petty local rulers. They must have enjoyed

power, and authority over an extensive territory, almost without any serious opposition, for about half a century, which coincided with the known period of Pāla stagnation. It was against the Kāmbojas that the earlier symptoms of a revival manifested themselves, for by the ninth year of Mahīpāla I's reign, which ushered in a new life, Gauda must have fallen from the hands of the Kāmbojas. If Dharmapāla was a Kāmboja, his expulsion from *Diṇḍa-bhukti* in the first quarter of the 11th century was the last episode in the political history of this foreign clan in south-west Bengal.

A new epoch in the annals of the Pāla dynasty began with the accession of Mahīpāla, son of Vīrabhadrā II, an epoch that was characterised by vigorous attempts to restore an empire which had practically ceased to exist. The activities of Mahīpāla revived the moribund dynasty and gave it a new lease of life. The success which attended his efforts in this direction entitles him to be ranked as one of the greatest sovereigns of his line. When he came to the throne, the Pāla empire in all likelihood comprised only some portions of Bihār and Rājha, but it was extended in different directions during his reign of more than half a century. Two MSS. of the *Aṣṭasāhāsrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, dated respectively in the fifth¹ and the sixth year of his reign, two inscriptions, both of which are dated in the eleventh year, viz.,—(1) an image inscription found at the Bodh-Gayā temple,² and (2) an inscription at *Mahārihāra* (Nālandā),³ as well as the Bāngarh grant of his ninth (?) year, issued from Vilāsapura (Patna district), prove the existence of his authority in Bihār at the beginning of his rule. Within a short time from his accession, he seems to have launched his career

¹ Bendall, Catalogue of Buddhist Sansk. MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge, p. 101 and Intro. ii (Add. 461; *Proc. ASB*, 1899, pp. 69-70.

² The date was read to be yr. 10 by Cunningham. See *CASR*, III, p. 122, Pt. XXXVII. For the correction see *MASB*, Vol. V., p. 75.

• ³ *CASR*, III, pp. 122-23; *JASB*, 1908, Vol. IV (N.S.), pp. 106-07; *GLM*, pp. 101-08.

as the rebuilder of the Pāla empire. An image inscription dated in the third year¹ (c. 986 A.D.) of his reign has come from Baghaura (a village in the Tippera district), which includes Samataṭa in his kingdom (*Śrī-Mahīpāla-devarājye...Samataṭe*). The inference may be drawn that Samataṭa (South-east and East Bengal) had been brought under his control by that date. Two kings of this name are known to have reigned in the Pāla dynasty. The later king seems to have ruled for a very short period; besides, he lost his life at the hands of his revolted subjects. It is, therefore, more likely that the inscription refers to the time of Mahīpāla I.²

It is difficult to assess his achievement in this region at its true worth in view of the fact that at about the same time a Chandra king is found seated on the throne of Vaṅga. In the circumstances two alternative theories are probable. Either he compelled the Chandra ruler to submit to his suzerainty, or he overthrew his government. In the latter case it must be understood that the Chandras were not indeed completely driven out but were able to recover their position at a subsequent date. By the ninth year of his reign the lost control over Paundravardhana had been regained. His Bāngarh inscription, probably dated in that year, makes a grant of land situated in northern Bengal. The Āmgāchhi grant of his grandson Vīrabhāpāla III gives a true estimate of these successes when it states that their effect was the restoration of his ancestral kingdom which had been taken away by others, those interlopers who had no title to it³ (*Anadhikṛita-viluptam rājyam=āsāḍya pitṛyam*—v. 11). All those who were opposed to him were killed in battle (*hata-sakala-vipakṣaḥ saṅgare bāhu-darppād...*) through the prowess of his arms. Among these enemies and usurpers must be reckon-

¹ Ep. Ind., XVII, pp. 353-55

² *Ibid.*, p. 355. Bhattacharya thinks that the insc. "cannot be far removed from 970 A.D." Village Bilakindaka mentioned in this image insc. may be identified with Bilkendua situated near Baghaura.

³ *Anadhikṛita-viluptam*, according to N. G. Majumdar, should mean 'Lost owing to non-occupation,' see Ep. Ind., XXII, p. 152, n. 3.

ed the Kāmbojas, who had established their brief rule in North Bengal before Mahipāla appeared on the scene.

One circumstance may have favoured the growth and expansion of Mahipāla's power. The early years of his reign corresponded to that historic period when the attention of some of the prominent rulers of Northern India was occupied in resisting the progress of Islam in Hindustan. A movement was probably set on foot for offering a combined opposition to the enemy, which, however, did not bear any fruit. There is no mention of Mahipāla in the accounts left by Muhammadan writers of the campaigns organised by the Hindu *Rājās* of the time to beat off Moslem invasions. Jaipāl, a king of the Punjab, seems to have collected some allies to meet the force of Sabuktigīn¹ about the close of the tenth century A.D. Again, a confederacy is said to have been formed with the rulers of Ujjain, Gwālīor, Kālinjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmīr as its constituent members for the purpose of opposing Maḥmūd, when he led one of his Indian expeditions in A.D. 1008. The history of "the opening part of the expedition" is given in greater detail by Firishta than Utbī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, and Secretary to the Sultān himself. It may be doubted if there was any united opposition against the Moslem invader. Gauda was destined to be immune from Islamic attacks for nearly two centuries more. Mahipāla had no concern with Maḥmūd and thus could devote his attention to the consolidation of his kingdom. There is a tendency among some of the modern historians of this country to charge Mahipāla with jealousy and cowardice or to attribute to him a non-militarist religious attitude for not having joined the contemporary rulers against a common enemy.² We are not here going to enter into the question whether there was at all any united movement seriously undertaken against the Muhammadans during the period. A real explanation of Mahipāla's conduct does not, however, appear to lie in an indictment of

¹ Elliot, Vol. II. pp. 25-26, 33, 446-48; Major H. C. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan and Part of Baluchistan*, pp. 320-21.

² *Bahār-i Itihās*, p. 286; GRM, p. 41.

this sort or in a laboured attempt to trace a psychological change in the monarch. It would have been perhaps impossible for Mahipāla to rebuild a lost empire had his resources been engaged in helping others faced with the Moslem menace. He had to deal with those of the brother rulers who attacked his country, and the measure of success which he attained in the restoration of the empire and keeping it clear of others' domination seems to be the only criterion for judging the merits of his rule.

The dissolution of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire was in the meantime hastened by renewed Rāshtrakūṭa invasions of Northern India. It seems that the successful raid organised by Indra III on Kanauj led to a continuity of the Rāshtrakūṭa domination in the *Gaṅgā-Yamunā* valley till about 930 A.D., when the Cambay Plates were issued by Govinda IV, for in verse 28 of this inscription it is mentioned that the Ganges and Yamunā did service in the palace of this monarch. The revival of Rāshtrakūṭa opposition is proved by the evidence of the Karhād Plates of Kṛishṇa III, dated S. 880,¹ in which there is a pompous reference to his victories in the North (*galitā Gūrjjara-hridayāt-Kālamjara-Chitrakūṭ=āśā*—v. 30). That the paramount authority of Kṛishṇa III prevailed in some portions of the Ahmedabad district in Gujarāt and the Baghelkhand Agency in Central India respectively may be maintained on the strength of the two grants from Harsola (in the Prāntej taluka, Ahmedabad), dated V.S. 1005² and the Jura (a small village in Maihar State, C.I., about 12 miles from the Maihar Ry. Station) stone-slab inscription written in Kanarese.³ Inside the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire itself opposition against the imperial authority was also steadily gaining ground. About the middle of the tenth century A.D.

¹ Ep. Ind., IV, p. 278 ff.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 236 ff; JBORS, 1928, p. 479 ff; Proc. of the Third Oriental Conference, 1926, pp. 308-08.

³ ASI, 1921-22, p. 119; MASI, Vol. 23, pp. 11-17; Ep. Ind., XIX, p. 287 f. The editors Messrs. K. N. Dikshit and D. B. Dikshitar discuss the question whether the two kings mentioned are Amoghavarsha I and Kṛishṇa II (combined reigns 814-815 A.D.) or Amoghavarsha III and Kṛishṇa II (combined reigns 984-991 A.D.), see Ep. Ind., XIX, p. 288, also n. 1.

some of the ruling families, which seem to have originally been feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, declared themselves independent, the most prominent of them, as already stated, being the Chandel of Central India, who extended their power to the banks of the Kāṇḍī or Yamunā¹ (Khajurāho inscription of Dhaṅga, V.S. 1011, v. 45) some time before A.D. 954, and the Chedis of the United and the Central Provinces,² now proudly alluding to the victories of Lakshmaṇarāja against an unnamed Gurjara king, who had formerly rendered useful services to the Gurjara dynasty as mentioned in the Kahla³ Plates of Sodhadeva (V.S. 1134) and the Benares grant⁴ of Karṇa (*Lāṭeśa-luṇḍana-paṭur=jīta-Gurjjar=endrah*—verse 8). We have already referred to the early association of the Chedis with the Gurjaras, which can be proved from the Kahla plates. During an earlier period of their history, as it appears from the evidence of the Bilhari grant (v. 17)⁵ and the Benares grant (v. 7), Kokkalla I (c. 860-900 A.D.) boasted of his friendship with two powerful supporters, viz., Bhoja I, the Gurjara king in the north, and his son-in-law, the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II in the south. Since the conquest of Kālinjar by Yaśovarman, an important step forward in the development of the Chedi power was taken by Dhaṅga (c. 954-1002 A.D.), who probably wrested from the hands of the Gurjaras the ancient fortress of Gwālior (Gopādrī) with the help of Vajradāman of the Kachchh-wāha (*Kachchhapaghāta*) family, whom he later appointed to rule over this territory as his feudatory. The Chedi control over Gwālior is apparent from verses 44 and 45 of one of the Khajurāho inscriptions.⁶ The River Yamunā became the boundary, dividing the kingdom of the Chedis from the Kanaui empire of the Gurjaras. Dhaṅga is supposed to have joined Jaipāl, the Punjāb king, against his Moslem enemy, the Amīr Sabuktigīn.⁷ His son Gaṇḍa was probably one of the Hindu

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 184. ² Ep. Ind., XI, p. 142. ³ Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 85.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 297.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 286.

⁶ Ins. N. 2, see Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 184. Kielhorn's List of Northern Inscriptions, Nos. 47, 78. Cf. Ind. Ant., XV, pp. 35, 41 (Saebahu inscr. of Mahipala, v. 6, referring to Vajradaman).
IAS, 1909, p. 275

Rājās who fought against Sultān Maḥmūd on the plain of Peshāwar in 1008 A.D. Subsequently, the Gurjara king Rājyapāla submitted to the Sultān (1018 A.D.), an act for which he had to atone by his life. The slaying of Rājyapāla by Arjuna, the Kachchhwāha feudatory of Gwālior, at the command of Vidyādhara, the Chandel Crown-Prince, son of Gaṇḍa, is recorded in the Dubkund inscription.¹ The Chandels of *Jejā-bhukti* had already shown their hostility against the Pālas during the reign of Yaśovarman. His son Dhaṅga, who made himself prominent by his hostility to Moslems, prided himself on the fact of his having captured the women of Rādha and Aṅga as spoils of war to "linger in his prisons." As this triumph recorded in the Khājuraḥo inscription (No. IV) was won some time before A.D. 1002,² it is very likely that it was either Mahipāla (I) or the Kāmbojas who suffered this defeat. This seems to have been the last occasion when Bengal had to fight against the Chandels, whose resources were absorbed in a serious endeavour to check the advance of the Moslem power in India. But if the Chandels withdrew from the scene; the Chedis or Kalachuris of Ḍahālā (Tripurī, near Jubbulpore), who had once been allied to the Pālas through matrimony, took their place. The Chedis had consolidated themselves into an important political power of the day under the leadership of Gāṅgeyadeva-Vikramāditya,³ and later, his son Karṇa. It appears from the Piawan inscription that he was alive in A.D. 1037 (K.S. 789).⁴ A manuscript of the Rāmāyaṇa⁵ completed by a Nepalese Kāyastha in V.S. 1076 (A.D. 1019) mentions Gāṅgeyadeva of the lunar race, the ruler of Tīrabhukti, as a *Gauḍadhvaḥa* (*mahā-rājādhirāja - pūṇy = āvaloka - somavamś = odbhava - Gauḍa - dhvaḥa*).

¹ Ep. Ind., II, pp. 235, 237 (ll. 12-13). See also *ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 219 (Chandella insc. from Mahoba).

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 138, 145 (v. 46—Rādha-parivṛṇḍha-vadbhūḥ).

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, App. I, p. 16.

⁴ CASR, XXI, p. 113; Bāṅglār Itihās, pp. 252-53.

⁵ Bendall, JASB, LXXII, 1903, Pt. I, p. 18.

Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva-bhujyamāna-Tīrabhuktau). According to Bendall this Gāṅgeyadeva was none other than the famous Chedi king, father of Karnaḍadeva, but Dr. Sylvain Lévi¹ holds that he may be identified with an otherwise unknown prince of this name who may have belonged to the local Kalachuri family of Gorakhpur, the existence of which is evidenced by the Kahla Plates of Soḍhadeva. But the former view seems to be the more likely and is generally accepted. The existence of a second Gāṅgeyadeva besides the well-known Chedi king is at best hypothetical. Gāṅgeyadeva's supremacy in Mithilā was probably the consequence of a victory over Mahīpāla. The former seems to have been justified in being called a *Gauḍa* ruler by virtue of his possession of Mithilā, since this territory was considered to be a part of the traditional five divisions of the Gauḍa country. The occupation of Tirhut by the Chedis was, however, not lasting. As the brass images from Imadpur in the Muzaffarpur district, dedicated in the 48th year of his reign, probably show,² Northern Bihār was recovered by Mahīpāla before the termination of his career. The evidence of the inscription from Sarnāth³ referring to the repair of certain religious buildings in this region under his auspices in V.S. 1083 (*Gauḍ=ādhipo Mahīpālaḥ Kāśyām Śrīmān-akārayat*) may not be regarded as quite sufficient to warrant the conclusion that Benares came under his political control. It may have been quite possible for him to have undertaken building activities at this holy place even though outside his empire. If, however, his occupation of Benares is to be assumed as not outside the region of probabilities, it is likely that he succeeded in conquering it from Gāṅgeyadeva, who had probably annexed the land before securing his hold

¹ *Id Nepal*, Vol. II, p. 202, n. 1; cf. R. P. Chanda, GRM, p. 42, n. ; also JASB, LXXII, 1908, Pt. I, p. 18. R. C. Majumdar suggests that this Gāṅgeyadeva of Tirhut was Nānyadeva's successor Gaṅgadeva (1154 A.D.), see IHQ, 1981, 681.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 165, n. 17; *Proc. JASB*, 1881, 98.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, pp. 189-40; *JASB*, N.S., Vol. II, p. 447; *ASI*, 1903-04, p. 222.

on Tirhut. But it must have been soon transferred again to the hands of the Chedis as the Benares Plates of Karna, dated in the Kalachuri *Samvat* 793 (1042 A.D.), seem to suggest.¹

In the latter part of his reign Mahipāla had to face the hostility of another powerful ruler. This time the attack was directed from the south, by Rājendra Chōla, son and successor of Rājarājadeva, who ascended the throne about A.D. 1011-12. The Chōla invasion seems, as is suggested by a South Indian scholar, to have been prompted by a desire to emulate the Śeṅguttuvan Śera of the Śilappadhikāram.² Rājendra Chōla's father, Rājarāja I (acc. A.D. 985).³ besides being the "master of the Tamil country south of the Pennar," conquered the greater part of Mysore (Gaṅgāppāḍi and Nuḷambappāḍi), Ceylon and Kollam (Quilon in Travancore) and Kalinga, and established his authority over the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgaināḍu (Veṅgi).⁴ Rājendra, who had been an associate of his father in his military efforts, defeated during his reign the Chālukya Jayasimha, made many conquests in the south and also outside India including Kaḍāram or Kaṭāha, Malaiyūr, Ilangāśokam, Ilāmurideśam, Mānakk, the flourishing seaports of Takkolam and Matama (Martaban), the Nicobar (Mānakkavāram) and the Andaman Islands.⁵ He also planned an eastern expedition, which was carried out before the twelfth year of his reign, A.D. 1023, when the Tirumalai inscription,⁶ referring to this episode of his life, was engraved. According to this inscription the Chōla army first subjugated Kosala where

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 305 ff.

² Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 108.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-09.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-09. For a detailed account of the two Chōla Kings' conquests see EHI, pp. 485-87, also fn. 4 on p. 486; Nilakanta Śāstri, *The Chōlas*, Vol. I, 254-66, 692-94.

⁵ See V. Kandasabhai's article on his "Conquest of Bengal and Burma," *Madras Review*, 1908, pp. 246-54. It may be noted here that the author describes Rājendra's victories as in Uttara Lāṭa, Dakshina Lāṭa, etc., which is wrong.

⁶ EHI, Vol. I, p. 95 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 229 ff. For other references, see *supra*, Pt. I, Chap. II.

'*Brāhmaṇas assemble.*' The ruler of *Oḍḍa-vishaya* "where copious waters are difficult to approach" was subdued in "close fights." The different territories of Bengal which were attacked were *Taṇḍabutti* (*Daṇḍa-bhukti*=*Dātan* in the Midnapore district), *Takkaṇalāḍam* (*dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha*), *Vaṅgāladeśa* (*Vaṅga*) and *Uttiralāḍam* (*uttara-Rāḍha*). *Dharmapāla* of *Taṇḍabutti* or *Tandabutti* "in whose gardens bees abound" was destroyed in a "hot battle" and his territory conquered. *Raṇaśūra*, the ruler of *dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha*, "whose fame reaches all directions" lost his strength and was "forcibly attacked" and "robbed of his prosperity." *Vaṅgāladeśa* "where the rain does not last (long)" was under the rule of *Govindachandra* at the time, who is said to have fled from his territory having lost his fortune. *Mahīpāla*, whose territory appears to have included *uttara-Rāḍha*, "as rich in pearls as the ocean" and who was decked with slippers, bracelets and earrings, was frightened in a hot battle and had his fame annihilated.¹

The conclusion of the enterprise, the success of which was considerably due to *Rājendra's* general *Sivanātha*, was marked by the carrying of the Ganges water to the city of *Gangai-koṇḍa-Cholapuram* in commemoration of this military feat, and the construction of a vast lake on the banks of the *Kāverī*, which was sanctified by the water brought from Bengal. *Rājendra Chola* himself assumed the title of *Gangai-koṇḍa* in token of the victory of his army in the Gangetic country. Among the kings who came into contact with *Rājendra Chola's* forces (before A.D. 1023)² it is at once possible to recognise in *Mahīpāla*, the ruler of *uttara-Rāḍha*, the *Pāla* emperor of this name mentioned in the *Sārnāth* inscription of A.D. 1026. The synchronism of *Mahīpāla* with *Rājendra Chola*, as established

¹ On this cf. *Nilakanta Śāstri, loc. cit.*, pp. 250-53 (*Mahīpāla* was defeated with *Sarga*).

² There is no mention of his eastern expeditions in the *Merpāṭi* inscription dated in the 9th year of his reign; see *SII, Vol. III, Pt. 1, pp. 27-30*. Hence it is reasonable to assume that they were undertaken some time between the 9th and the 13th year.

by the south Indian inscriptions, is of the highest possible importance in settling the Pāla chronology. No information is available regarding Dharmapāla who is found to have been connected with the Midnapore district. Did he belong to a collateral branch of the Pāla dynasty or the Kāmboja family of the Irdā grant? Govindaachandra of Vaṅgāla-deśa seems to have been the last representative of the Chandra dynasty of Eastern Bengal. It is perhaps his name that appears to be preserved in old folk-songs, collected from different parts of Bengal,¹ in which his father's name is given as Māṇikachandra.

The mention in the Chola inscription of a Śūra prince, who flourished in the first quarter of the eleventh century, is of considerable interest in view of the controversy that rages round an imperfectly known chapter of Bengal history. The existence of a Śūra dynasty² is noted in a large volume of tradition, compiled by writers of genealogical treatises in Bengal, popularly known as *Kulajī granthas*, foremost of them being Harimiśra, Eḍumiśra,³ Dhruvānanda⁴ and Maheśvara. These authors lived long after the period to which they refer, and the extant manuscripts of their works are comparatively recent. Where the determination of social position in the scale of castes and sub-castes is the main concern as in these works, interests other than historical are liable to pre-

¹ One of these ballads collected from Rangpur was published by Grierson in JASB, 1878, p. 135 ff. The University of Calcutta has published some of these old ballads in the form of a book entitled *Gopchander Gān*. Cf. N. K. Bhattachali's remarks, Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 351. Tilakachandra, King of Mebārkul, 'which is still a *paragon* of the Tippera district,' is mentioned in these songs as the maternal grandfather of Gopi Chandra or Govinda Chandra. Bhattachali holds that Layaha Chandra of the Bhārellā Nartidevara Image Inscription may have been Tilaka Chandra's father.

² There is a tradition that the Śūras came from the Darada country. See Bāṅglār Purāṅgita by Parāśa Chandra Vandyopādhyāy, p. 294.

³ Eḍumiśra is believed to have been a member of the court of Kṛṣṇasena, son of Lakshmanasena. See SPP, B.S., 1814, Pt. 1, p. 19.

⁴ Dhruvānanda is considered to be the highest authority on the subject by the Rājhiyā Brāhmanas. See *ibid.*, p. 23. Bāṅglā was under the rule of a king called Bhū Indra Chandra during Atiśa's time (born A.D. 980), see JBTS, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 7 n.

dominate. The testimony of these genealogical tracts is, therefore, to be used with great caution. The evidence they furnish regarding Ādisūra, said to be the founder of the Sūra dynasty, is conflicting on several points, chief of which is the question of his date. According to one tradition, he flourished before the rise of the Pālas (8th century)¹ and he is to be identified with Jayanta, the Paundra king, whom the author of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* makes a contemporary of Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir. He is held responsible for having brought to Bengal five Brahmins from outside—Kānaúj, Benares or Kolañcha²—well-versed in the Vedic lore, for the purpose of performing certain sacrifices, as priests competent for the task were not available in the province itself. It is to be noted, however, that there is quite a considerable bulk of epigraphic evidence which shows the presence of learned Brahmins in Bengal and Kāmarūpa even before the period assigned to Ādisūra by this tradition.³ Hence there is no reason in the argument that Ādisūra must be placed in the 8th century to prove by implication that it marked the commencement of the Brahmanisation of Bengal. The present-day Brahmins of the *Rāḍhīya* and *Vārendra* septs trace their descent from the Brahmins said to have arrived in the court of Ādisūra, but in some cases the genealogical trees cannot be carried back as early as the date suggested.⁴ R. D. Banerji⁵ has rightly called in question the genuineness of the

¹ The Varendra Kula-Panjikā is said to contain the following statement about his date: 'Vedakalambashtaka-vimite rāj-Ādisūra sa cha' which is interpreted to be equivalent to S. 654 (782 A.D.). See Vāḍger Jātiya Itihās, Vol. I, p. 88, n.

² See for another reference to Kolāñcha, JBORS, Vol. V, 1919, p. 587. Kolāñcha or Kroḍañcha appears in several grants from Assam, North-Bihār and Orissa. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit proposes to identify it with Kulanch (in the Bogra district). Whether this was the original Kolāñcha whence Brāhmins emigrated to different places or a settlement named after the original one requires further investigation. See for identification and the form Kulāñcha, etc., Ep. Ind., XXIII, Pt. IV, p. 101 ff.

³ Cf. Ep. Ind., XIII, pp. 287-88.

⁴ GRM, pp. 58-59.

⁵ Bāṅgār Itihās, pp. 139-33; 159-61; 267-78. Jayanta is mentioned in the Aṅgī Akbarī, see Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 145.

evidence on which the proposed identification of Ādiśūra with Jayanta rests. There is another tradition which says that Ādiśūra began to rule in Gauḍa having defeated the Buddhist Pāla dynasty.¹ This evidence places the founder of the dynasty in the eleventh century (A.D. 1032).² Leaving the disputed question of the historical existence of Ādiśūra aside,³ epigraphical proof regarding the probable date of its origin seems to corroborate this view. The genealogy of the Śūras, as compiled from the *Kulajī* works, comprises the following names in the order of succession in which they are mentioned: Ādiśūra, Bhūśūra, Kṣhitiśūra, Avaniśūra, Dharaṇīśūra, Dharaśūra, Anuśūra,⁴ Ādiśūra's grandfather Kaviśūra, and his father Mādhavaśūra.⁵ In some works two more names are inserted between Dharaśūra and Anuśūra, viz., Pradyumnaśūra and Varendraśūra. A glance at the list will show how useless it is for historical purposes. The same name except the first and the last seems to be repeated in a variety of forms. The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* enumerates ten kings headed by Āditya Śūra, but the rest of the names do not end with the Śūra title. There is practically no agreement between the list supplied in the *Kulajī* works and that embodied in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*; the authority

¹ The following is quoted by some scholars in support of this view: *Tatp-Ādiśūrah Śūravamśa-sūtrho vijitya Bauddhān nripa-Pālavamśān āśāsā Gauḍam*. See Gauḍa Brāhmaṇa, p. 83, quoted in GRM, p. 58, n.

² It is based on the interpretation of 'Vedavāpāśka-sāketu Gauḍe viprāḥ samāgātāḥ' (= S. 954 = 1032 A.D.—see GRM, p. 59. The Chronogram has a different reading which H. P. Śāstri explains to be equivalent to A.D. 732 (Vedavāpāśka-sāke). See JBORS, Vol. V, 1919, p. 172.

³ On traditions regarding Ādiśūra, and his time, and the origin of the Śūras, see Sāhitya, B.S. 1321, pp. 751-59; Bhārati, B.S. 1322, pp. 941-52; Ind. Ant., XLIV, pp. 270-74 (in this paper Mr S. Kumar shows how confusing and also misleading are the statements contained in some *Kulajī*s; referred to by N. N. Vasu, regarding the genealogies of the Senas, the Śūras and the Yādavas); R. P. Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, pp. 176-77.

⁴ JASB, N.S. Vol. IV, p. 286, fn. 7. Mr. M. Chakravarti adds the name of Rapaśūra to the list and cites 'Gauḍa Brāhmaṇa' for his authority. If the tradition has been correctly stated, he may be taken as identical with the Śūra prince defeated by Rājendra Choja.

⁵ *Bāṅglār Purāṇvritta*, p. 171.

of both is tradition. Turning to the strictly historical sources, several data may be gleaned, on the basis of which alone an account of the dynasty is to be prepared. The name of Raṇasūra is to be found in the Chōla inscriptions already referred to. In the commentary on Sandhyākara Nandī's *Rāmacharita*, Lakshmiśūra of Aparā-Mandāra¹ (in Rāḍha) appears as a feudatory of Rāmapāla, who died in the first half of the twelfth century. Nearly allied to him in point of time was Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty, whose Barrackpur grant² refers to the Śūra family (*Śūra-kūlāmbhodhi-kaumudī*—v. 7), with which he was matrimonially connected. No trace of the Śūras is to be found in any historical source prior to the date of the Tirumalai inscription (1023 A.D.), and the foundation of the dynasty may, therefore, be assigned to the beginning of the eleventh century. Traditional and historical evidence seems to agree in pointing to their association with Rāḍha (West Bengal). It is not improbable that shortly after the invasion of Aṅga and Rāḍha by the Chandel king Dhaṅgadeva, the state of affairs in the latter territory proved favourable for the foundation of a new dynasty by the Śūras, who shared it with the Kāmbojas and continued to rule till they were swept away by the Senas in the twelfth century.

No light is thrown on the relationship between Mahīpāla and the other Bengal princes who came into friction with Rājendra Chōla. Perhaps the paramountcy of the *Gauḷādhipa* who had re-established the fortunes of his family on a wide scale was nominally acknowledged by them. According to his Bāngarh Plate he placed his lotus-feet on the heads of the rulers of the earth (*nihita-charaṇapadmo bhūbhritām mūrddhni*—v. 12). The Tibetan historian, Tāranāth, informs us that he exercised

¹ Com. on II 5-6. The 'posthumous' inscr. of Gopāla III from Manda (in the Rajshahi district) mentions a Dāmasūra but the text is so faulty that no intelligent appreciation of the reference seems to be possible. See MASB, Vol. V, p. 102.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 278.

his sovereignty over the king of Orissa, Verāchārya by name, who is not mentioned, as far as we know, in any other source. It is stated in the Tiruvālaṅgaḍu Plates¹ that Rājendra Chola killed a "wicked king of Orissa whose successor presented him with a number of elephants." The latter may have subsequently rendered his homage to the Pāla emperor. There seems to be a significant allusion to some victory of a far-reaching character during Mahīpāla's reign in the drama entitled the *Chandakauśika*,² a manuscript of which, dated in 1331 A.D., was recovered from Nepāl by MM. Haraprasād Sāstrī, but there is an obstacle to the full realisation of its importance owing to the uncertain identification of the party against which it was accomplished. The drama was probably played during the festivity which may have been held to celebrate the close of a war that had brought triumph to the king (*Samara-sāgar-āntar...*). In the introductory part of this book which deals with the Purāṇic story of Harīśchandra and Śaivyā in a dramatic form there is a verse which contains some historical information: *Yah samśritya prakṛiti-gaṇanām = Āryya-Chāṇakya-nītim hatvā (or jitrā) Nandān Kusuma-nagaram Chandra-gupto jigāya | Karṇāṭatoam dhruvam = upagatān-adya tān-eva hantum dor-darpādhyah sa punar-abhavat śrī-Mahīpāla-devah ||* (i.e., he, Chandragupta, who, following the policy of Chāṇakya, that was of an inscrutable character, conquered Kusumanagara, was born again as. śrī-Mahīpāladeva, foremost in point of prowess of arms, for killing those who had become Karṇāṭas). This plainly shows that a king named Mahīpāla defeated some people who if not originally Karṇāṭas were at least very much allied to them. It is also clear that they must already have established themselves as a ruling power

¹ ASI, 1908-04, pp. 233-35; SII, Vol. III, p. 388; Madras Epigraphical Report for 1916, Part II, paragraph 11-20.

² JASS, Pt. I, 1893, p. 250, c.; see also *Chandakauśikam* by Arya-Kaṣmīnāra ed. by Jaganmohan Tarkalankār, Calcutta, which gives different readings in some places.

in the territory from which they were later ousted by Mahīpāla, otherwise there would be no basis of the statement that they were like the Nandas who had been overthrown by Chandragupta. Nilakanta Śāstrī¹ seems to be right in pointing out that the verse does not imply that Mahīpāla's adviser was also called Chāpakya, and that by defeating his enemy he also conquered Kusumanagara or Kusumipura (Pāṭaliputra) like the Maurya hero. It is also wrong, as he has shown, to hold that Tārānāth mentions one Chāpakya as Mahīpāla I's contemporary and minister; the Tibetan historian on the other hand refers to a Chāpaka who acted as a king or regent during the minority of Bheya-pāla.² There is, however, no convincing reason for rejecting the identification of this Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty, which was fairly established by MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī. Some scholars³ are of opinion that the Kārṇāṭas were the Chōla soldiers who are known to have invaded Mahīpāla's kingdom, and they assume on the evidence of this text that Rājendra Chōla's boasted success over his Pāla contemporary had little foundation in fact. What really happened was that the Chōla army was forced to retreat, unable to cross the Ganges owing to Mahīpāla's resistance. But Mr. R. P. Chanda⁴ points out that the designation by which the enemy mentioned in the *Chandakaūsika* was known was appropriate only for the Chālukya dynasty founded by Taila (A.D. 973), which held the Kārṇāṭa country in their

¹ Ind. Cult., April, 1936, pp. 797-99 as a rejoinder to J. C. Ghosh, *ibid.*, Oct., 1935, pp. 854-56; also cf. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. VI, pp. 191-98; R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅglār Itihās*, pp. 251-52.

² J. C. Ghosh's reference to Tārānāth's Chāpaka is wrong, see *loc. cit.* His position is next to that of Śreṣṭha, Mahīpāla's eldest son, who came after Sāmupāla. According to the Tibetan historian Śreṣṭha's successor was a seven-year-old son and Mahīpāla's maternal uncle Chāpaka carried on the government for 29 years. During this period he fought and defeated the Torushkas and also subdued the people of Bengal who had revolted against him and had entered Magadha by force. Afterwards he made his nephew Bheya-pāla king and himself returned to Batī, an island near the mouth of the Ganges. See Ind. Ant., IV p. 366.

³ GRM, p. XI.

possession during the time. But the inscriptions of the Chālukya contemporaries of Mahīpāla do not refer to any contact with Bengal. As the Karṇāṭas, according to the *Chañḍakauśika*, were defeated in the struggle, the reason why the incident is not mentioned in the Chālukya records can be understood, provided the identity of the Karṇāṭas with the Chālukyas be assumed as probable. The verse from the *Chañḍakauśika* makes it clear that Mahīpāla's victory was not over some enemy who may have temporarily raided a part of the Pāla dominions, but was one which brought about the complete overthrow of a ruling family from whose hands the power was transferred to the victor. If this view is taken, it will be difficult to hold that the enemy, mentioned in the verse to have suffered this crushing defeat, was either a Chola or a Chālukya prince. H. P. Śāstrī suggested that the people defeated by Mahīpāla might have been connected with those Karṇāṭas who are known to have later established their authority in Mithilā and Nepāl under Nānya. In this connexion the evidence of the Bodh-Gayā inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Tuṅga may be recalled. There seems to have been a Karṇāṭa settlement in Bengal dating at least from the time of Devapāla in the ninth century, for the Karṇāṭas appear systematically in the copper-plate grants of the Pālas from this period onwards as those to whom among others royal communications regarding donations were usually to be made (*Gauḍa-Mālava-Khasa-Hūṇa-Kulika-Karṇāṭa-Lāṭa-Chāṭa-Bhāṭa-sevak = ādīn*), and it is also evident that they were in royal service (*anyāms-ch-ākīrttitān sva-pad-opajīvinah*);¹ probably most of them were connected with the military department. Mr. Nilakanta Śāstrī surmises that this mention of the Karṇāṭas in the Pāla inscriptions, which is repeated in the shape of a for-

¹ I find that Mr. J. C. Ghosh has also recently drawn attention to this point, see *loc. cit.* The passage in question refers to the Gauḍas, Mālavas, Khasas, Hūṇas, Kulikas, Karṇāṭas as the servants of the King (Sevakādīn). It is to be found in all the subsequent grants of the dynasty.

mula, is fictitious, from which, therefore, it should not be inferred that there was any Karṇāṭa element in the population of the Pāla territories. But there is no reason why the possibility of a large-scale immigration of the Karṇāṭas into Northern India including different portions of the Pāla dominions cannot be entertained; a series of invasions from the South which are recorded in history may have deposited large numbers of people from Karṇāṭa in areas which were affected by such expeditions, and they perhaps remained where they were left or wandered from place to place in search of occupations and were actually employed in different capacities by the various ruling families of the time. In this way a natural explanation of the presence of an undeniable Rāshtrakūṭa or Karṇāṭa element in Northern India may be found. It must, however, be admitted that there is no history available of a direct hostility between Mahīpāla and this element, which makes it impossible to determine the exact character of the struggle in which the Pāla king was involved according to the evidence of the *Chandakauśika*. The only people who had established themselves as a strong ruling Power in Bengal practically ousting the Pālas from the field were the Kāmbojas. If a Kāmboja prince adopted the name Kuṅjaragbaṭāvarsha, it will appear that he was imitating the example of some Rāshtrakūṭa rulers of the South, who had been known by their *Varsha*-titles. It may be that the Kāmbojas, pressed hard by the Pālas, were looking for support from the South, and also received substantial military help from the Karṇāṭas dispersed over a large area in the east. If Dharmapāla, defeated by Rājendra Chola's army, was really a Kāmboja, as suggested elsewhere, it is not unlikely that he afterwards sought the Chola king's support in making a fresh endeavour to rally his forces against Mahīpāla, who was his real enemy and not Rājendra Chola, whose army came and fought and went away. It is significant that in an inscription at Chidambaram, dated A.D. 1114, mention is made of a stone presented by a Kāmboja king to Rājendra Chola, "which was by order of the lord Rājendra Chola-deva placed in front of the shrine

of the god who is the lord of Tiruchhirrambalam."¹ On the whole Kshemiśvara's drama seems to refer to a local struggle which ended decisively against Mahīpāla's enemy whose authority was completely extirpated rather than one in which some invader from the South participated, whose power survived the defeat inflicted upon him by Mahīpāla. Within a few years of the death of Mahīpāla, a line of Karṇāta-Kshatriyas, viz., the Senas, having established themselves in Rāḍha, went on gradually conquering the whole of Bengal, including south-east Bengal and Gauḍa, from the Yādavas and the Pālas respectively.

We do not know if anybody played the part of Chāṇakya during Mahīpāla's conflict with the Karṇātas. In the *Chāṇakyaśūka* the latter is depicted as the veritable reincarnation of Chandra gupta, who having followed the subtle philosophy of Chāṇakya defeated the Nanda. The Śārnāth inscription dated in the *Vikrama era* 1083 refers to Śrī-Guravavāmarāśi, to whom the Pāla king paid his respects (*paḍ=ābjam=ārādhya... l.l.*). The Bāngarh inscription mentions the *dūtaka*, his Brahmin minister, *Mantrī Bhaṭṭa Śrīvāmana*. Were they identical with each other and connected with the family of Bhaṭṭa Guravamiśra of the *Badāl Prasasti*? In the colophon² the author of the *Chāṇakyaśūka* says that he received plenty of presents in the shape of clothes, ornaments and gold from Kārttikeya, who was a *Kshatriya*. His identity is not known; he may have been a minister under the Pāla king.

Mahīpāla's reign is a long record of military activities. The emergence of a new empire out of the ruins of the old was his singular achievement. Its preservation against repeated attacks from outside was a sufficiently embarrassing task to keep his hands full. The circumstances in which he was placed

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 106.

² *Yen=odditya prayogam dhana-pulaka-bhṛtā nāṭakasya=ārya haṇḍāt Vastu=śleṣhāra-bhṛnā=anudinam=akṛtā rāṣayāḥ sampradattāḥ tasya śikṣa-praṣṭer=bhramatu jagad=idam Kārttikeya=...*

were not congenial to the novel conception of a higher political duty supported by modern historians of India. His immediate trouble was not with the Moslems, but with people of his own country—the Chandellas, Cholas, Chedis and Karṇātas. His career is an illustration of the familiar political doctrine which teaches that every powerful neighbour is to be regarded as a potential enemy.

The Tibetan historian gives the duration of his reign as fifty-two years. This is a very near approximation to truth, as the latest known date of his reign is the year 48 furnished by the Imadpur image-inscriptions. He died about 1032 A.D., a few years after the engraving of the Sārnāth inscription of the *Vikrama* year 1083.

CHAPTER X

THE PĀLA DYNASTY AFTER MAHĪPĀLA I

Nayapāla and Vīrabhāpāla III. The Chedi king Kārpa's hostility against Bengal ended by matrimonial alliances. The Yādavas in Eastern Bengal—an independent dynasty. Their treaty with Kārpa. Conflict with the Kaivartas. Vīrabhāpāla III succeeded by Mahīpāla II. Domestic troubles. The Rise of the Kaivarta Power. The Pāla king killed. Rāmapāla, the last of the great Pālas. His elaborate preparations against the Kaivartas. His feudatories. The Kaivartas defeated. Rāmapāla's conquests. The foundation of Rāmāvati. Kumārapāla. A Battle in Southern Bengal. Choḍagaṅga's Invasion. Vijayasena against the Pālas. Revolt of Timgyadeva. Vaidyadeva appointed Ruler of Kāmarūpa. Domestic rivalry in the Pāla dynasty. Madanapāla. His eighth-year record. End of the Pālas in Bengal. The rise of a new Power in Bihār and Bengal.

After the death of Mahīpāla, the empire again fell on evil times. Again it became subject to the forces of decline as in a previous period. The same old story of invasions from outside, accompanied by domestic intrigues and growth of independent states within the empire, repeated itself. The downward movement was accelerated by plots in which discontented feudatories and officials took part, either secretly or openly. The darkness that hemmed in the empire was dispelled once again when an energetic member of the dynasty found his way up to the throne, determined to restore it to its former glory. But the light that shone was the last flicker of a lamp to be soon extinguished. The vitality of the age-worn imperial fabric was exhausted, and the place of the Pālas came to be occupied by other dynasties in Bihār and Bengal, chief of them being the Senas.

Mahīpāla was succeeded by his son Nayapāla. * The *Am-gāchhi Plate*¹ of his son calls him a "*narapati*" (v. 11), while his father Mahīpāla is styled an "*avanīpati*" (v. 12). But such descriptions cannot form the basis of an historical comparison

The two verses (11-12) are repeated in the *Maṅgahli Plate* α. — *Maṅgahli Plate*, 1, 107-108

between the father and the son, who seem to have been made of different moulds. The latter, or his son Vighrahapāla III, has not been credited with any heroic exploit. The Chedi spectre which had appeared on the horizon of the Gauda-Magadha empire during Mahīpāla's life-time now assumed a more portentous shape. Gāṅgeyadeva's son, Lakshmi-Karṇa, (acc. c. 1041 A.D.)¹ took up his father's policy of hostility against the Pālas. Karṇa's relationship with Gauda extended over a period which probably covered two consecutive reigns—those of Nayapāla and his son Vighrahapāla III. The Tibetan Life of (Atiśa) Dīpaṅkara Śrī-Jñāna,² (980-1055 A.D.), the Buddhist scholar from Bengal, establishes the synchronism between Nayapāla and Karṇa. According to this authority a conflict broke out between Nayapāla and Karṇa of the west, in the course of which the latter is said to have invaded Magadha and sacked it several times. He was, however, ultimately subdued, and they entered into a treaty at the mediation of the Āchārya Atiśa. Nayapāla's paramount control over the western part of Bihār appears to have remained undisturbed from the evidence of the Kṛṣṇadvārikā Temple³ and the Narasimha Temple inscription⁴ at Gayā, both dated in the fifteenth year of his reign. It is possible to make a satisfactory guess from the Tibetan sources regarding the date of the treaty, said to have been established between Nayapāla and Karṇa. The Buddhist saint probably died in A.D. 1053 or 1055 during his stay in Tibet, where he had gone at the request of King Chan Chüb, the nephew and successor of the Lha Lama

¹ CASR., IX, pp. 86-87.

² For the identification of Karṇa with Karṇa, the Chedi king, see JASB, 19, 0, Pt. I, pp. 191-93, n. on p. 192; Rājanya-Kāṇḍa, p. 185, n. 119; GRM., p. 45. For the Tibetan tradition and important dates in Atiśa's life, see Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 227; JASB., 1901, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 236-37; JBTS., Vol. I, pp. 7-31; S. C. Das, Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow, 1863, pp. 50, 51, 76; Lévi, Le Népal, Vol. II, p. 189. The Tibetan materials are chiefly derived from the work of Atiśa's principal disciple, Bu-ston.

³ JASB., Pt. I, 1900, pp. 193-95.

⁴ Ibid., n. III, n. 1; Das, op. cit., pp. 66-67; MASE., Vol. V, p. 78.

Yes'es-hod. The latter had on a previous occasion sent a mission under Rgyo-tson-gru Señgé to persuade Atiśa to visit his kingdom, but his invitation was not accepted. Atiśa subsequently changed his mind on the arrival of the second mission under Nāgtsa Lochāva and went to Tibet when its throne was occupied by the nephew of King Chan Chüb. He is said to have left Vikramaśilā for Tibet sometime between 1039 and 1042 A.D. During this journey he stopped for a while in Nepāl, when he addressed to King Nayapāla a letter entitled the *Vimala-ratna-lekana*. Nayapāla thus appears to have been alive in A.D. 1042, when Atiśa had already left his home, having arranged the truce between Karna and the Pāla sovereign. Karna must have attacked Magadha immediately after his accession (A.D. 1041), as the settlement arrived at between him and Nayapāla through the intervention of Atiśa was completed by 1042 A.D. when the Buddhist saint proceeded to Tibet. But the former seems to have persisted in his hostility against the Pāla dynasty. The Tibetan evidence shows that his aggressive activity was confined to Magadha during Nayapāla's reign, but an inscription found engraved on a stone-pillar at Paikora in the district of Bīrbhum,¹ recording the dedication of a divine image by order of King Karna himself, may suggest that on a later occasion he actually obtained a footing in the northern part of Rāḍha, which in the days of Rājendra Chola had been held by the Pālas. The success which probably attended a renewed Chedi enterprise in the east seems to be alluded to in the Karanbel stone-inscription of Jayasimha-deva,² incised sometime between A.D. 1160 and 1180, in which his great-grandfather Karna is described as waited upon by the rulers of Gauḍa (*Gauḍa garvvan = tyaja*), Chola, Kuṅga (= Koṅgu or Koṅgudeśa = modern Salem and Coimbatore districts ?), Hūṇa, Gurjara and Kīra territories (ll. 11-12). The pride of the Pālas who had once

¹ ASI., 1921-22, p. 115.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 217.

succeeded in repelling the Chedi king's attack was no longer justified. But finally they appear to have composed their differences and come to terms. In the commentary on the *Rāmacharita*¹ it is stated that Vighrahapāla III married Yauvanasrī, a daughter of Karna. This matrimonial alliance probably put an end to the Chedi king's rivalry with the Pālas.² He was able to create for himself a position of undoubted influence in Bengal through his matrimonial connection not only with the Pāla king but also with another ruling family—the Yādavas—as mentioned in the Belāva grant of Bhojavarman.³ The latter's grandfather Jāta-varman married Karna's daughter Vīraśrī (*pariṇayan Karṇasya Vīraśrīyam*—v. 8). As in the other case, this matrimonial relationship too may have been the happy sequel of a political struggle between the two parties concerned, which seems to be referred to in the Bherāghāt⁴ (near Karanbel on the Narmadā in the Jubbulpore District, C.P.) inscription of the time of Narasimhadeva. This inscription was composed by Śaśidhara, a younger son of Dharanidhara, written on the stone by his elder brother Prithvīdhara and engraved by Maḍidhara. As the Bherāghāt inscription of Albanadevī refers itself to the time of Jayasimha-deva's elder brother, Narasimha-deva, it is a little earlier in point of date than the incomplete Karanbel inscription. The passage (v. 12) in this record relating to Karna's activities is slightly different from that of the Karanbel inscription inasmuch as the former, unlike the latter, does not refer to *Gauḍa* at all in this connection, but mentions instead the Vaṅgas and the Kalingas, who were made to tremble at his power [*Chakape (Chakampe) Vaṅgāḥ Kalingaiḥ saha*]. The Vaṅgas of this

¹ MAB., Vol. III, No. 1, p. 22; Com. on I. 9: *anyatra'yo Vighrahapāla Yauvanasrīyā Karṇasya rāśīṣaḥ sutayā saha kṣaṇṇīm = uḍḍhavan.*

² According to the RC. commentary on I.9 Vighrahapāla inflicted a severe defeat on Karna before this marriage.

³ Edited by R. D. Banerji in JASB., N.S., Vol. X, 1914, p. 121 ff. and Plates XVIII—XX; also by R. G. Basak in Ep. Ind., XII, p. 87 ff, Plates; N. G. Majumdar, IB. p. 15 ff., Plate.

⁴ Ep. Ind., II, p. 11.

inscription may be regarded as distinct from the Gaudas of the Karanbel grant, for it was Karṇa's son-in-law Jātavarman who seems from the evidence discussed below to have been the master of Eastern Bengal at the time.

The Belāva grant of Jātavarman's grandson Bhojavarman furnishes important details regarding his family. The script of the inscription follows the Proto-Bengali style of the eleventh century A.D., the chief peculiarity of which is the use of the Nāgarī and the modern Bengali form of the letter 't' side by side. The inscription was composed by one Purushottama [*iti yaṁ guṇa-gāthābhis = tushtāva Purū(ru)-shottamaḥ*—v. 15]. A contemporary poet of this name is known from a selection of Sanskrit poems—the *Saduktikarnāmrta*—compiled in A.D. 1205.¹ The introductory part of the Belāva grant gives a semi-legendary account of the origin of Jātavarman's family. They claim to have descended from Svayambhū whose son was the sage Atri [*Svāyambhuvam-ih-āpatyaṁ munir-Atri(-r-di)raukasām*—v. 1]. From the fire of his eyes was born the moon (*tasya yan = nāyanam tejas = ten-ājāyata Chandramāḥ*), who begot Budha through his wife Rohiṇī (*Rauhiṇeyo Budhas = tasmād*—v. 2). He was the father of Purūravāḥ by Ilā; Kīrtti, Urvaśī and Bhūḥ selected him as their husband. He was the father of Āyu (*Sopy = Āyūṁ samajījanan....*, v. 3), who was worthy of being ranked with Manu (*Manu-samo... ..*). From him was born Nahusha, the ruler of the earth (*rajñas = tato jajñivān kshamāpālo Nahushas = tato...*), the father of Yayāti. His son was Yadu, the originator of this dynasty of rulers [*tataḥ kshiti(bhu)jām varṣ = oyam-u(jjri)mbhate*], in which Viṣṇu and Lakshmī manifested themselves in their true forms on several occasions (*Vīraśrīś = cha Hariś-cha yatra bahusāḥ pratyakṣham = āvaikṣhata*—v. 3). In this family (the Yādavas) was also born Kṛishṇa, 'the stage-manager' of the *Mahābhārata*, who dallied with a hundred milkmaids (*gopī-tata-kṣi-*

kārah *Krishṇo mahābhārata-sūtradhārah*—v. 4). Protected by a knowledge of the three Vedas, they took part in wonderful battles [...*trayyām ch = ādbhuta-saṅgareshu cha va(ra)sād = rom = odgamair = Varmminah*—v. 5]. They—the kinsmen of Hari—adopted as the surname of their family the highly solemn title of Varman (*Varmman = oti-gabhīra-nāma dadhatah*—v. 5), and occupied Sīmhapura which was comparable to a cave of lions (*bhejuh Sīmhapuram guhām = iva mṛigendrāṇām*). Vajravarman, a scion of this family, was, as it were, the very symbol of success that accompanied the military expeditions of the Yādava forces (*kadāchid = Yādavinām chamūnām samara-vijayayātrā-maṅgalam*—v. 6). Devoted to friends, he was like death unto his foes, a great poet and a great scholar [*Samana iva ripūṇām kavir = api cha karinām paṇḍitah (pa)ṇḍitānām*]. From Vajravarman was born Jātavarman. At this point we should pause to attempt some historical deductions from the foregoing account. The inscription refers, as already noted, to Jātavarman's marriage with Viraśrī, daughter of one Karṇa whose identity with the famous Chedi king of that name, proposed by A. K. Maitreya, has been unanimously accepted. He was thus a contemporary of the Pāla sovereign, Vīrabhāpā III, who married another daughter of Karṇa. This synchronism (between Jātavarman, Karṇa and Vīrabhāpā III) is of the utmost importance in settling the chronological problem connected with the Yādava dynasty. Their original stronghold was Sīmhapura,¹ but as several towns of this name are known to have been in existence in different parts of India, it is difficult to say which of them is meant here. But the claims of two places deserve particular attention in this connection—one of them being situated in the Punjāb and the other in Kalinga. One point that favours its location in the Punjāb is that a city called Sīmhapura probably situated in this province

¹ According to D. C. Ganguly this place was situated in East Bengal, see, *IBQ*, 1906, p. 606, but cf. *ibid.*, 1920, p. 724, where it is located in Kalinga.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 10; IV, p. 246; Watters, Vol. I, n. 222

was at one time the seat of a Yādava-Varman dynasty consisting of twelve generations of kings. On the other hand the probability of its being identified with Simhapura of Kalinga¹ cannot simply be ignored. It may be noted in this connection that the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan are frequently described in their inscriptions as born in the Yādava lineage.² A branch of this paramount dynasty may have settled in Kalinga during their incursions into this country in the 9th or 10th century A.D. and thereafter devoted their energies to the building of a political Power in the east. It is somewhat strange, however, that their names and title do not bear any known trace of Rāshtrakūṭa influence. Among the Yādavas mentioned in the Belāva inscription, Jātavarman appears to have been the first to enjoy independent sovereignty. His father Vajravarman has been compared with Prithu,³ who was the cultured leader of an army whose fame rested on his efficiency as a soldier, no less than on learning. It is probable that he was employed by the Southern king Rājendra Chōla during his famous expedition in the Gangetic country. The growth of the Yādava power received a substantial impetus under the direction of Vajravarman's son Jātavarman. He is said to have extended his domination into the Aṅga country (?), inflicted a humiliating defeat on Kāmarūpa, put to shame the glory of Divya's arms and rendered Govardhana powerless (*paribhavamstām Kāmarūpa-śriyam | nindan = Divya-bhujāśriyam vikalayan Govardhanasya śriyam*—v. 8.). In fact the glory of his paramount sovereignty was established as a result of these victories (*Vitativān svām sārvaubhauma-śriyam*). All this at any rate

¹ It was probably situated between Chicacole and Narasannapeta in the Madras Presidency. See Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 123; XII, p. 4; J.R.A.S., 1913, pp. 518-20, n. 1. For the identification as stated above, see Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 143.

² D. C. Sarker holds that the Yādavas, having been driven out of Kalinga by the Eastern Gāṅgas, may have gone to Bengal where they founded a dynasty, see IHQ., 1934, pp. 788-84.

³ Prithu is mentioned as the first king in the Harivamśa (Chap. V, verses 30-33), see IB, p. 22, n. 4.

means that the foundations of an independent monarchy were laid during his time. If the reading of "Aṅga" in verse 8, which has been disputed, is correct, it seems that Jātavarman¹ was able to reduce this territory to subjection after the recent attack on Magadha by Karna had weakened the political authority exercised by the Pālas in the province of Bihār. As regards Divya,² his proposed identity with the Kaivarta hero who led a successful revolt against the Pāla dynasty may be accepted as a good working hypothesis. The commentary on the *Rāmacharita* suggests that he was originally in the service of the Pālas. When Jātavarman came into contact with him, he was probably in the employ of Vighrahapāla III,³ entrusted with some responsible military post in Northern Bengal. The settlement of Govardhana's identity requires a detailed consideration, and in this connection it would be necessary to determine the relation of the Yādava dynasty with a group of kings, the reconstruction of whose history is principally based on four documents, viz., (A) the Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva,⁴ (B) a copper-plate grant issued from Vikramapura,⁵ and (C and D) two manuscripts recovered from Nepāl, one of the *Ashṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*,⁶ and the other of the *Laghukālachakraṭīkā*.⁷ The Bhuvaneśvar inscription refers to Harivarman (*chakāra rūjyam Śrī-Dharmavijayī*—v. 16) and

¹ It has been proposed by one writer that this Jātavarman is the same as Jāṭavarman who according to the Rewa inscription of Malayasimha (vv. 7-8—Mem. ASB, No. 23, pp. 1-33) accompanied Trikalīṅgādhipati Karna during his expedition against Gauḍa, see IHQ, Vol. XII, p. 478. This name (Jāṭavarman) is spelt with a lingual 'ṭ' unlike the Jātavarman of the Belāva grant. Karna's companion was the father of one Yakehapāla, grandfather of Malayasimha and great-grandfather of Padmasimha. The proposed identification is thoroughly untenable as D. C. Ganguly has shown, see *ibid.*, pp. 607-08.

² Ep. Ind., XII, p. 88; MASB, Vol. III, p. 28.

³ RC. Com. on I. 89.

⁴ Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., VI, pp. 208-07; R. L. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 86-87.

⁵ MASE., V., pp. 97-98; IB, p. 168; *Vaṅger Jātiya Itihās*, Vol. II, p. 215.

⁶ MASE. Vol. V, pp. 97-98.

⁷ H. P. Sastri, DCBSM, 1917, Vol. I, p. 79.

probably also his son, whose name is not given. The copper-plate issued from Vikramapura records a grant made by one Harivarman, and the two manuscripts, referred to above, are respectively dated in the 19th and 39th years of the reign of a king of the same name. The conclusion seems to be well warranted that these different references to Harivarman are applicable to the same king who reigned for a period of at least thirty-nine years (*suchiram*—v. 16, Belāva grant). It is worthy of note that the grant of land recorded in the Belāva Plate was made by Jātavarman's grandson Bhojavarman from the same seat of military activity as mentioned in Harivarman's inscription (Vikramapura). Another interesting link that seems to connect Harivarman with the family represented in the Belāva grant is the commonness of their family surname. Added to these data bearing on their mutual association, stands the evidence of palæography. R. D. Banerji,¹ after a revised study of the script of the Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, came to the conclusion that it should be assigned to a period earlier than the last quarter of the eleventh century, and not to the twelfth, as proposed by Kielhorn.² If R. D. Banerji's finding as regards the date of the Bhuvaneśvar *Prasasti* has any force, it will appear that Harivarman's grant was earlier than the former which appears to have been engraved in the reign of his successor. Harivarman's line consisted of at least three rulers—his father, himself and his son, whose name is not known. Their chronological position in relation to the Yādavas of the Belāva grant has not yet been definitely fixed. According to some scholars,³ whose opinion in this respect more or less followed Kielhorn's estimate of the time of the Bhuvaneśvar inscription, Harivarman's line came to rule after Bhojavarman, the donor of the Belāva grant. But N. N. Vasu⁴ holds that he

¹ *Bāṅglā Itihās*, pp. 203-04.

² *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 203-07.

³ *Dacca Review*, July, 1912, p. 125; cf. GRM, pp. 55-56 n., 53-54.

⁴ *Pravāś*, 1320 (B.S.), p. 467.

flourished even before Vajravarman who heads the genealogical list to be made up from the account given in that record, while R. D. Banerji is of the opinion that his date is not later than that of Jātavarman's son, Sāmalavarman, or his grandson, Bhojavarman. Under the circumstances one theory is possible. Both Sāmalavarman and Bhojavarman are known to have held Vikramapura. When could then Harivarman issue his grant from that place ? There is probably a veiled allusion, as others have noticed, to one or more Harivarmans in the Belāva grant of Bhojavarman, in its remark that Hari and Viraśrī were born again and again in his family. In the Vajrayoginī grant of Sāmalavarman the name of one Harivarman can be traced before it refers to the Kalachuri marriage of Jātavarman. If at least one Harivarman is meant in these inscriptions, it will appear that he was known in the fifth year of Jātavarman's grandson Bhojavarman as well as in his father's life-time. It has been already seen that among those who were defeated by Jātavarman mention is to be found of Govardhana in the Belāva grant. It seems that he has been identified rightly by Dr. R. G. Basak with the father of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, who was noted for his learning and martial skill. His father Ādideva is mentioned in the Bhuvaneśvar *Prasaśti* to have served as the minister of war and peace under a Vaṅga king whose name is withheld. Perhaps both the father and the son had been in turn associated with the family of Harivarman, in whose court flourished Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva after the death of his father, Govardhana,¹ his period of service extending into the reign of his successor as well, as hinted at in the Bhuvaneśvar *Prasaśti*. The grant of Harivarman will appear to have been issued sometime prior to the establishment of Jātavarman's ascendancy in Vaṅga where the former's line exercised its control having seized it from the

¹ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 88. According to R. D. Banerji he may have been identical with Dvoraṇavardhana of Kausāmbī referred to in the Com. on the RC. (III. 6). See Bhāgīrī Itihāsa, p. 277; JASB., N.S., 1914, pp. 194-96. H. P. Sastri thinks that it is a copyist's mistake for Govardhana. See MAB, III, p. 37.

hands of the Buddhist Chandras. Govardhana's defeat led to the withdrawal of Harivarman from Eastern Bengal, who may have now remained contented with his possession of Utkala where his son succeeded him after his death. He reigned for nearly forty years. No information is available as to the total duration of the reigns of Jātavarman, Sāmalavarman and his son Bhojavarman, except that a grant of the last-mentioned king is dated in the fifth year of his government. There is no inherent improbability in the supposition that Govardhana's master, Harivarman, who was probably a contemporary of Jātavarman and, consequently, of Vighrahapāla III, was represented by his son during the reign of the Pāla monarch's youngest son, Rāmapāla. The evidence of a verse of the *Rāmacharita* makes it probable that a Varman contemporary of Rāmapāla held Utkala, which is described in that work as the land of¹ the Nāgas (*Bhavabhūṣaṇa-santati-bhuraṁ*—Chap. III, v. 44). The epithet seems to refer to the *Nāgavamśa*, the existence of whose rule is revealed in a number of inscriptions.² Curiously enough, an adjective has been bestowed upon Bhavadeva in his inscription which may be interpreted to mean that he was the avowed enemy of the Nāgas (*nāgāntakaṁ pattrinam*—v. 45). It is, therefore, probable that Harivarman was able to establish his authority in Utkala through the active help of Bhavadeva. If the original seat of the Yādavas was in Kalinga, their natural association with this region of the eastern coast may have stood them in good stead in winning for them a foothold in Orissa.

In the Belāva grant Jātavarman is compared with Bhishma (*Gāṅgeya iva Sāntanoḥ*—v. 7). In the earlier part of his life he may not have been attracted by the glamour of kingship enjoyed by his kinsman (Vajravarman's grandson ?) but later changed his mind. From Vaṅga he probably proceeded to Kāmarūpa, thence to Paundravardhana and ultimately to

¹ H. P. Sāstri finds in this expression a reference to a *Nāgavamśa*. See Intro. to BC, MAB, III, p. 15.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 161-64; X, p. 26 ff.

Aṅga (?). Jātavarman's son was Sāmalavarman (v. 9). Verses 10-12 in the Belāva inscription which follow the mention of Sāmalavarman have given rise to a controversy among scholars. Relevant passages from them are quoted below for an appreciation of the difficulties connected with their interpretation : (verse 10)—*Tasy = Odayī sūnur = abhūt-prabhūta-durvvāra-vīreshv = api saṅgareshu* ; (verse 11)—*tasya Mālavadevyāsīt kanyā Trailokyasundarī (Ja)gadvijaya-mallasya vaijayantī manobhuvah* ; (verse 12)—*tasy-āsīd = agramahishī s = aiva Sāmalavarmmanah*). There is no doubt that verse 11 is concerned with the parentage of Sāmalavarman's chief queen (*agramshishī*, verse 12), but the difficulty lies in finding it out as well as her name. Are the two terms "*Trailokyasundarī*" and "*Jagadvijayamalla(sya)*" in verse 11 to be taken as proper names or adjectives? And does the phrase "*Mālavadevyāsīt kanyā*" contain the name "*Mālavadevī*" in its instrumental or the nominative form? As regards the second question, if, according to most scholars, the latter interpretation is to be accepted, it will appear that in this verse Mālavadevī has been mentioned as a daughter (*Mālavadevī-āsīt kanyā*) and in the next as Sāmalavarman's queen (*S-aiv-āgramahishī*). According to this view the term "*Trailokyasundarī*" is to be regarded as an adjective of Mālavadevī. This is dissented from by N. G. Majumdar who holds that "*kanyā*" in verse 11 applies to Trailokyasundarī, which is a personal name and not an adjective, and that her mother's name has been given as Mālavadevī, used in the instrumental case. Regarding *Jagadvijayamalla*, the tendency among scholars is to regard it as a proper name, standing for the father-in-law of Sāmalavarman. In this case also the late Mr. Majumdar disagreed with the general theory, taking it as an adjective of *Manobhuh*, the god of love. The connection between Udayī mentioned in verse 10 and Sāmalavarman is no less obscure. The verse as it stands begins with "*tasya*"; hence it may be supposed that it is to be connected with the proper name immediately preceding it, which is Sāmalavarman referred to in verse 9. But

verse 11, which likewise opens with “*tasya*” after the mention of Udayī, makes this interpretation absurd, as on the strength of it Sāmalavarman’s chief queen (verse 12) becomes his son’s daughter. Majumdar proposed that the second “*tasya*” was also related to Sāmalavarman, the meaning of verse 11 being that he had a daughter called Trailokyasundarī by Mālavadevī. “*Saiva*” in verse 12 should point to “Trailokyasundarī” if it is a proper name, rather than to Mālavadevī, but as the former has been taken by him to be Sāmalavarman’s daughter, the reference is made to apply to Mālavadevī. The interpretation cannot be said to be in strict accord with the context. As the presence of “*tasya*” in verse 10 apparently clouds the meaning of the passage as well as its connection with the following verses is, it is held by R. D. Banerji that “*tasya*” in the present case is a mistake for “*tathā*.” Thus the verse referring to Udayī is to be treated as entirely unconnected with the preceding one. Messrs Banerji, Vasu and Śāstrī are of the opinion that the name of Udayī’s son is given in the next verse as Jagadvijamalla and that it was his beautiful daughter (*sundarī*) Mālavadevī who enjoyed the supreme position in Sāmalavarman’s harem. MM. H. P. Śāstrī identified Udayī with Udayāditya, the Paramāra king of Mālwa, and Jagadvijayamalla with Jagaddeva or Jagdeo, the youngest son of Udayāditya who served under Jayasinha Siddharāja of the Chālukya dynasty of Anahilapāṭaka.¹ R. D. Banerji points out that it is doubtful if Jagaddeva can be equated with Jagadvijayamalla.² The name “Mālavadevī” seems to have served as a hint for the proposed identification of Udayī as a Mālwa king. The question of his identity apart, if the reading *sūnur=abhūt* in verse 10 is correct, the ground for the supposition that his son was Jagadvijayamalla must be considered very feeble indeed, for

¹ Cf. IB, App. II, p. 191. Cf. Jainad Stone-Inscription of the Paramāra Jagaddeva, ed. by Dhiraṇḍra Chandra Ganguly, Ep. Ind., XXII, Pl. II, p. 54 f. Karna who was vanquished by Jagaddeva (c. 1065-94 A.D.) was a king of Gujarat, who probably attempted to reconquer Malwa,

² JASS, N.S., 1914, p. 125.

it is dependent on the assumption that Udayī and *sūnuh* do not form two separate words but a *tatpurusha* compound, meaning "the son of Udayī," i.e., Jagadvijayamalla, supposed to be given as a proper name in the following verse. But this is barred by the presence of the long *ī* in "Udayī." There is no reason why it should be regarded as a mistake for the short *i*, specially as the long vowel is required by the metre in the present instance. Dr. R. G. Basak is perhaps right in connecting Udayī with "*prabhu*," mentioned in verse 9, although it is not clear why Purushottama, the author of the inscription, should refer to Udayī's father in that fashion. It is not necessary to link up the second line of this verse where it occurs with the preceding one naming Sāmalavarman, and Basak's interpretation is further supported by the fact that it stands nearer "Udayī" than the first line. A relation may be established between this part of verse 9 on the one hand and verses 10-11 on the other, which will be an improvement on the interpretation proposed by Dr. Basak, as he has noticed its connection only with "*tasya*" preceding the mention of Udayī. The view advanced here being accepted, it will be found that the name of Udayī's father (*prabhu*) is actually given as Jagadvijayamalla in verse 11. We agree with N. G. Majumdar in regarding Trailokyasundarī¹ as a proper name and Mālavadevī as employed in the third case-ending, but it does not seem to be correct to hold, as he does, that "*s = aiva*" in verse 12 represents "Mālavadevī," which is more remotely placed than the other term. Thus the conclusion may be arrived at that Jagadvijayamalla, father of Udayī, had a daughter called Trailokyasundarī, who was wedded to Sāmalavarman. One weak point in our contention is that we have taken "*tasya*" in verse 11 as connected with Udayī's father, instead of with Udayī himself, but the sense of the passage does not appear to be

¹ This occurs as the name of a Kāśīya princess, wife of a king of Ceylon, Vijayabāhu by name (A.D. 1054-1109). See JRS, 1918, p. 490.

opposed to this construction. Moreover, this interpretation does not necessitate the replacing of “*tasya*” in verse 10 by “*tathā*,” the formation of a compound out of the two separate words Udayī and *sūnuḥ*, and the joining of “*tasya*” (verse 11) with the Sāmalavarman of verse 9. The scope for uncertainty is thus much reduced. The identity of both Udayī and Jagadvijayamallā is, however, to remain an open question.

Sāmalavarman's worthy son by Mālavadevī was Bhojavarman (*Āsit* = *tayoh* *sūnur* = *ih* = *anurūpah*—v. 13), who was like a lamp that illumined the families of the parents [*ubhaya-vamśa-(dī)paḥ*]. He adopted the complete set of imperial titles *Parameśvara*, *Paramahatṭārakā*, *Mahārājādhirāja* (v. 16). The Belāva grant makes a gift of land situated in Pauṇḍrabhukti (l. 27), to which belonged Kauśambī-*asṭa-gachchha-khaṇḍala* (= Kusumbā in the Rājshāhi district?). The inference is permissible that Northern Bengal or at least a part of it (the Rājshāhi district) was under his political control in the fifth year of his reign when the grant was made. There is a passage in the inscription which may suggest that in this year there was some serious danger confronting his position, when real heroism seems to have fled the earth [*hā dhik (ka)shṭam* = *arīram* = *adya bhuvanam*—v. 14]. The trouble is expressly mentioned to have been caused by a revival (*bhūyah*?) of the *Rākshasa* calamity [*bhūyopikam(kim) rakshasām* = *utpāt* = *oyam (upa)sthit* = *ostu...*]. The passage is no doubt obscure, but two facts may be observed in this connection. First, in its account of Jātavarman's victories, the inscription itself refers to Divya whose identity, as already noticed, with the Kaivarta chief of this name, is generally believed in,¹ and second, it seems to have been a fashion in the twelfth century to describe the heroes of this community as *Rākshasas*.² It is not, therefore, improbable that in referring to the crisis brought about by the *Rākshasas*, the Belāva gran

¹ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 34

² In v. 4 of the Kamsali insc. of Vaidyadeva the Kaivarta leader Bhima has been compared with Rāvaṇa: *Kashopināyaka-Bhima-Rāvaṇa-vadhād...* See GLW, p. 129.

really means some attack led by the Kaivartas against Bhojavarman, in consequence of which his control over Paundra-bhukti was growing precarious. The poet was aware of the fact that his position was imperilled, but he prayed for his success (*Kuśālī śaṅkāsu Laṅk=ādhipaḥ*—v. 14). It stands to reason that the epithet "*Laṅkādhīpa*" applies to Bhojavarman and none else, as in the verses concerned no other person has been named. The fact that his territory has been designated as *Laṅkā* may naturally lead to the presumption that it had been previously held by the *Rākshasas* for some time. Thus the Varmans may have established their domination in Northern Bengal, as suggested by the geographical information contained in the Balāva inscription, by defeating the Kaivartas, but the latter made an effort to oust them by the fifth year of Bhojavarman's reign, which gave rise to a critical situation. The trend of the evidence furnished by the Belāva grant seems to indicate clearly that Bhojavarman had a religious turn of mind (*majjayann=iva Vāg-brahma-may=ānanda-mahodadhau*—v. 15) and was fond of panegyrical utterances (*iti yaṁ guṇa-gāthabhis=tushṭāva*—v. 15). The poet deplores lack of true courage in his time, which may go to show that he was not a promising ruler, who later succumbed to the danger already visible at the time of the engraving of the plate. He is not known to have left any son. Probably the Varman line ruling in Utkala annexed Vaṅga after his death.

The copper-plate inscription of Harivarman,¹ according to N. N. Vasu's reading, contained the name of a certain village called Vejanīsāra in Vaṅga as the object of the grant. For many years this plate could not be traced, but recently its rediscovery has been announced, accompanied with a note in Bengali by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali,² in which appears a revised reading of the text together with observations on its historical implications. It has been suggested that N. N. Vasu was wrong in reading the

¹ N. N. Vasu. *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa, Brāhmaṇa-Kaṇḍa*. Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 216.

² *Bhāratavarsha, Māgha, 1344 (B.S.)*, pp. 169-74.

name of a village in line 8 of the text, the village given away under this grant being already mentioned as Varaparvyata¹ in line 2 of the same inscription. As it appears that the Plate was for some time in the custody of a *pundit* at Sāmantasār in the Edilpur *pargana* of the Faridpur district, it has been designated the Sāmantasār grant of Harivarma-deva in the new note prepared on the subject by Dr. Bhattasali. It is to be regretted that there is no satisfactory facsimile of this inscription from which one can judge for oneself the correctness or otherwise of the new reading or the one that has hitherto been relied upon. The most important suggestion made in the note quoted above is that Harivarman's father was not called Jyotirvarman, as previously held on the authority of the older reading, but Jātavarman, whose name is to be found in the Belāva grant of Bhojavarman as that of Sāmalavarman's father. This suggestion, if accepted, will require a radical alteration in the Varman chronology as constructed by earlier writers. Historians have hitherto placed a certain *māhārājādhirāja* Jyotirvarman after Bhojavarman of the Belāva grant, and Harivarman, said to be his son, after this Jyotirvarman. Dr. Bhattasali by rejecting the view upheld by Vasu that the new grant is dated in the year 42 proposes to lessen the total duration of the Yādava family's rule, for according to his reading there is no date given in the text. This means that the end of the Varman dynasty will have to be placed somewhat earlier than the time hitherto assigned to it on the strength of the earlier reading. But even though it may be true that the Sāmantasār grant is not dated, there is other evidence to show that Harivarman's reign was quite long.

It must be said in fairness to Dr. Bhattasali that he has not been over-enthusiastic in trying to prove that the name is Jātavarman, not Jyotirvarman. He says that as 'v' is

¹ Cf. Baraparvati, whence Gopāla II in the sixth year of his reign issued a grant, see Bhāratavarsha, 1944 (B.S.).

clear in the text, it is highly probable that the name given should be taken as Jātavarman, for if the name were "Jyotirvarman," the doubling of 'v', being preceded by 'r', would have been expected in accordance with the orthographic conventions of the time. It is, however, most necessary to mark the first letter very carefully; in connection with this he says that the space between the honorific 'śrī' and 'ta' (or 'tir', according to Vasu) is so small that it can hardly contain the large conjunct 'jyo'. It is clear from these observations that the condition of the signs is far from satisfactory, and in this respect further deterioration since Vasu handled the plate for the purpose of his own reading may be assumed as probable. It is to be seen in particular if there is any trace of the subscript *y* and the sign for the medial *o*.

From the account already given, it will appear that the Belāva grant gives a genealogy of this family up to Bhojavarman; in this inscription it is clearly stated that Sāmalavarman was the son of Jātavarman by his wife Vīraśrī. In the Sāmantaśār grant there is no mention of Vīraśrī or any other queen who may have been Harivarman's mother, taking for granted that his father was Jātavarman, the self-same person who was Sāmalavarman's father. In the Belāva grant Sāmalavarman is described as '*Sāmalavarmma-devapād-anudhyāta*'. It is true that the genealogy of ancient kings is sometimes traced only through the direct line of descent, omitting collateral lines. Hence the omission of Harivarman's name in the genealogical account, given in the Belāva grant, may be accounted for, as he may have preceded his brother or half-brother Sāmalavarman. The Bhuvaneśvar *Prasasti*, as already mentioned, not only refers to Harivarman, but his son who seems to have succeeded him, though his name is not given. Thus admitting that Jātavarman was first succeeded by his son Harivarman, it will have to be concluded that Sāmalavarman could not have occupied the throne before Harivarman's son and successor referred to in the Bhuvaneśvar inscription;

there was no partition of the Bengal dominions of the Yādavas between different collateral lines since all the available grants are found to have been issued from the same royal seat, Vikramapura. As the reading of the year 42 in the Sāmantasār grant is not accepted by Dr. Bhattasali, he holds that there is no indication of the length of his reign, except the expression 'suchiram' used in the Bhuvaneśvar *Prasasti*, which is not sufficient to justify the conclusion that he reigned for an indefinitely long period. But the evidence of a MS., as already mentioned, shows that he reigned for at least 39 years. It is to be understood, however, that there is no evidence to show that Harivarman remained the master of Vikramapura (in Vaṅga) throughout his reign or that his son ever had any connection with it. The Kaivarta or Rākshasa trouble does not appear to have passed off by the fifth year of Bhojavarman's reign, while Harivarman's line in Utkala surrendered to Rāmapāla at a date subsequent to the total collapse of the Kaivarta power. Hence if we think of only one Harivarman as probable, it will have to be presumed that Vaṅga and Utkala did not remain united under the control of Harivarman and his line for long. The Vajrayoginī grant of Sāmalavarman which Dr. Bhattasali has noticed in a Bengali journal refers to a Harivarman to whom a great value is attached (*rihbavo*—l. 5), but in view of the most fragmentary condition of this record, it is impossible to find any support for the assumption that he is mentioned here as Jātavarman's son by his wife Viraśrī. In fact no conclusion can be drawn about his parentage from this inscription. The assumption that in this grant mention is also made of Harivarman's son referred to in the Bhuvaneśvar *Prasasti*, also lacks proof. On the contrary the mention of the Kalachuri family (l. 5), that of a name ending with Śrī (Viraśrī ?) in l. 6 and of *nripati* born out of the union of the latter apparently with a member of this dynasty (*cf. sa khalu*—l. 6) seems to

¹ Bhāratavaraha, 1840 (B.S.), p. 674.

suggest that the mutilated passage in question contained a reference to Sāmalavarman, known from the Belāva grant to have been the son of Jātavarman and Viraśrī. This suggests that one Harivarman ruled at some period before Jātavarman and not immediately after Sāmalavarman as his successor, for no reference to him can be traced in the subsequent lines of this inscription. If the passage from the Belāva grant is to be explained as paying a tribute to an earlier Harivarman, it is not clear what objection the author of that inscription could have to put his name in the proper place after Sāmalavarman. It is not improbable that there was a second Harivarman who is to be identified with the king of that name, noted in the Bhuvaneśvar *Prasasti* and the Vejanisāra inscription.

As the reconstruction of Varman history and genealogy is still fraught with difficulties, it is impossible to speak of Govardhana's position and identity with accuracy. If Harivarman's father was not Jyotirvarman but Jātavarman, it will not be possible to describe him as the king of Vaṅga under whom Govardhana served. In that case it may be proposed to connect him with the court of the last of the Chandras, from whom the Varmans took Vaṅga. But here again it will be difficult to say how he was occupied from the moment of his defeat till his appointment as a minister again under Harivarman. Even if the name Jātavarman has been correctly read in the Sāmantasār grant, it may not be necessary to take him as identical with the Jātavarman of the Belāva grant. His place may remain in the genealogy after Bhōjavarman as Jātavarman II, just where Jyotirvarmman was assigned by Kielhorn.

The government of the Chandras was replaced in Vaṅga or East Bengal by that of the Yādavas sometime in the first half of the 11th century. It is interesting to note that in the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra,¹ which on palæographical grounds may be assigned to the first half of the twelfth

¹ Ep. Ind., XXI, pp. 97-101 and Plate.

century, it is stated that an army of *Vaṅgāla* (*Vaiṅgāla-balair*—l. 3) set fire to the house of *Karuṇāśrimitra* of *Somapura*, who seems to have lost his life in the conflagration. It is possible to place him about the time when the *Chandras* had to succumb to the forces led by the *Yādavas*, as *Vipulaśrimitra* of the *Nālandā* inscription stands fourth in the chain of discipleship commencing from this Buddhist saint. The *Chandras* were Buddhists while the newcomers were *Vaiṣṇavas*. In the course of the struggle between the two Powers, and even afterwards the latter may have exhibited violent antipathy towards Buddhists and Buddhist institutions, but about this we are not certain, for when hostilities were going on between the two sides, excesses may have been committed by either or both, resulting in serious damages to non-combatants also. The *Vajrayoginī* inscription also seems to refer to this conflict which took place in *Vaṅga*, possibly in *Jātavarman's* time, in which *Sāmalavarman* as a prince took part.

We may now resume the history of the *Pālas*, which had to be interrupted by the introduction of the narrative relating to the fortunes of the family of *Jātavarman*, a contemporary of *Mahipāla's* grandson. Their power was evidently on the decline owing to the invasions of *Karṇa* and *Vikramāditya VI*, and the conquests made by the *Yādavas*. *Mahipāla's* son, *Nayapāla*, probably did not reign for more than fifteen years, and the last known date of his successor, *Vigrahapāla*, is the year 13, supplied by his *Āṃgāchhi Plate*,¹ engraved on the pedestal of an image of *Buddha*, and the *Indian Museum* inscription of his reign.² That the reign-periods of these two

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, p. 97; XIV, p. 166; Centenary Review of the *IASB*, Part II, pp. 210-13; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 295-310.

² *IASB*, Vol. V, p. 112. It consists of only two lines, mentioning *Śrīmad-Vigrahapāla-deva*. E. D. Banerji points out that this is the same inscription noticed by Cunningham in *CASB*, Vol. III, p. 121, No. 7. The reason why it should be assigned to the third king of the name of *Vigrahapāla* has not been shown. We, however, accept Mr. Banerji's suggestion pending a future examination of the script of the record. Two other

monarchs were not long is indicated by the fact that the son of the artist who engraved the Bāngarh grant of Mahīpāla (9th year) engraved the Āmgāchhi grant of his grandson, Vīgrahapāla. He has been described in the latter record of his reign as the god of death unto the families of his enemies (*Kālaḥ kule vidvishām*—v. 13), but we do not know of a single case of military success that may be attributed to his reign. There are some debased silver coins preserved in the Indian Museum, which may have been struck during the reign of Vīgrahapāla. They may be a testimony to the weakness of his financial position.¹ Vīgrahapāla was succeeded by his eldest son, Mahīpāla II, his other two sons whose names are known being Sūrapāla and Rāmapāla. The Kamauli Plate of Vaidyadeva mentions Mahīpāla's brother, Rāmapāla (v. 4),² immediately after Vīgrahapāla, which may lead one to suppose that he himself never sat on the throne. But the existence of his rule is definitely proved from the evidence of the *Rāmacharita*³ and the Manahali inscription⁴ of Madanapāla. The omission of his name in the Kamauli grant is only a proof of the fact that he was not one of those Pāla sovereigns who patronised the family of Vaidyadeva. For the history of his reign, it is necessary to turn to the commentary on the *Rāmacharita*. The author of the latter work, Sandhyākara

inscriptions attributed to Vīgrahapāla III will be discussed later. One of them is the Akshayaṣṭa insc. of Viśvāditya mentioning the fifth year of Vīgrahapāla (III)—see CASR, III, p. 133; MAB, V, pp. 80-82. The second record is the Bihār Stone-Image inscription of Parikṣita, described by Cunningham as dated in the twelfth year.—*Ibid.*, p. 121. B. D. Banerji quotes only the first five lines in MAB, Vol. V, p. 68.

¹ V. A. Smith describes them as the eastern or Magadha type. They "bear the legend śrī Vi or śrī Vīgrahapāla". The least barbarous of these coins he is inclined to assign to the first king of this name, and those that are 'wholly corrupt' to the third. See CCIM, Vol. I, pp. 283, 289 (Pl. XXV, 10).

² It may be noted that in this insc. there is nothing to show that he immediately succeeded his father. He is only mentioned as Vīgrahapāla's son: *tasya-orijavarala-pauruṣaṇya nripateḥ śrī-Rāmapāloḥ bhavāt putrah*.

³ C. C. Com. on I. 81: *prathamath pūrvvam pitari Vīgrahapāla aparāto sati Mahīpāla*

⁴ In the Manahali grant he has been compared to Śiva: *śrīman Mahīpāla iti dvitīya dvijada-manthi Śivavad-babhūva*—v. 18.

Nandī, who is also supposed by some to have written the commentary thereon, was the son of the chief minister of war and peace (*Mahāsāndhivigrahika*) under Rāmapāla. It was perhaps difficult for him to give a thoroughly unbiased account of Mahīpāla on account of the opposition which existed between him and his brother, the hero of the *Rāmacharita*. Mahīpāla's conduct is described in his work as offering a contrast to the practice of polity (*anītikārambharate anīlike nītiviruddhe ārambhe udyame rate sati*).¹ While Mahīpāla, listening to evil counsel, was leading the state on the path of destruction, Rāmapāla may have engaged himself in developing a plan as to how to save it from the follies of his brother. But his intentions were easily liable to be misconstrued by the wicked people,² who tried to convince Mahtpala that Rāmapāla, being more powerful and popular, was secretly plotting to kill him and to seize the throne for himself. The king tried to take Rāmapāla's life in some foul manner, but afterwards got rid of him by putting him in prison. With him also went Rāmapāla's elder brother, Sūrapāla.³ It cannot be satisfactorily ascertained whether these domestic dissensions were in any way connected with the revolt of the Kaivarta chief in Northern Bengal, which literally cost Mahīpāla his throne and life. According to the commentary on the *Rāmacharita*, Divvoka⁴ killed the great king (*rājapṛavara*) Mahīpāla and became the master of a large tract of country (*Mahīpālaṁ hatvā bhūyaḥ prachuram bhūmaṇḍalam gṛhītavataḥ....Kaivarttasaya nripasya*). Varendrī was occupied by the successful insurgent (*Varendrī Divvokena gṛhīt-eti*).⁵ Detailed information is not given as to the causes responsible for the outbreak of the general insurrection organised by the *Sāmantas*. Buddhism was antagonistic to the practice of the fishing-craft which formed the

¹ RC. Com. on I. 31.

² Com. on I. 36, 37.

³ Com. on I. 28, 33. The name is spelt as Surapāla. Cf. also Com. on I. 22.

⁴ Com. on I. 29, 31.

⁵ Com. on I. 31.

occupation of the Kaivartas, who thus suffered from social disadvantages under the régime of the Buddhist Pālas. It is not improbable that, before the actual rising started, their chief had asked for a redress of their grievances, which was not conceded by the unwise king. Taking advantage of the crisis brought about by the drift of events in the royal family terminating in the incarceration of the two princes, Divvoka, originally a Pāla servant, rose against him and put an end to the life of the unpopular monarch. There is no definite evidence as to the duration of Mahīpāla's reign, but a period of three or four years may be considered likely. The throne passed to his younger brother, Sūrapāla. Neither the commentary on the *Rāmacharita* nor the Kamauli inscription mentions him as Mahīpāla's successor. But the Manahali¹ inscription does not leave any room for doubt that he actually held the reins of government, although probably for a very short period. The reason why no reference to him is to be found in the Kamauli grant seems to be the same that accounts for the absence of his brother's name in the document. But the omission in the *Rāmacharita* commentary which mentions his imprisonment may have to be explained in a different way. From the fact that Sūrapāla had been thrown into prison along with Rāmapāla during Mahīpāla's reign it may be inferred that he at first identified himself with the same policy as that of his brother. But after Mahīpāla's death, the interests of the two brothers collided. The elder brother may have been either compelled to abdicate or murdered shortly after his accession to the throne. It is not unlikely that this fact has been deliberately suppressed.

If any comment is to be made on the character, conduct and policies of the persons involved in the tragic conflicts of Mahīpāla II's reign, it must be based on the evidence of the

¹ The Manahali grant has the following verse for Sūrapāla (II): *taṣy-abhūḍ anuḥ Maheन्द्रa-mahīmā Ka[ṣka]ndaḥ pratāpeśriyam-ekaḥ sāsana-sārathir-gguṇa-nayaḥ Śri Sūrapālo nripaḥ* (v. 14).

Rāmacharita, for that work is the only source of our information regarding the events connected with them. Let us take up the case of Mahīpāla first. About this king it is recorded that he set at naught the counsel of his efficient ministers in that he went to fight against a confederacy of *Sāmantas* or feudatories, well equipped with military resources, such as horse, elephants, infantry and vessels of war [*shāḍgunya-sālyasya mantriṇo gūṇitaṃ = avagūṇayan upaśṭambhāra-bhaṭī-mātr = ādīśat(d)-grahṇena milit=ānanta-Sāmanta-chakra-chatura-chaturaṅga-bala-balayita-bahala-madākala-kari-turaga-taraṇi-charaṇa-chāru-bhaṭa chamū-sambhāra-samrambha*—Com. on verse 1.31), who put to flight the army of Mahīpāla and caused his utter discomfiture, that he listened to the advice of some wicked people, imputing false motives to his brother Rāmapāla, whom he first thought of killing but subsequently imprisoned (Com. on verse 1. 37).¹ The king showed lack of political insight by going against his feudatories who had been following a *common policy* of hostility against him, and also in his defiance of the *combined advice of his ministers* who were at one in asking him to refrain from that course. His *association with unworthy people* also was a source of danger to his kingdom. If there was really a charge against Rāmapāla that he was conspiring against the sovereign, it ought to have been properly investigated, and the king should not have taken such a drastic step against him on hearsay evidence. In this matter also he acted in a way which a prudent king would have surely avoided. Perhaps he was a far worse king than these errors of commission or omission only can prove him to be.² While referring to the extremely critical condition of the world at the death of Mahīpāla, the author of the *Rāmacharita* uses the

¹ Also see Com. on I. 81, 33, 34.

² On the real character of the troubles of Mahīpāla II's reign there has of late been a considerable controversy. It must be emphasised that no theory should be hazarded, which does not follow the evidence of the *Rāmacharita*. For the controversy, see R. P. Chanda, *Modern Review*, 1935, p. 844; J. N. Sarkar, *ibid.*, 1936 (April), p. 488; N. K. Bhattachali, *Bhāratvarsh*, 1943 (B.S.), *Ashādha*, p. 82; Ayodhyaśāth Vidyāvinode, *ibid.*, p. 597; B. C. Majumder, *Pravasi*, 1945.

expression : *durṇayabhājahgra-janmano...vyasanāt* ; but it is somewhat curious that the commentary does not explain *durṇayabhājah* (Chap 1, verse 22). The Purāṇic legend which is alluded to in this verse is that of Indra's outrage on Abalyā, the chaste wife of Gautama, in consequence of which she was transformed into stone, being afterwards brought back to life by a touch of the epic hero Rāmachandra. Although the verse suggests a comparison between Indra and Mahīpāla and in that connection uses the phrase *durṇayabhājah*, in the commentary there is an apparently guarded interpretation of the implications which can be logically drawn from it. It cannot be that '*durṇaya*' and '*anīti*' mean the same, i.e., lack of political wisdom. The term *anītika* occurs in verse 31 of the same canto (*anītik = ārambha-rate*), and is explained in the commentary as that which is opposed to polity (*anīlike nīti-biruddhe ārambhe udyame rate sati*). The fault here implied may be regarded as one of a negative character. It can be deduced from this verse that he was guilty of an unstatesmanlike character, but that his policy was vicious is an inference that may be drawn if the other verse, referring to him in the phrase '*durṇayabhājah*,' is followed in the totality of its sense. It appears that '*anītika*' may imply an error of judgment, while '*durṇaya*' should mean something positive not so much in respect of the king in his private capacity or his private morals, etc., as in his governmental capacity, which must have had the same effect on his dominions as that of misrule.

As to the part played by Divya or Divvoka in overthrowing Mahīpāla, it is clear that he had been in royal service (*Divvokena māṃśabhujā Lakshmyā aṃśam bhuñjānena bhṛityena*—Com. on l. 38), but there is no mention of the particular post occupied by him. It is interesting that the term '*dasyu*' has been applied to him, but the commentary shows that this is not to be taken in the usual sense of a robber, but of one whose conduct was hostile to the king (*śatrunā tad-bhāv = āpannatvāt*). What he did was inspired by the belief that it was to be done as a duty

(*avaśya-kartavyatayā ārabdham karmma*), but he put on a disguise; he did not carry out his part openly but secretly (*chhadmani vratī*). In this respect his policy was different from the one pursued by the *Sāmantas* as they had gone against the king and mustered their forces in an open fight. It can be inferred that he did not openly join the rebel *Sāmantas*; he planned his movements and executed his policy without giving a warning to his master. The position which he occupied before the accomplishment of his *coup* must have given him an undoubted advantage, for it lay in his power to bring the conflict to a decisive conclusion favourable to himself. The verse quoted above with the commentary will be misunderstood if it is taken to mean that the stratagem which he adopted was against the policy of the *Sāmantas* who perhaps had been thinking of placing someone else on the throne, and that he took them by surprise when, instead of facilitating the accession of their nominee, he himself occupied *Varendrī*, secretly developing his plan of self-aggrandisement while openly on the side of the *Sāmantas*. The verse is simply concerned with the relations between *Mahīpāla* and *Divya* during the crisis. If *Divya* had actually betrayed the *Sāmantas*, they might have proceeded on their own account against him after the latter had snatched away *Varendrī*.

In history there are many instances of the utmost degeneration of the central government owing to kingly misrule, accentuated by vile domestic intrigues, which encouraged personal ambitions in provincial governors or other high officials, leading ultimately to the supreme success of one among many in capturing the decadent royal power. *Divya* was not an ordinary *Keivarta* in an humble station of life, whom the people, satisfied with his leadership against an oppressive king, raised to honour and power. He was already a leading figure in the kingdom, and independent sovereignty was only one step higher, which he reached through the pursuit of a carefully laid-out policy. There is no historical evidence to show that *Mahīpāla* faced a general

rebellion of the people or at least a section of them, *viz.*, the *Kaivartas*, to which the *Sāmantas* lent their valued help, and that Divya was *elected* king of Vārendrī by the discontented people after the Pāla ruler had been killed by him.

There was a Chālukya invasion of Gauḍa probably before Rāmapāla's accession, *c.* 1065 A.D. Someśvara Āhavamalla's son, Vikramāditya VI, who seems to have started an era from the date of his assumption of sovereignty in 1076 A.D., led a successful expedition against the eastern countries (*purvādreḥ kaṭakeshu*) during the latter part of the reign of his father who died about 1068 A.D. If the testimony of his biographer, Bilhana, who refers to this expedition, is to be trusted, he succeeded in conquering Gauḍa (*gāyantisma grīhita-Gauḍa-vijayastamberamasy = āhave*) and annihilating the prowess of a Kāmarūpa king (*tasy = onmūlita-Kāmarūpa-nṛipati-prājya-pratāpa-śriyaḥ*).¹ It is difficult to say whether the Chālukya army met the Kaivartas or the Pālas on the field, for if by Gauḍa is meant the northern part of Bengal, it was in the hands of the Kaivartas at the time. In all probability the invasion of Gauḍa, if true,² was a temporary military raid, as there is no evidence of the prevalence of Chālukya rule in that country. Bengal on the eve of Rāmapāla's accession was not only suffering from internal troubles due to the rebellion of the Kaivartas but also from the sad effects of recent invasions from outside, by the Chedis and the Chālukyas.

Whatever may have been the means employed by Rāmapāla to secure the throne for himself, the success of his undertakings must have silenced all his critics. No doubt the most absorbing task that lay before him was the re-conquest of Gauḍa from the hands of the Kaivarta rebels. But such was the strength of

¹ Vikramādhikarita, III, 74, p. 27.

² Krishnaswami Aiyangar thinks that the invasions of Bengal and Kāmarūpa were not likely 'with the Chojas constantly on the alert.' Chālukya contingents of armies may have been 'sent to help a friendly power.'—See *Ancient India*, p. 138. This is indeed a very vague statement.

their organisation that no attempt to break it could be successful unless all the available resources were marshalled against them. A serious obstacle that seems to have stood in the way of the realisation of his object was the recalcitrance of Devarakshita, the lord of Pīṭhī, who was to be brought back to allegiance to the Pāla monarchy. There is little reason to doubt that the trouble due to Devarakshita's disloyalty occurred earlier in the reign—before Rāmapāla had launched his final campaign against the Kaivartas. On that occasion the lord of Pīṭhī, Bhīmayasāḥ by name, stood by his side. The Sārnāth inscription¹ of Mahāṇa's granddaughter, Kumaradevī, and the *Rāmacharita*² are the two sources of information regarding Devarakshita. In the former record he is described as belonging to the *Chhikkora Vamśa*. His name is preceded by Vallabharāja, but though his exact relationship with the latter is not shown, Prof. Sten Konow, while editing the inscription, has taken him to be Devarakshita's father. Vallabharāja was held in respect by different princes (*mānyaḥ sa bhūmibhujām*) and Devarakshita was, as it were, "the full moon among the lotuses of the Chhikkora family," surpassing the *Gajapati* in splendour. From these details it will appear that the power wielded by the *Pīṭhipati*³ was not inconsiderable. The expedition against Devarakshita was placed under the direction of Mathana or Mahāṇa, who was the greatest benefactor of the Pāla family. He was a Rāshtrakūṭa, the master of Aṅga (*Aṅgapah*), "a peerless warrior in Gauḍa" (*Gauḍe adraitabhaṭa*) and "an incomparable diadem of Kshatriyas" (*Kshatr = aika-chūḍāmaṇi*). In the *Rāmacharita* commentary he is mentioned as Rāmapāla's maternal uncle, and in the Sārnāth inscription of Kumaradevī he is called *narapati-mātulah*. It may be inferred that, like Rāmapāla, Sūrapāla and Mahāpāla

¹ Ep. Ind., IX, p. 324 f.

² Com. on II, 8.

³ Sten Konow proposed in his introductory note on the Sārnāth inscr. that Pīṭhi was identical with Pīṭhapuram in Veṅgi, loc. cit., p. 322. But see JBORS, IV, p. 267; MAB. III, pp. 36, 38; Bāṅglār Itihās, pp. 285-86. 'Pīṭhipati' is mentioned in the RC. Commentary as synonymous with 'Magadhāhipati' (II. 5, 8).

also were his nephews. Their father, Vīgrahapāla, married Mahana's sister in addition to the Chedi princess Yauvanaśrī, but his three sons seem to have been born of his Rāshtrakūṭa wife. No details about Mathanadeva's predecessors are available. Moreover, it is not known how and when the Varman authority, probably established in Aṅga by Jātavarman, was swept away by Mathana or his family. He directed the operations against Devarakṣita from his seat on the back of his elephant Vindhya-māṇikya. The Lord of Pīṭhī was defeated and an alliance was formed between Mathanadeva and the vanquished enemy who married the former's daughter Saṅkaradevī. The victory won by Rāmapāla's maternal uncle on this occasion must have produced a favourable effect on the fortunes of his dynasty, as according to the Sārnāth inscription it enhanced his glory by removing the obstruction caused by his foes. It seems to have restored confidence in Rāmapāla's strength among his subordinate chiefs and served as a warning to those who had been perhaps wavering in their allegiance to the suzerain. Looked at from this point of view Devarakṣita's defeat was an essential step towards the consolidation of his position on the eve of the Kaivarta struggle. The matrimonial friendship which was established at the conclusion of the battle was the forerunner of a close contact between Magadha and the Gāhāḍavālas of Kanauj, the successors of the Gurjara-Pratibhārās, for Kumradevī, Devarakṣita's daughter by Saṅkaradevī, was married to Govindachandra who was the grandson of Chandra, the founder of that dynasty. It appears from the evidence of the *Rāmacharita* commentary that, previous to Rāmapāla's final encounter with the Kaivartas, an expedition against them had been organised under the charge of Mathanadeva's nephew, the Mahāpratibhāra Śivarāja. At this time Varendrī was being ruled by Bhīma.¹ He was the son and successor of Rūdoka, the younger brother of Divya, who had managed the affairs of state after his death. Śivarāja succeeded²

¹ Divyakaṣya yo anujō Rudokaḥ tadya-tanayasya Bhīma-dāmanah—RC. Com. on I.89.

² Com. on I.47.

in crossing the Ganges, weakened Bhīma's military defences in Varendrī '*rakṣaṇam sarvvato bhagnam*,' and returned to his master to privately acquaint him with the condition of his paternal kingdom.¹ The clash between the forces of Bhīma and those of the Pāla General created an unstable condition in the country which caused fright and widespread suffering to the people. Sivarāja travelled from place to place, making local inquiries with the special object of protecting the properties belonging to the Brahmins and religious institutions.² But the triumph of Sivarāja in coping with Bhīma appears to have been short-lived. He must have gone to Varendrī to create a favourable atmosphere for Rāmapāla and to collect secret information about the enemy's position by spying and other such means. A real attempt at conquest was to be made on a far wider scale before the Pāla authority could be definitely restored in Varendrī. Preparations to this end had been in progress before the task was finally launched upon. During this period of organisation Rāmapāla used to discuss his future plans with his son (Rājyapāla?) and ministers (*amātyena sūnunā sutena cha saha...idam kartavyam idam na kartavyam*).³ He undertook a personal tour of his territories (*prithvī*),⁴ in the course of which he visited the principal feudatories and in particular won over the chiefs of the forest regions (*aṭaviya-sāmantāḥ*) to his cause. The second expedition was conducted under the personal guidance of Rāmapāla joined by his trusted ally and relation, Mathanadeva, his sons *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Kāhnuradeva and Suvarṇadeva, his nephew Sivaraja,⁵ and a whole host of feudatory chiefs who helped him unstintedly with money and

¹ Com. on I. 49, 50.

² Com. on I. 48.

³ Com. on I. 42; cf. I. 23.

⁴ Com. on I. 43, 44.

⁵ Com. on II. 8. Suvarṇadeva was taken by H. P. Sāstri as Mathana's brother. R. G. Basak holds that he was his nephew. See IHQ, 1939, pp. 44-45. Sāstri's interpretation may be right, as the epithet is *bhrātrīya*, applied to Sivarāja, comes next to Suvarṇadeva.

contingents of forces. Rāmapāla's *Sāmāntachakra*,¹ which stood by his side on this occasion, was constituted by the following : (1) Bhīmayaśāḥ of Pīṭhī (*Magadhādhipatiḥ Pīṭhipatiḥ*),² (2) Vīraguṇa of the Koṭa forest, the supreme ruler of the south (*Koṭāṭavī-kaṇṭhīravo dakṣiṇī-sinhāsana-chakravartī Vīraguṇo nāma...*), (3) Jayasīmha, the prince of Daṇḍa-bhutki, (4) Vikramarāja of Devagrāma and the country surrounding it, washed by the waves of the rivers of Bālavalabhī [*Devagrāma-pratibaddha-vasudhā-chakravāla-Bālabalabhī(bhi)-taraṅga-rahala...*], (5) Lakshmīśura, the ruler of *Apara-Mandāra* and lord of all the forest feudatories (*Apara-Mandāra Madhusūdanaḥ = samast-āṭavika-Sāmānta-chakra-chūḍāmaṇi...*), (6) Sūrapāla of Kujavaṭī, (7) Rudraśekhara of Tailakāmpa, (8) Mayagalaśīmha of Uchchhāla, (9) Pratāpasīmha of *Ḍekkarīya*, (10) Narasiṁhārjjuna of Kayaṅgala [*pravardhito(ko)-deśa-kosh = ādi-prasādēna sphīṭikṛitaḥ...Kayaṅgaliya-maṇḍal-ādhipatiḥ...*], (11) Chaṇḍārjjuna of Saṅkaṭagrāma (*Saṅkaṭagrāmiya*)..., (12) Vijaya of Nidrābala (*Vijaya rājō...*), (13) Dvoraṇapavardhana of Kauśāmbī, (14) Soma of Paduānvā (*Paduānvā-pratibaddha-maṇḍal = āpratirallubha*). This list is not to be regarded as exhaustive; it mentions only the more prominent of the feudatories and omits the lesser lights (*apare cha sāmāntāḥ*). In one respect it is an interesting study. It shows how under an imperial system the country was normally divided into a number of principalities, strong enough to declare themselves independent when the central government became unable to exercise an effective control over them. Some of the feudatories mentioned in the *Rāmacharita* were apparently endowed with considerable power and resources. They could even engage themselves in battles on their own account. The credit of having defeated an army of Kānyakubja is conferred, for instance, on Bhīmayaśāḥ, the lord of Pīṭhī, who may have been either Devarakṣita himself, once conquered by Rāmapāla's maternal uncle, or his successor

¹ Com. on II. 5-6.

² *Ibid.* See also, Com. on II. 8.

(*Kānyakubja-rāja-vāji-nīganṭhana-bhujāṅgo...*). It is difficult to identify the Kānauj ruler who was subdued by this chief.¹ Another name in the list that specially invites attention is that of Jayasimha of Daṇḍa-*bhukti*, who is stated to have destroyed the army of the Utkala king, Karṇa-Keśari (*Utkaleśa-Karṇa-Keśari-sarid = vallabhō*).² He enjoyed the position of the *Chakravarti* in the South. There is no doubt that Rāmapāla had taken particular care to assure himself of the support of this Vīraguṇa and also of Lakshmīśura, the lord of *Apara-Mandāra*, during his diplomatic tour, when he is said to have appealed for help to the chiefs of the forest regions. The financial resources at the disposal of the lord of Kaṇḍāla as well as the bulk and prosperity of his principality have been specially noticed in the account. The reference to Śūrapāla at once arrests our notice. It cannot be proved if he was the same as Rāmapāla's brother of this name, who may have been forced to part with the throne in exchange for a dependent chiefship under the more ambitious scion of his family. The

¹ In *Bāṅglār Itihās* (p. 284) R. D. Banerji suggests his identity with Yaśaḥkarṇa (a.c. c. 1078 A.D.), who attacked Champāraṇya (modern Champaran in the north-western part of Bihār). But the Bheraghāt insc. evidently credits him with some success in this undertaking (Champāraṇya-vidāraṇ = odgata-yaśaḥ subhrāmsunā). Jayaswal thinks that Bhīma-yaśaḥ fought against Nānyadeva, the founder of the Karṇāṭaka dynasty of Mithila (A.D. 1097). See JBORS, Vol. IX, p. 301. It would be safe to conclude that he was a Gāhaḍavāla King. The Gāhaḍavālas who founded their dynasty in Kānauj in the latter part of the eleventh century subsequently occupied portions of Bihār. It is quite possible that an attempt was made to extend their power into this province, which was checked by Bhīmayāśaḥ.

² RC. Com. on II. 5. N. Vasu identifies Koṭājavī with the Koṭ-des comprised in Sarkar Kaṭak (in Orissa) of the A'in-i-Akbarī. See Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 144; Rājanya-Kāṇḍa, p. 191. It is doubtful, however, if Rāmapāla's authority extended into Orissa during this period of his reign. For the identification of the Chiefships mentioned in the RC. Com., which can be located in Bengal with more or less certainty, see *supra*, Geographical chapters. Among the rest of the principalities, Dekkariya has been identified by H. P. Sāstri with Dhakur 'on the other side of the river Ajaya in the Burdwan district.' See MASE, Vol. III, No. I, p. 14. Nidrāvala is placed by some in Western Bengal on the ground that its ruler Vijayarāja may have been the same as Vijayasena, whose ancestors are known to have lived in Rājya, but the identity of Vijayarāja with Vijayasena is a mere guess. H. P. Sāstri identifies Tailakampa with Telkup in the Mānbbhām district in Bihār. See MASE, Vol. III, p. 14. These identifications seem to be based more on similarity of names than on any definite historical data. See Ind. Ant., 1920, p. 175; JDL., Vol. XVI, App. D, pp. 80-82.

epithet “*Gauḍa-garva-gahana-dahana-dāvānalaḥ*,” applied to Rudraśekhara, the master of Tailakampa, should mean that he had been on unfriendly terms with Gauḍa. A former conflict between Rudraśekhara and the Kaivartas is probable, but the reading of “*Gauḍa*” (*Gaṇḍa* ?) in the above passage is not certain. From the mention of the chief of Kauśāmbī (in the Rājshāhi district) as a feudatory of Rāmapāla, the inference may be drawn that perhaps the whole of Varendrī had not passed under the control of the Kaivartas. One comment may be allowed on the general composition of the forces arrayed against the enemy. The unity of action that pervaded the enterprise organised by Rāmapāla may have been encouraged by the necessity of resisting a movement that was probably regarded by the constituent members of the confederacy as a new kind of menace to the safety of established government. In common interest it was to be suppressed before it could make further headway.

The details of the campaign can be gathered from the *Rāma-charitā* and its commentary. Rāmapāla crossed the Bhāgīrathī¹ by a bridge of boats. A decisive stage in the conflict was reached when he captured the Kaivarta leader, Bhīma,² while the latter was occupied in guiding the movements of his soldiers from the back of an elephant. The instant effect of this feat was seen in the retreat of the hostile forces (*Bhīmasya vikaṭo ramañīyaḥ kṛtakāḥ skandāvārah...palayāmbabhūvuh*). An effort was subsequently made by his friend Hari.³ Bhīma had in the meanwhile been put in the charge of Vittapāla.⁴ The new general, too, was captured and imprisoned. Both Hari and Bhīma were afterwards put to death.⁵ The soldiers of the Kaivarta⁶ army may have taken

¹ RC. Com. on II. 10 (*mahā-vāhinyāṁ Gaṅgāyāṁ tarāṇisambhavanaḥ naakāmelakāṇa*).

² *Ibid.* on II. 17, 29.

³ MASS, III, p. 14; RC. Com. on II. 39.

⁴ Com. on II. 36.

⁵ Bhīma's death is definitely known from the Kamauli insc. of Vaidyadeva—“*Kaṣoṇī-nāyaka-Bhīma*,” “*Bhīmavadhādy-śaṣaḥ*.” Regarding Hari, see MASS, III, p. 14; cf. RC. Com. on II. 49.

⁶ MASS, V, p. 91.

service under the Pāla king, whose sway returned to the territory once held by his forefathers [*paṭra (patya) bhūmir-Varendrī*].¹ The Kamauli Plate of Vaidyadeva pays a glowing tribute to Rāmapāla for his success in the Kaivarta struggle. It has been said in this inscription that his fame was established in 'the three worlds' when he 'crossed the ocean of war' and succeeded in gaining back his ancestral kingdom, having killed his *Rāvaṇa*-like enemy, the *Kṣhoṇī-nāyaka Bhīma*. Rāmapāla founded a new capital which he named Rāmavati after him at the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatoyā.² The site of this town was suggested to him by Chanḍeśvara and Kṣhemeśvara.³

On the accomplishment of the difficult task of the recovery of Varendrī, Rāmapāla was encouraged to undertake expeditions abroad. He extended his authority to the sea-coast of Orissa, including Kalinga '*(sa riśāla-śaila-mali-tālī-baddham = ambudhiṃ sākshāt | api pūrttaṃ puṣhkarīṇibhūtaṃ rachayāmbabhūva bhū-pālaḥ ||)*'.⁴ It is to be noted in this connection that a Varman king ruling in the east (*prāg-diśīyena*) is mentioned in a verse of the *Rāmacharita* to have rendered homage to him for the sake of his own safety (*svaparitrāṇa-nimittam*) and presented him with the best elephant he possessed, together with his own chariot (*vara-vāraṇena cha nija-syandana-dānena Varmanḥ = ārādhe*).⁵ This king who surrendered to Rāmapāla seems to have been the same as the lord of Utkala, the land of the Nāgas, referred to in the same verse.⁷ If so, the Varman was reinstated in his position when he had submitted to the Pāla

¹ *Ibid.*, on II, 38.

² See *supra*, Pt. I, Chap. III; RC, III. 10, 48.

³ *Ibid.*, III. 2.

⁴ III. 42, 45.

⁵ III. 42.

⁶ III. 44.

⁷ V. 45. Bhava-bhūṣaṇa-santati-bhuvam = anujagrāha jitam = Utkalagrāh yab | Jagad-
= avatisma samastam Kalingastat = tān nistachārān nigbhan ||

king's authority.¹ He was probably the son and successor of King Harivarman, the donor of a grant from Vikramapura. His political impotence may be understood from the fact that the Bhuvaneśvar inscription of his minister Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva does not even mention his name, although no such reticence is observed in the case of his father Harivarman. Another noteworthy event in Rāmapāla's reign was the conquest of Kāmarūpa,² achieved by one of his officers. Thus once again the Pāla empire was almost restored to its former shape, comprising most of Bengal, Orissa, Kāmarūpa, Kalinga and Magadha. Records of the second, fifteenth and forty-second years of his reign are available. An inscription,³ dated in the second year of his government, is found engraved on the pedestal of a stone image of the Buddhist goddess Tārā from Bihār (*Rājā Śrī-Rāmapāladeva Sambat 2 Vaiśākha-dine*). A MS. of the *Aṣṭa-sahasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*⁴ was copied in Magadha-*vishaya* in the fifteenth year of his reign, and on an image of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi, recovered from Chandimau, near Bargaon (ancient Nālandā), is incised an inscription which⁵ probably belongs to his 42nd year. According to Tāranāth he ruled for 45 years. If the date as read by R. D. Banerji in the Chandimau image inscription is correct, it will be seen that he reigned for a period of at least 42 years.

The career of Rāmapāla is unusually interesting in certain respects. Imprisoned by his brother during early youth and restored to liberty probably after the latter's tragic death, he ultimately walked up to the throne having triumphed

¹ R. D. Banerji says that Rāmapāla restored the kingdom to the Nāgavaṃśa but from the fact that the Varman king has been mentioned in the preceding verse, it is most likely that Rāmapāla patronised him.

² RC, III. 47 : jita-Kāmarūp = ādi-vishaya-nivṛttaḥ.

³ CASR, Vol. III, p. 124 ; JASB, NS, Vol. IV, pp. 108-09.

⁴ Cat. of Sansk. MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Vol. II, p. 260, No. 1498 ; JASB, 1900, Pt. 1, p. 100.

⁵ CASR, XI, p. 169. Cunningham read the date to be the 12th year, but R. D. Banerji's correction has been accepted above. See JASB, Vol. V, pp. 98-94.

over a complicated domestic situation. His brother Sūrapāla, who seems to have been his associate in a serious palace-revolution and who ascended the throne on Mahipāla's decease, quickly disappeared to make room for him. If he had any hand in the removal of Sūrapāla from the path of his ambition, which seems almost certain, no opposition against this act was allowed. His biographer, Sandhyākara Nandī, has not a word to say about it. He was fortunate in being able to secure the active co-operation of Mathanadeva, his nephew, brother and son, all of whom stood loyally by him. His son, Rājyapāla, accompanied him on his expedition against the Kaivartas. Bodhideva, whose father Yogadeva had served under Vigrhapāla III (*Sachivaśāstra-vittamaḥ*—v. 3, Kamauli grant), was his minister. There is no doubt that their assistance was of considerable use to him in the furtherance of his ambitious projects, but above all he had a personality which could fuse the scattered resources of a decadent empire into a unified body of opposition against his enemy. His undertakings seem to have been preceded by careful preparations. If the recovery of Gauḍa was the central achievement of his reign, the defeat of Devarakshita, his deliberations with ministers, his tour throughout the empire and appeal for help in connection with an impending struggle—all these will appear in their true perspective as forming necessary stages in the conscious preparation for a great ordeal. The foundation of a new capital in Gauḍa in the neighbourhood of his enemy's stronghold was in fact due to a stroke of policy that appreciated the necessity of bringing the convulsed area into a closer touch with his strong government. He was the last of his dynasty to represent its spirit of imperial expansion and conquest. But perhaps in the concluding years of his reign he had a foretaste of the coming dissolution of the empire. The *Rāmacharita* informs us that before his death he passed his time in retirement,¹ leaving the administration of his empire in the hands of a son. There is

¹ IV. I (*Śōnu-samarpa-śāye Rāmaḥ*).

some reason to suppose that his withdrawal was not voluntary but forced by imprisonment. The subject will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. His end was not happy. If the story related in the *Rāmācharita* is to be believed, he committed suicide by drowning, being unable to bear the news of the death of his uncle, Mathanadeva.¹ It may not be correct to suppose that Rāmāpāla's career was throughout a record of military successes. Unpalatable details of his life may have been deliberately omitted from his biography as shown in the case of his later relationship with Sūrapāla. According to our chronological scheme he died about 1109 A.D.²

Rāmāpāla was a middle-aged man when he led his historic campaign against the Kaivartas. His son, Rājyapāla, must have been sufficiently advanced in age at the time to have been able to prove helpful to him on the occasion. But none of the available sources refer to Rājyapāla as his successor. He had at least two more sons,³ viz., Kumārapāla and Madanapāla, the first of whom is known to have immediately succeeded him "in the enjoyment of his imperial position." (*Rāma-narendrasya sāmrajya-lakshmi-jushaḥ-prakhyātasya*—v. 9, Kamauli grant.) There is no record of his reign except perhaps the Kamauli grant of his former minister, Vaidyadeva, the son of Rāmāpāla's

¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 8, 10.

² In fixing the date of Rāmāpāla's death an undue importance is sometimes attached to a passage contained in a work called *Sekasubhodayā*, which professes to be a narrative of the life of a Muslim saint who is said to have come to Bengal during the reign of Lakshmapāna in the 12th century. The book has been recently published with editorial notes by Sukumar Sen and a Foreword by Dr. Sanitikumar Chatterjee. The passage (see GRM, Intro, p. 9; *Sāhitya*, 1901 BS., pp. 3-10) in question is a mutilated verse which gives the date of Rāmāpāla's death. The reading of the passage is so uncertain that it seems no definite conclusion can be arrived at. D. C. Bhattacharyya took the date as equivalent to 1111 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, 1920, p. 192), but subsequently changed it to S. 1043 or A.D. 1120, *IHQ*, 1927, p. 593). It is to be noted, however, that at the end of the verse, mentioned above, the numerals 929 are put in, corresponding to 1000 A.D., which it would be absurd to accept as the date of Rāmāpāla's death. The work is considered to be a literary forgery. Dr. Chatterjee holds that it is not later than the 16th century (B. D. Banerji, *JBOR*, 1928, p. 529).

³ The existence of more than one son besides Rājyapāla is also indicated in the RC. Com on I. 93: *yair-ābandamāḥ putrāḥ Rājyapālādibhiḥ teshām...*

adviser Bodhideva by his wife *Pratāpadevī*. This inscription records two important events of his reign. The first was a naval battle in Southern Bengal, in which Kumārapāla was helped by his minister Vaidyadeva. To judge from the vivid though brief description given of it in the Kamauli Plates, it appears to have been a close fight involving the employment of a large naval force on the part of the Pāla monarch (*Yasy = ānuttara-Vaṅga-saṅgara-jaye nau-rāṭa-hīhīrara-trastair-dāik-karibhiś = chayan = achalitam chenn = āsti tad-gamyabhūh*—v. 11). As there is no mention of the enemy against whom this battle was fought, there seems to be no alternative but to attempt a reasonable guess. It is probable that this event was preceded by an invasion of Bengal by Chodagaṅga,¹ the lord of Utkala (c. 1076-1147 A.D.), as recorded in the Kendupatnā inscription of Narasimhadeva II. He is said to have exacted tribute from the people living on the banks of the Ganges (v. 22) and compelled the ruler of Mandāra to flee for the safety of his life, (v. 30). We have already seen that during the reign of Rāmapāla a Sūra prince was the master of *Apara* (western)-Mandāra. It may be presumed that the territory of Mandāra attacked by the Utkala king was not distinct from the principality of *Apara*-Mandāra which flourished in the time of Rāmapāla. A fatal blow thus appears to have been struck at the power of the Sūra family by Chodagaṅga's violent raid. There is no evidence to suggest that the Utkala king's invasion brought him into direct contact with the Pālas and that he suffered a defeat at their hands. The political condition of the region along the western side of the Bhāgīrathi was disturbed as a result of his successful inroad, full advantage of which may have been taken by Vijayasena of the Karnaṭa-Kshatriya family, already settled in Rāḍha, for the consolidation of his position.² He may have next prepared himself for an attack on the Pāla territory of

¹ JASB, 1896, p. 289.

² See *infra*, Chap. XI.

Northern Bengal, but Kumārapāla, as the evidence of the Kamauli Plates shows, succeeded in checking his enemy by a naval victory along the southern course of the Bhāgīrathi.

The other incident noted in the Kamauli inscription is the revolt of Timgyadeva, the subordinate chief of Kāmarūpa, which had been brought under the sway of Gauḍa during Rāmapala's reign. Though treated with respect (*Satkṛitasya*—v. 13) he began to show disaffection towards the imperial throne. When the news of his rebellion reached his ear, the *Gauḍeśvara* Kumārapāla appointed the renowned Vaidyadeva, who had proved his ability in the recent campaign in Southern Bengal, to take the place of Timgyadeva who ruled in the east [*Etādriśe (śo) Hari-hiriḥ-bhūri sat-kṛitsayaḥ Śrī-Timgyadeva-nripater = evikṛitiṁ niśamya* | *Gauḍeśvareṇa bhūri tasya nareśvaratve Śrī-Vaidyadeva urakīrttir = ayaṁ niyuktaḥ*—v. 13]. The minister acquitted himself well in the discharge of the task imposed upon him. He defeated the rebel prince in battle and established himself securely as the lord of Kāmarūpa (*tam = avanipatim jīvā yuddhe babhūva mahīpati*—v. 14). From the evidence of v. 13 of the Kamauli inscription, it is clear that the source of Vaidyadeva's authority in Kāmarūpa was an imperial commission. It is difficult to say if the office conferred on him was compatible with his assumption of complete independence as is indicated by the bestowal of the usual paramount titles of *paramēśvara*, *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirāja* on him in ll. 47-48 of the inscription. If he had attempted to break away from the imperial control of Gauḍa when Kumārapāla was still on the throne, he would have been guilty of repeating the policy of Timgyadeva, whom he had been delegated by his master to replace. But as Vaidyadeva enjoyed the confidence of Kumārapāla, the latter may have waived at his independence. In that case the year 4 mentioned in the Kamauli Plates,¹ although

¹ B. C. Majumdar believes that the Kamauli grant was issued during Kumārapāla's reign, see JASB, (N.S.), XVIII, 1921, p. 3, n. R. D. Banerji thinks that this is absurd, JBORS, 1922, pp. 529, 530.

apparently belonging to Vaidyadeva's independent reign, may have fallen within the period of Kumārapāla's rule. But it is more likely that Vaidyadeva became independent immediately after the death of Kumārapāla whom he had loyally served. From astronomical calculations Venis arrived at the conclusion that the year 4 of the Kamauli inscription might have corresponded to one of the following dates: A.D. 1077, 1096, 1115, 1123, 1134, 1142, 1161.¹ D. C. Bhattacharya² suggests two other possible equivalents, viz., A.D. 1100 and 1119. Of these dates, A.D. 1115, though rejected by Venis, nearly corresponds, according to our chronological arrangement, to the end of Kumārapāla's reign. We have no definite evidence to show how long Kumārapāla ruled. A period of about four or five years may be assigned to this monarch.³ Kumārapāla was succeeded by his son, Gopāla III. His Māṇḍā inscription (in the Rājshāhi district)⁴ is believed by some to be a posthumous record. But the text is so obscure that no definite conclusion on the point can be arrived at. The evidence of the *Rāmacharita* may be interpreted to mean that he was secretly put to death.⁵ The Manahali grant of Madanapāla, which describes the sports of Gopāla during his infancy, seems to lend support to the view that he died early.⁶ He was succeeded by his uncle, Madanapāla,⁷ Rāmapāla's youngest son by his queen Madanadevī, who may have killed his nephew for securing the throne for himself. Madanapāla's wife (*Paṭṭamahādevī*) was called Chitramatikā.⁸ The Manahali grant

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 349.

² IHQ, III, p. 581.

³ That Kumārapāla had a short reign may be surmised from the fact that only one verse is devoted to him in the RC., IV.11. (...rājyam = upabhujya bharyasya sūnur = agamad = divap tano-tyāgāt).

⁴ MASE., V. p. 102; GLM, p. 168, fn.; SPP. Vol. X, p. 155.

⁵ RC. IV. 12; Bāṅglār Itihās, p. 311.

⁶ 'Kriḍā-pāṭala-pāṇir = esha sushuve Gopalam = śrīvī-bhujam | Dhātṛ-pālana-j-rimbha-māna-mahimā—v. 17.

⁷ Tāḍ-mana Madanadevī-nandanatobhādra-gauraiś-charita-bhuvanagarbhah pramēbbhīh kirtipālān Madanapāla Rāmapāl = ātmajanma—v. 18.

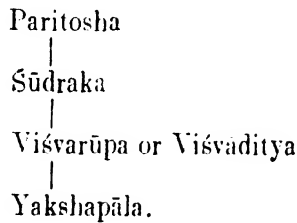
⁸ L. 45, Manahali grant.

which was issued from the victorious camp at Rāmāvatī, the new Gauḍa capital founded by his father (*Śrī-Rāmāvatī-nagara-parisara-sam = āvāsita-Śrīmaj-jayaskandhāvārāt samvat*) in his eighth year, is invested with some importance, being the last of the Pāla records connected with Bengal. In all probability the dynasty came to a close with Madanapāla. Though there is no evidence of his rule in Gauḍa after his eighth year, it lingered in the eastern part of Bihār for about another decade more, as may be inferred from an inscription dated in the 19th year of his reign, which was found at Jaynagar near Lakshmīsarai in the Monghyr district.¹ In Gauḍa the Pālas were followed by the Karṇāṭa-Kshatriyas shortly after Madanapāla's eighth year, while there is no proof to show that their authority continued in Bihār after the 19th year of his reign. The history of the circumstances that culminated in the establishment of the Karṇāṭa-Kshatriyas as the arbiter of Gauḍa's political destiny will be told in the next chapter, but we may refer here to certain ambitious chiefs who seem to have availed themselves of the opportunity, furnished by the decadence of the suzerain power, in building up independent principalities in Bihār. Inscriptions have brought to light the existence of certain rulers connected with Bihār, whose names end with "Pāla," viz., Yakṣapāla, Palapāla and Govindapāla. Of these, Govindapāla may be left out of consideration for the present, as he flourished in a later period, in the second half of the twelfth century. There is no evidence whatsoever, on the strength of which it may be supposed that they were related to the Pāla dynasty. Besides the rulers mentioned above, the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj, too, extended their political influence into Bihār, which also witnessed for a while the rule of the obscure Māna princes of the Hazaribagh district. Their activities may be briefly reviewed here.

Sometime in the eleventh century a small principality was established in the western part of the province of Bihār, the

¹ CASR, III, p. 125, No. 17. There is another record of his reign from Bihār, dated in the third year. See *ibid.*, p. 124, No. 18.

history of which may be compiled from several epigraphical records, *viz.*, the Kṛishṇadvārikā Temple inscription of Viśvāditya,¹ dated in the fifteenth year of Nayapāla, an inscription of Viśvarūpa found inside the Narasimha temple in the Viśṇupāda compound, which also bears the same date² another inscription of Viśvarūpa,³ engraved on the wall of a small shrine near the Akshayavāṭa at Gayā, dated in the fifth year of Vigrabapāla III, and the undated Gayā inscription of Yakshapāla.⁴ The family with which these different records seem to be connected traces its descent from one Paritosha, a Brahmin of low origin, whose name is probably supplied by another source, a small inscription engraved on the stone below the image of Gadādhara at Gayā.⁵ Paritosha's son was Śūdraka. He was succeeded by his son, who is called Viśvāditya in the Kṛishṇadvārikā inscription, but whose name is given as Viśvarūpa in the remaining records. The latter's son was Yakshapāla, who is known from his own inscription at Gayā. The genealogy of his family may be represented as follows :—



Their sphere of influence lay in Gayā and its neighbourhood. Yakshapāla's inscription begins with a poetical reference to this place and its river Phalgu. Śūdraka probably began his career as a military officer under the Pālas and was entrusted with the

¹ JASB, 1900, Pt I, p. 190 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 191, f.n. on pp. 191-92; ASI, 1902-03, pp. 66-67; MASB, Vol. V, pp. 77-79.

³ CASR, Vol. III, pp. 182-83; MASB, Vol. V, pp. 80-82.

⁴ Ind. Ant., XVI, p. 64; MASB, V, pp. 96-97.

⁵ ASI, Eastern Circle, 1901-02, p. 2; MASB, V, pp. 82-83.

government of the Gayā district (*Asyām bubhūva...Gay = eyam paripālita*). He is said to have possessed unblemished bravery and received the homage of the *Gauḍeśvara* in a manner that was worthy of a prince (*S = oyam-apūjayad = Indra-kalpo Gauḍeśvaro*—Gayā inscription of Yakshapāla). The identity of the *Gauḍeśvaro* whose patronage he enjoyed may be determined from some internal data. In the Narasimha temple inscription of his son, Viśvarūpa, he is mentioned to have governed Gayā for a considerable time (*suchiram*). Secondly, the inscription of his son shows that he flourished during the consecutive reigns of Naya-pāla and Vigrabapāla III. It may, therefore, be concluded that his father, Śūdraka, lived in the latter part of Mahipāla I's reign, which, as we have already seen, extended over half a century. Śūdraka may thus be placed in the first quarter of the 11th century A.D. During the time of Viśvarūpa the connection of the family with the Pāla dynasty was not broken off. He acknowledged the supremacy of the Pāla kings, Nayapāla and Vigrabapāla, as his inscriptions are dated in their successive reigns. According to Yakshapāla's inscription, *nṛipa* Viśvarūpa was "an ocean of wonderful manliness" (*adbhuta-paurusham buddhir = abhūt*). The *Kṛishṇadvārikā Praśasti* (*nirukti*) composed by his admirer, the *Vājivaidya* Sahadeva, states that his inscrutable policy caused confusion among enemies (*durnnayasya nayasya vidrishām...ākulāni kulāni...*). He was a builder of numerous temples and a patron of the Brahmin caste at whose disposal he placed the wealth of the enemy appropriated by the strength of his arms. Viśvarūpa's son, Yakshapāla, was no doubt a contemporary of Rāmapāla, but it is noteworthy that there is no mention of the Pāla king's name in his Gayā inscriptions. The question whether he declared himself independent cannot be definitely answered. His name does not occur in the list of the feudatories who joined the Pāla emperor during the famous Gauḍa expedition of his reign. If he was a contemporary of Rāmapāla, what were his relationships with the *Piṭhī-pati* Devarakshita of the Chbikkora family, Bhimayaśāḥ and Mahana-

deva, the ruler of Aṅga? Was he only a prince of some minor rank not deserving to be noticed by the author of the *Rāma-charita*? Tāranāth refers to a Yakshapāla, son of Rāmapāla and grandson of Hastipāla.¹ It is impossible to regard Yakshapāla of the Gayā inscription as a son of Rāmapāla, since he is shown to have belonged to a different family.

From Jaynagar in the Monghyr district has come an inscription dated in the 35th year of the reign of an otherwise unknown king named Palapāla.² The evidence of palæography places him in the 12th century A.D. The assumption that he may have been a scion of the Pāla dynasty is based on the fact that his name ends with 'Pāla,' but the case of Yakshapāla should warn us against drawing a hasty conclusion from the mere evidence of names. If he was a member of the Pāla dynasty, his connection with Madanapāla is not known. It may be remembered that a record of the 19th year of Madanapāla's reign was found at Jaynagar—the same place which has supplied us with the inscription of the reign of Palapāla, mentioned above. It is, therefore, quite likely that Palapāla succeeded Madanapāla in the Monghyr district after the 19th year of the latter's reign. It is not, however, necessary to suppose from the evidence of his Jaynagar inscription that Palapāla's reign commenced from the date of his occupation of this region. But if the title '*Gauḍeśvara*' has any meaning, it must be concluded that he held the political control of the

¹ Ind. Ant., IV, p. 366.

² CASR, III, No. 33, Pl. XLV; JBORS, 1929, pp. 489, 494, and Plate. According to R. D. Banerji Palapāla may have been a Pāla king. See *ibid.* He believes that he ruled in Eastern Magadha only. But that does not explain why he assumed the title of Gauḍeśvara. In his chronology of the Pālas (see *ibid.*) he places Madanapāla c. 1104-26, and Palapāla c. 1126-61. But the Lār Plates of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra prove that he was residing at Madgagiri (Monghyr) in V.S. 1203=1146 A.D. Palapāla's rule must have ended before this date. R. C. Majumdar contests the reading 'Gauḍeśvara' in the Jaynagar ins. See JBORS, 1929, p. 649. He thinks that 'Gai' instead of 'Gau' is possible. But on a reference to the Plate in JBORS, 1928 (Plate facing p. 489), we find that the reading 'Gau' can be supported.

northern part of Bengal in the 35th year of his reign. It seems that his career as a ruler began somewhere else than Eastern Bihār, which he probably occupied later in his life. In the circumstances two alternative theories may be advanced. Either, Palapāla took possession of Gauḍa from Madanapāla some time after the eighth year of the latter's reign, when he was still its master as the Manahali grant shows, or Madanapāla continued to rule Gauḍa as well as Eastern Bihār till his 19th year, when Palapāla, whose career had already started elsewhere, succeeded in establishing his authority in these territories. We cannot say where he came from, but the period assigned to him on palæographical grounds, shows that Yakshapāla of Gayā may have been his earlier contemporary. He may have originally been Yakshapāla's successor in Gayā, but about this there is no evidence at all. According to the chronological scheme followed by us, Madanapāla's eighth year would correspond to about 1123 A.D. The Senas, as will be seen in the next chapter, conquered Gauḍa about 1114 A.D. Whichever of the two theories suggested above may be considered reasonable, the chronological plan is not in conflict with the probability of a few years' reign that may be attributed to Palapāla as a *Gauḍeśvara*. In any case it is difficult to hold that his reign commenced after the 19th year of Madanapāla (c. 1134 A.D.). This would mean that he ruled Gauḍa till about 1169 A.D., which is not possible as the Senas must have occupied Gauḍa by that time. Besides, as the Lār Plates¹ of the Gāhaḍavāla monarch Govindachandra prove that he was staying at Mudgagiri (Monghyr) in 1146 A.D., Palapāla's reign must have come to an end by that date.

The family of Yakshapāla may have latterly found a rival to their power in the Māna princes whose names are available from the Govindapur inscription (S. 1059) of the poet Gaṅgādhara.²

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 98.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 330-42.

This inscription records the history of Gaṅgādhara's family which came into contact with the Māna rulers of Magadha. In the Sanskrit anthology, *Saduktikarnāmṛita*, compiled in 1205 A.D., are to be found verses of six poets bearing the names of the six of Maga Brahmins, mentioned in this inscription. The author of the inscription traces his genealogy from Dāmodara, whose son was Chakrapāṇi. He had two sons, Manoratha and Daśaratha, who are said to have been treated with kindness by contemporary princes (*narendraiḥ sapremabhiḥ*). Varṇamāna, the Māna king (*nariśvara*) of Magadha, appointed Manoratha as a *Pratihara* and his brother to the post of a Superintendent. Manoratha's son, Gaṅgādhara, served under Rudramāna, who was most probably Varṇamāna's son. The origin of the Mānas can be carried back to a much earlier period. The Dudhpāṇi Rock (in the Hāzāribāgh district) ¹ inscription, written in characters of the 8th century A.D., preserve interesting details regarding three brothers, Udayamāna, Śrīdhautamāna and Ajitamāna, who went on business of trade from Ayodhyā to Tāmralipti. On their way back home they stopped at a village called Bhramaraśālmali, which belonged to king Ādisiniha of Magadha (vv. 4-5). Udayamāna became a favourite of Ādisiniha who bestowed a charter (*Śrīpatṭa*) on him. The people too were highly pleased with him and with the approval of the King made him their *rājā*. Subsequently, at the request of the inhabitants of two other villages, Nabhūtishanḍaka and Chhīṅgalā (vv. 20-23) he himself placed his two brothers, Ajitamāna and Śrīdhautamāna, at the head of their affairs, who were, of course, required to act in subordination to him. The Mānas, whose history thus began in the district of Hazaribagh are never heard of again till after about three centuries or more, when the find-place of the Govindapur inscription associates them with the western part of the Gayā district. Rudramāna, under whom the author of the inscription served, has

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 345-47.

been credited with having recovered his realm from the hands of his adversaries (v. 24). Gaṅgādhara appears to have been described as a magician in battle. It is likely that the Mānas in their attempt to advance northwards came into collision with Yakshapāla's family. As Rudramāna seems to have been alive in A.D. 1137, the date of the Govindapur inscription, it may not be wrong to suppose that his predecessor, Varṇamāna, was ruling c. A.D. 1100. It seems that the Mānas were on friendly terms with the Pālas. Gaṅgādhara, who held service under Rudramāna, married Pāsādevī, the daughter of the Ādhikārika (Superintendent?) Jayapāṇi who was a friend of the Gauḍa king (*Gauḍarāja-suhṛida*...). He is probably to be identified either with Kumārapāla or his brother, Madanapāla. While this scramble for power was going on among pretty princes with the collapse of the central government, the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj took the opportunity of extending their authority into the province. The Maner Plates¹ show that the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra succeeded in penetrating as far east as Patna by A.D. 1126 (V.S. 1183). His Lār Plates dated in V.S. 1202 (1146 A.D.) state that he was residing at Mudgagiri in that year.² It may be remembered in this connection that one of his queens was Kumaradevī, the daughter of Devarakshita of Pīṭhī, son-in-law of Rāmapāla's uncle, Mathanadeva. In A.D. 1146 he is again found making a grant of land from Mudgagiri (Monghyr).

¹ JASB., N. S., 1923, p. 81 ff.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 92.

CHAPTER XI

THE SENA RULERS OF BENGAL

The epigraphical records of the Senas. The origin of the dynasty. Their activities in the South. Contact with Bengal. Foundation of an independent dynasty. Chodagaṅga's invasion. Vijayasena—his date and conquests. Rāmapāla imprisoned (?). The final capture of Gauḍa. Vallālasena—his marriage with a Chālukya princess. His date. Lakshmapasena—his conquests. The Lakshmapasena era. Lakshmapasena's sons. Conflict with the Muhammadans. Desertion of Nudā. The Muhammadan Conquest.

The Senas, a band of political adventurers from the South, took advantage of the decline of the Pāla dynasty in founding an independent state in Bengal in the eleventh century, which developed into a considerably large empire and was ultimately overthrown by the Muhammadans.

An intelligible idea regarding their origin and the expansion of their power can be formed from their own records which may be enumerated under the following groups arranged chronologically :

A. Inscriptions of the reign of Vijayasena :

- (a) The undated Deopārā *praśasti*.¹
- (b) The Barrackpur grant dated in the year 62.²
- (c) The Paikora Image-inscription.³

B. An inscription of the reign of Vallālasena :

- (a) The Naihāti or Sitāhāti copper-plate dated in the year 11⁴

¹ Kielborn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 305ff; *IB.*, p. 42ff.

² R. D. Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 278ff; R. G. Basak, *Sāhitya*, B.S. 1326, p. 81ff; *B.*, p. 57ff.

³ *AS.*, 1921-22, pp. 78-79; *IB.*, p. 168.

⁴ *SPP.*, Vol. XVII, p. 261ff; R.D. Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 195-95; *IB.*, p. 60ff.

C. The inscriptions of Lakshmanasena :

(a) The Govindapur (a village in the district of 24-Parganas) copper-plate, dated in the year 2.¹

(b) The Ānuliā (a village near Rānāghat in the Nadia district) copper-plate, dated in the year 3.²

(c) The Tarpandighi (in the Dinājpur district), dated in the year 3.³

(d) The Mādhāinagar (in the Serajganj subdivision of the Pabnā district) grant,⁴ belonging to the first anniversary of the principal coronation (?—*Pūrvaka-mūl-ābhishekaḥ*).

(e) The Dacca image-inscription, dated in the year 3.⁵

(f) The Saktipur (a village in the Sadar subdivision of the Murshidābād district) copper-plate, dated in the 6th year.⁶

(g) The Bhowāl (in the Dacca district) copper-plate, dated in the year 27 (?).⁷

¹ A. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Bhāratavarsha*, 1332 B.S., pp. 441-45, with Plates; IB., pp. 92-98.

² JASB., LXIX (1900), Pt. 1, pp. 61-65; IB., pp. 81-91.

³ Westmacott, JASB., XLIV (1875), Pt. 1, p. 1ff; R. D. Banerji, SPP., Vol. XVII, p. 135ff with Plates; Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 60 with Plates; IB., pp. 99-105.

⁴ R. D. Banerji, JASB. (N.S.), Vol. V (1909), p. 467ff and Plates; IB., pp. 106-15.

⁵ R. D. Banerji, JASB. (N.S.), Vol. IX (1913), pp. 289-90; IB., pp. 116-17.

⁶ R. Basu, SPP., XXXVII, p. 216ff (Here the date is read as the year—Sam. 3); D. C. Ganguly, Ep. Ind., XXI, pp. 211-19, with Plates. For the reading of the date, see *ibid.* p. 215, also n. 10.

⁷ H. H. Wilson, Proc. ASB., May, 1839; N. K. Bhattasali refers to a lost copper-plate from Bhowāl and attempts to trace its contents in IHQ., III, pp. 89-96. Mr. H. N. Randle, while stating the circumstances under which he found out a number of inscriptions in the India Office Library, London, announces the existence among them of a copper-plate which appears to him to be identical with the one referred to by N. K. Bhattasali (*loc. cit.*), in IHQ., XV, pp. 300-02. Mr. Randle has, in his highly welcome paper, given a tentative account of the contents of the inscription, from which it appears that Dr. Bhattasali's guess that it closely resembled the Mādhāinagar grant is true. The first 34 lines (18 verses in all) are the same as those to be found in the Mādhāinagar grant. Lines 25-28 contain Lakshmanasena's name and titles including 'Parama-Narasimha'; lines 29-33 contain the usual list of officials; lines 34-44 supply the names of the two villages granted with a statement of boundaries, etc. As regards the place-names, Mr. Randle is certain only about P. ————-dhama. The name of the place and other particulars about him (Padmanābhadeva Sarma) are to be found in lines 45-47. The plate gives Kalyāṇadēvi as

(h) The Sundarban copper-plate,¹ dated either in the year 2 or 3.

D. Inscriptions of the reign of Viśvarūpasena :

(a) The Calcutta-Sāhitya Parishat or Mymensingh copper-plate grant.²

(b) The Madanpādā grant dated in the year 14.³

E. An inscription of the reign of Keśavasena :

The Edilpur grant dated in the year 3.⁴

The descent from the Moon claimed by the Senas supplies a fruitful theme for the exercise of poetical imagination in these inscriptions. The Moon is described by the author of the Barrackpur inscription as 'the son of the ocean of milk,' the friend of the Mind-born, 'the crest-ornament of the husband of the Mountain's daughter,' the mark on the forehead of the youthful female representing the Eastern Quarter, the Jewel on the

the name of one of the two Mahādevīs, by whom the merit accruing to the gift was to be shared. Line 58 applies the epithet *ari-rāja-Madana-Saṅkara-narapati* to *Lakṣmapasena* and mentions the Minister of war and peace in *Gauḍa* (*Gauḍa-mahāsāndhivigrahika*) as *dūta* for purposes of the grant. In line 59 the designations of the king and the *dūta* are given 'in the customary abbreviated form.' N. K. Bhattachari suggested the date to be either the year 27 or 37, but Mr. Randle states that the grant gives "a very legible regnal year in two numerals," which he reads as 27. The day of the month is given as *Kā*. (*Kārtika*) in line 6.

¹ Discovered about the year 1868 A.D., in the Sunderbans (District 24-Parganas). Now lost. Tentative reading published by Bāṅgati Nyāyaratna in *Essay on Bengali Language and Literature* (in Bengali), Part II, p. 87; see *IB.*, pp. 169-72. Some verses are the same as those of the *Ānuliā* grant.

² H. P. Sāstri, *IHQ.*, Vol. II, March, 1928, pp. 77ff; *IB.*, p. 140ff. This inscription was discovered near Dacca town. See *IB.*, p. 140. The inscription is conveniently called the Calcutta-Sāhitya Parishat grant as it is now in the custody of that Society. It was with the Rāj family of Susang in Mymensingh district for some time.

³ N. N. Vasu, *JASB.*, 1896, Pt. 1, p. 6ff; *IB.* p. 189ff.

⁴ J. Prinsep, *JASB.*, VII, pp. 43-46.; R. D. Banerji, *JASB.*, N.S., Vol. X, pp. 97ff. N. N. Vasu reads the name in his edition of the *Madanapādā* grant (see above) as that of *Vīśvarūpasena*. Prinsep's reading was *Keśavasena*. Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, V., App., p. 88, No. 649) adopted Vasu's reading. R. D. Banerji shows that the correct reading is that given by Prinsep. The plate is missing. The lithograph from a mechanical cast, on which Prinsep's reading was based, is to be relied on.

summit of the Eastern Mountain, the god in the temple of sky, the essence of the denizens of heaven. (*Asti kshira-mahārnavasya tanayaḥ preyān = manojanmanas = chakshuḥ Śrīpariṇetur = adri-tanaya-bharttuḥ śirobhūṣaṇa(m) | Prāg-āsātaruṇī-lalāṭa-tilakam pūrvvādri-chūdāmaṇir = dyor-devālaya-daivatam divishadām sāras* —v. 2.) Umāpati, a well-known Sanskrit poet of the period, invokes in the Deopārā *praśasti*, composed by him, the victory of the Moon, the nectar-rayed king, whose throne is the gold-like matted locks of Śiva, fanned by the fly-whisk of the sprays of the Ganges, which are like clusters of flowers, and whose parasol (the symbol of sovereignty) is the serpent, fastened round the head of Śiva, with its white and gay hoods looking like 'the borders of its canopy' (*Yat-simhāsanam = īśvarasya kanaka-prāyaṃ jaṭā-maṇḍalam Gaṅgā-śikara-mañjarī-parikarair = yach-chāmara-kriyā | Svet-otphulla-phaṇāṇchalaḥ Śiva-śiraḥ-sandāna-dām = oragaś = chhattram yasya jayaty = asāva-charamo rājā sudhā-didhitih* || —v. 3). The magic influence of the Moon on the universe, occasions a poetical effusion on the part of the author of the Naihāti inscription. With the advent of the Beloved of Night (*tamī-vallabha*) 'the ocean swells with the abundance of joy,' Cupid becomes the hero of the three worlds and *kumuda* flowers awake from their sleep (*Harsh = ochchhāla-pariplaro nidhir = apām trailokya-rīraḥ Smarō nis = tandrāḥ kumud = ākarā* —v. 2). The rest of the records continue to pay this kind of a stereotyped tribute to the mythical origin of the Senas. It may be mentioned here that all the grants grouped under C have a common verse on the subject with the exception of the Mādhāinagar inscription which adds a new one to the stock. There is good reason to attribute the authorship of the last-mentioned grant to Umāpati who composed the Deopārā *praśasti*.¹ The grants of

¹ JASB., N.S., 1909, p. 469; IB. p. 107. The Deopārā ins. shows that he lived in the age of Vijayasena. According to Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* he was a contemporary and minister of Lakshmasena. (See Tawney, Intro., pp. XVIII, p. 181, n. 4). Four verses from the Deopārā *praśasti* (7, 23, 24 and 30) are included in the *Saduktikarāṇḍīka*, see JASB., 1906, p. 160; JDL, XVI, p. 63.

Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena, the texts of which are almost similar, agree in having the same verse devoted to the praise of the Moon. As regards the lineage of the Senas, some information more useful for historical purposes is, however, available. In the Deopārā inscription they are said to have belonged to an illustrious family of rulers, which came from the Deccan (*dākshinātya-kṣhoṇīndraiḥ*—v. 4) and the royal line has been designated as that of the Senas (*Sen=ānvavāye*—v. 5). The same record describes them as *Brahmakshatriyas* (*Brahmakshatriyāṇām=ajani*—v. 5). In the Barrackpur grant their ancestors are called *rājaputras*, who enjoyed the rulership of the earth (*avani-tala-bhujō rājaputrā babhūvuh*—v. 3), and settled the boundaries of different quarters by the imposition of taxes (*Tad=vaṁṣe rāja-hamsachchhada-viśada-yaśaḥkaumudim=udgīrantāḥ khelantāḥ kṣmā-dharāṇām=upari kara-sam=āropa-sīmantiḥ-śāḥ*—v. 3). It is further stated in this grant that they were born of a *Kshatriya* family (*Kshatriyāṇām*—v. 4). The Mādhānagar grant informs us that their family, whose achievements were made famous through the medium of legendary literature like that of the *Purāṇas*, belonged to the *Karṇāṭa-Kshatriya* race (*Paurāṇibhiḥ kathābhiḥ prathita-guṇa-gaṇe...Karṇāṭa-kshatriyāṇām*—v. 4). The same inscription speaks of Lakṣmaṇasena, a member of the dynasty, as a glory of the *Brahmakshatriyas* (*Brahmakshatriyas-Sumeru*...p. 31). In the later grants of the Senas there is no reference to their Deccan origin. But their alleged connection with the Lunar race of rulers was never lost sight of, as it has been emphasised in the introductory verses, common to the Edilpur, Madanpādā and Bhowāl (?) grants, in agreement with the earlier records of the dynasty. To sum up, the Senas claim themselves to have been *Kshatriyas* connected with the Lunar family. The statement that they belonged to the *Brahmakshatriya* clan, to be found in the Deopārā *prastāvi* and the Mādhānagar grant, requires some explanation. This term has been interpreted by

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar¹ to mean that the Senas were originally Brahmins by caste, but that they subsequently came to be regarded as Kshatriyas when they began to perform kingly functions. It is to be remembered that their inscriptions throughout dilate upon their lunar origin, besides describing themselves as descendants of *Kshatriya-rājaputras*. The real object of the inscriptions in applying the epithet '*Brahmakshatriyas*' to the Senas was probably to give expression to the fact that though Kshatriyas by caste, these rulers were devoted to the cultivation of the Brahmanical culture. One of the Senas, Sāmantasena, has been called *Brahmavādi* in the *Deopārā prasasti* (v. 5.). The most important information to be gathered from the epigraphic source is that they came from the Deccan.² But it is difficult to be precise as regards the time when the Karṇāta-Kshatriyas first established themselves in Bengal. The door for the influx of the Southerners into the plains of Hindustan had not been kept closed. It appears from the Monghyr grant, as already suggested in the last chapter, that the Karṇātas probably formed an element in the administrative system of the Pāla empire as early as the time of Devapāla. The identity of the Karṇātakas against whom Mahipala fought yet remains uncertain. The series of Rāshtrakūṭa and Chālukya invasions of Northern India, to which contemporary records bear witness, may have quite possibly been responsible for a steady flow of Karṇāṭaka settlers into different parts of Eastern India, specially Magadha and Bengal. They were stirred into new activity in the latter part of the 11th

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar, *The Guhilots*, JASB., N. S., 1909, p. 186. Certain kings of Champā are described in their insc. as *Brahmakshatriyas*. See R. C. Majumdar, *Champa* (Ancient Colonies in the Far East, Vol. I, pp. 215-16). Kielhorn took '*Brahmakshatriyāpām*' to refer to the clans of the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas. see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 306. But it seems to have been correctly translated by D. R. Bhandarkar.

² R. C. Majumdar has drawn attention to the fact that a line of Jaina professors connected with the Dharwar district in the Bombay Presidency, who flourished during the period c. 950-1050 A.D., had their names ending with 'Sena' (cf. *Kumārasena*, *Virasena*, *Kanakasena*, *Aryasena*, etc.). He suggests that the Senas may have originally been connected with the Senas of Dharwar, and later changed their religion from Jainism to Hinduism. See *Proc. of the Third Oriental Congress*, Calcutta, pp. 343-45.

century, making a bid for political supremacy with the decay of the ancient ruling dynasties. They may have received a new impetus in this direction from the Chālukya invasion of Gauḍa ' by *Karṇāṭendu* Vikramāditya (VI). According to the *Nāgpur praśasti* of Udayāditya the Karṇāṭas associated themselves with the Chedi king Karṇa who with their help overran Mālava like a sea.² This alliance probably facilitated the movement that soon after Karṇa's death made a Karṇāṭa warrior called Nānya the ruler of Mithilā (1097 A.D.). The growth of the political power of the *Karṇāṭa-Kshatriyas* in Bengal dated from about the same period.

The earliest of the Senas mentioned in their inscriptions is Virasena, whose name occurs only in the *Deopārā praśasti*, and the Barrackpur, Naihāti, and Mādhānagar grants. (*Dākṣhiṇātyā-kṣhoṇīndrair = VVirasena-prabhṛitibhir = abhitaḥ — Deopārā—v. 4.*) Kielhorn is inclined to regard him as a mythical hero. There is some ground for this supposition, since it is stated that it was Vyāsa who composed verses devoted to the sacred exposition of the qualities of Virasena and other rulers of the South in whose lineage the Senas were born. (*Yach = chāritr = ānuchintā-parichaya-śuchayah...pranītāḥ—v. 4, Deopārā praśasti.*) The genealogy of the Senas is traced to a remote antiquity in *Ānandabhaṭṭa's Ballālacharita*,³ written in the 16th century, which, however, does not refer to their Karṇāṭa origin. In its view the Senas were descended from Aṅga, who was a Bāleya Kshatriya. They regarded as their ancestors mythical figures such as Dadbhivāhana, Daśaratha, etc. They are said to have been born in the family of Prithusena (*Prithusen-ānvaye*), son of Vṛishasena and grandson of Karṇa. To this lineage belonged Virasena, who married

¹ GRM., Intro. p. 11; A. V. V. Ayyar; *The Life and Times of Chālukya Vikramāditya*, Ind. Ant., 1919, p. 111f. For a discussion of his date, see Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 290.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 185.

³ See *Ballālacharita*, ed. by H. P. Śāstri, Chap. XII, p. 55; Translation of the same by Śāstri, p. 46. In this work also the Senas are described as belonging to a Brahmkshatriya family.

Somatā, daughter of a Gauda Brahmin (*Gauda-Brāhmaṇa-kanyām Somatām = udvahishyati*). This family produced rulers, endowed with immeasurable prowess (*tad = anvavāya-janmāno rājāno'mita-paurushāḥ*).

The next name in the genealogical account as given in some of the Sena inscriptions as well as the Ballālacharita is that of Sāmantasena, who appears as the first historical member of the family. There is no reference to his name in the grants of Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena and out of the six available grants of Lakshmaṇasena only the Mādhānagar plate knows him. According to the Deopārā *praśasti* he was the head-garland of the clan of the *Brahmakshatriyas* (*Kula-śīrodāma Sāmantasenah*). The Mādhānagar grant, however, substitutes *Karṇāṭa-kshatriyāṇām* in place of *Brahmakshatriyas* on this occasion (*Karṇāṭakshatriyāṇām kulaśīrodāma Sāmantasenah*). Sāmantasena's position in chronology may be approximately determined from the fact that his grandson Vijayasena was almost certainly a contemporary of Nānya of Mithilā (1097 A.D). Thus he can be easily placed in the latter half of the 11th century. The comparative importance of his position in relation to the future attainments of his family may be realised from the fact that in the Deopārā inscription no less than five verses have been devoted to a delineation of his glories. From the account given in this record two principal facts of his life may be gathered. First, in the earlier part of his career he achieved a military success in some memorable fight in the South, and second, his later life was spent in the company of Brahmin ascetics on the banks of the Ganges. The battle in which he distinguished himself was fought against an enemy of the Karṇāṭa fortune (*durvṛttānām = ayaṁ = arikul-ākīrṇa-Karṇāṭa-lakshmī-luṇṭākānām*, v. 8, Deopārā). The epithet *ekāṅgavīra*, which has been conferred on him in this passage, probably means that on this occasion he was placed at the head of one of the constituent branches of an army collected by some Karṇāṭa king to repel the hostile forces. In the course of the battle he killed many of

his opponents (*kadana-matanot-tādrig = ekāṅgavīra*). The effect of the terrible carnage that was caused during these operations is said to have been still visible at the time of the composition of the Deopārā *praśasti* [*yasmād = adyāpy = avihata-vasā-mānsamedah-subhikshām hrishyat-pauras = tyajati na diśam dakshinām pre(ta)-bharttā*]. The inscription does not furnish any details regarding the parties involved in this conflict, which was apparently conducted on a considerable scale. But as the Kārṇāta people appear to have come out victorious, it may be possible to infer that the Deopārā *praśasti* refers to the famous battle of Koppam that was fought in A.D. 1052 between the Chālukya king Someśvara Āhavamalla and the Chōla Rājādhirāja. The latter lost his life in the course of this engagement, which decided that the river Tūṅgabbadrā should be fixed as the northern frontier of the Chōla empire.¹ That Sāmantasena obtained his military laurels in the South (*diśam dakshinām*) is also indicated in the passage which says that war-ballads relating to him were sung along the borders of the Adam's Bridge (*Udgīyante yadiyāḥ skhalad = udadhi-jal-ollola-śīteshu setoḥ kachchhānteshv = apsarobhir...yuddha-gāthāḥ—v. 5*). Verses 6-7 of the Deopārā inscription easily produce the impression that he was a skilled warrior whose fame spread over a wide tract of country (*yasmin saṅgara-chatvare...yena kṛipāna-kālabhujagaḥ khelāyitaḥ grīhād-grīham = upāgataṁ vrajati pattanam pattanād...yaśaḥ*). He was the cause of the destruction of enemies (*Śatrūnām = antakarttā—v. 4*, Barrackpur grant), the conqueror of foes, who used to put himself in the forefront of battles (*raṇa-śirasi jit-ārāti-Sāmanta-senaḥ—Barrackpur grant*). He rendered the earth devoid of heroes (*nirvīram-urvītalām—v. 4*, Mādhanagar grant). There is no evidence to show that he enjoyed the position of an independent monarch. He seems to have signalled his military services through his devotion to friends and adherence to truth (*āśid =*

¹ Kielhorn's List, Ep. Ind., VII, App., Nos. 744-46, 748, 749, 751, etc.; Ep. Ind., XII, p. 298.

ājanmarakta—pranayi-gaṇa-manorājya-siddhipratishṭhā - śrīśailaḥ satyaśīlō—Naihāti grant, v. 4). In his later life he retired to live in the society of ascetics whose hermitages on the banks of the Ganges were full of sacrificial activity in his time (*udgandhīny = ājyādhūmair-mmṛiga-śīsur = asitā khinna - vaikhānasa-strī-stanya-kshirāṇi kīra-prakara-parichita-brahmapārāyaṇāni | Yen-āsevyante śeshe vayasi bhava-bhayāskandibhir = mmaskarindraiḥ pūrṇṇ = otsṅgāni Gaṅgā-pulina-parisar = āraṇya-puṇy = āśramāṇi*—v. 9, Deopārā inscription). This statement seems to be supported by the testimony of the Mādhānagar grant, according to which he washed his sabre in the water of the Ganges, besmeared with the blood of his slain enemies [...*Nāka-nadyām nirṇiktō yena yudhyad = ripu-rudhira-kaṇ = ākīrṇa-dhāraḥ (kṛi)pāṇaḥ*—v. 4.]. He is himself called *Brahma-vādī*, which may suggest that after his retirement he devoted himself to philosophical studies in association with the learned Brahmins among whom he chose to live. It may be a mistake to suppose that this was the starting-point of the contact of the Senas with Bengal, for, in the Naihāti grant it is said that Sāmantasena was born in the family of princes of the lunar race, who had adorned Rāḍha—thus indicating a pre-existent connection between the Senas and that part of the province (..... *Rāḍhām = akalita-charair = bhūshayanto = 'nubhāvaiḥ..... jajñire rājaputrāḥ...teshām vāmśe*—vv. 3-4), in the course of which they seem to have granted protection to those who were in need of it (...*abhaya-vitarāṇa*—Naihāti grant). The conclusion may be arrived at that the ancestors of Sāmantasena formed a fighting group from the South, settled in Rāḍha, whose assistance was useful to kings, and that during the time of Sāmantasena they set themselves to a serious attempt to increase their political influence in the territory. Probably he was also called by the name *Mrigāṅka*¹ (*priya-kumuda-van = ollāsa-līlāmṛigāṅkaḥ*—Naihāti grant, v. 8).

¹ This birda was adopted by the Kāmarūpa king Bhāskaravarman's father in the sixth century A.D., see Ep. Ind., XII, p. 60.

Sāmantasena was succeeded by his son Hemantasena, whose name appears in all the grants except those of his great-grandsons, Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena. There is a lot of vague praise of the qualities and attainments of Hemantasena in these records, which refer to his 'wonderful' martial skill (...*aseś-cha kauśalam = abhūd...adbhutam*—v. 13, Deopārā), his spears dealing destruction to his enemies (...*Śalyair = vridiṇ = orasām vīrāṇām*—v. 12, Deopārā), his glories "which travelled up to the boundary of Indra's garden" (*ārāma-sīmā-riharaṇa-lalitāḥ kīrttayaḥ yasya*—Naihāti grant), his universal fame due to the strength of his mighty arms (*Yadiyair = a-dyāpi prachita-bhuja-tejas-sahacharair = yaśobhiḥ śobhante paridhi-parinaddhā iva diśaḥ*—Ānuliā, Govindapur, Tarapandīghi grants of Lakshmanasena—v. 5), touching the crest of the Sumeru mountain (*Yaśo...Sumeru-mauli-militam...Mādhāinagar* grant, v. 5). References are made to his success over his enemies, his generosity (*pratyarthi-vyaya-keli-karmmani...kauśalam = abhūd-dane*—Deopara, v. 12; *Vairi-saraḥ-pralaya-hemanta*—v. 5, Naihāti grant), his devotion to truth and acquaintance with the *Sāstras* (...*satya-vāk-kaṇṭhabhittau śāstram śrotre...*—v. 11, Deopārā *prasasti*). In the absence of any definite guidance from these inscriptions, it is not safe to deduce historical conclusions relating to his career, but one fact stands out prominently: as the Barrackpur grant of his sons shows, he was the first of the Senas to have assumed the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja* (*Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Hemantasena-pād = ānudhyāta...*). His wife was called Yaśodevī, styled *Mahārājñī* (*Mahārājñī...Yaśoderī*—vv. 13-14, Deopārā). He probably began his career as the trusted lieutenant of a king (*rāja-rakshā-sudakṣaḥ*—v. 5, Barrackpur grant) and subsequently founded an independent kingdom. There is no doubt as to the early association of the Senas with Rāḍha. The inscription of Vijayasena found at Paikora (the same place which has preserved an inscription of the Chedi king Karna) suggests the inclusion of Bīrbhūm and its neighbourhood in his kingdom. ¶ Again, the Naihāti grant of Hemantasena's grandson Vallālasena

is connected with some lands situated in the Vardhamāna-*bhukti* (corresponding roughly to the district of Burdwan) of the *Utlara-Rādha-maṇḍala*—11.37-38. It is not improbable, therefore, that the kingdom of the Senas, the foundations of which were laid in the time of Hemantasena, originally comprised the northern parts of the western Bengal. Its southern portion may have continued to be ruled by the *Sūras*. Was Hemantasena the first in his family to bring it into prominence (*tāmasānām guṇānām hantā*, Barrackpur, v. 5)? He is said to have shone like the sun, revered by all (*ravir = iva jagatām mānīyo babhūva*—v. 5, Barrackpur grant).

Hemantasena's son and successor Vijayasena inaugurated a period of military activity which transformed what must have been a small territory into an empire of considerable dimensions. His accession to the throne was uninterrupted. This seems to be the implication of verse 9 of the Naibāti grant of his son, which says that the entire animate world became amenable to his control at the time of his coronation, when, the holy hymns, suited to the occasion, were chanted (*asy = ābhishēka-vidhimantrapadair = nnirutir = āropito vinaya-vartmani jīvalokaḥ*—¹). The evidence of the Deopārā *praśasti* is most important in regard to the chief events of his reign. Verses 20-22 of this record give an account of his military exploits. Of these, the first two supply the names of the kings who were vanquished by Vijayasena, and the last one refers to a naval expedition which he led against an unnamed power in the west. He conquered Nānya and Vīra, made the king of Gauḍa flee, drove away the king of Kāmarūpa and defeated the king of Kalinga. Nānya, Vardhana, Rāghava and Vīra were thrown into prison. (*Tvam Nānya-Vīra-vijay = iti girah kavīnām śrutvā nyathā-manana-rūḍha-nigūḍha roshaḥ | Gauḍendram = adra-cad = apākṛita - Kāmarūpabhūpam Kalingam = api yas = tarasā jigāya* || —v. 20; *Sūraṇmanya iv = āsi Nānya kim = iha svam*

¹ But it is just as possible that the passage does not bear any historical significance. Cf. Lalitās's *Raghuvamśa*, IV. 89.

Rāghava ślāghase spardhām Vardhana muñcha Vīra vīrato
n=ādyāpi darppas-tava | Ity=anyonyam-aharnniśa-pranayibhiḥ
kolāhalaiḥ kshmābhujām yat-kārāgriha-yāmikair=nniyamito nīdr
=āpanoda-klamah—v. 21). These verses may be interpreted
 to mean that Vijayasena's defeat of Nānya and Vīra probably
 preceded the successful campaigns undertaken by him against
 the kings of Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa and Kalinga. The poet says
 that as if unable to bear the idea that he was merely the
 conqueror of Nānya and Vīra he went to fight against the other
 rulers, mentioned above.

Verse 21 reproduces a conversation that is imagined
 by the poet to have taken place among them during
 their imprisonment, in the course of which the futility
 of their arms was discussed. Among the kings defeated
 by Vijayasena there seems to be no reason to doubt the
 identity of Nānya¹ with the king of Nepāl and Mithilā
 of that name, who began his reign in 1097 A.D. In a
 drama called *Muditakuralayāśva*, composed in 1628 A.D.,
 Nānyadeva's date is given in the phrase "*Navendu-kha-Chandra*
Śāke" (—1097 A.D.)² This date has been derived also from
 the interpretation of a memorial verse about Nānyadeva contained
 in the *Purushaparīkshā* of Vidyāpati.³ In a Kātmāṇḍu inscrip-
 tion of the Nepāl king Jayapratāpamalla, Nānyadeva appears
 as the first ruler of the Karṇāṭaka dynasty⁴ (Samvat 769).

Kielborn has shown that the first year of the Lakshmaṇa-
 Sena-era was the 7th October, 1119 A.D.⁵ This theory is
 supported by the Akbar Nama,⁶ but the question of its authorship
 has been the bone of contention among scholars. The responsi-
 bility for its foundation has been attributed respectively to

¹ JASB., N.S., 1915, pp. 408-9.

² *Le Nepal*, II, 194.

³ Regarding his date, see JBORS., IX, pp. 804-05.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 188; XIII, p. 418; *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 813.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 806, n.; *Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 6.

⁶ *Translation by Beveridge*, Vol. II, pp. 21-22.

Sāmantasena, Hemantasena, Vijayasena, and Lakshmanasena.¹ One of the latest views is that the Senas of Bengal had nothing to do with the origin of the Lakshmanasena-era.² This does not appear to be quite satisfactory as no definite explanation has been offered regarding the existence of a second Lakshmanasena during the period, who might have been regarded as the founder of the era. There seems to be no escape from the conclusion that the Sena dynasty of Bengal was associated with the Lakshmanasena-era. One tradition³ has been interpreted by N. N. Vasu to mean that while Vallālasena was engaged in the campaign against that country he heard the news of the birth of a son. He was given the name of Lakshmanasena and an era was instituted after him. The existence of the Sena era in Mithilā, which started in 1119-20 A.D., coupled with the fact that one of the Sena kings of Bengal⁴ a contemporary of its king Nānya (1097-1150 A.D.), is known from epigraphical evidence to have organised an expedition against that country, affords some reason

¹ JASB., 1906, Vol. I, N.S., p. 45ff; R. G. Bhandarkar, Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS., 1897, p. LXXXVII; EHL., 3rd edition), pp. 419-19; Ind. Ant., 1890, p. 2; Banglā Itihās, pp. 328-29; GRM., p. 64. Rajanya-K., pp. 351-52; Ind. Ant., 1913, pp. 167-69; Dacca Review, 1912, pp. 88-93.

² Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes (Cal. Univ.), Vol. III, Orientalia, pp. 1-5. The suggestion that the Lakshmanasena-era was introduced by the founder of the Sena family of Piṭhi lacks evidence on one essential point, for names of two chiefs, Buddhasena and Jayasena of Piṭhi only are known. Nothing is known about this family earlier than the year 51 of the era used in one of the Bodhi-Gayā inscriptions of Asokachalla. (For references to this Sena family see *infra*, p. 469, n. 1. It is not certain that this era was founded by a certain king called Lakshmanasena. It may have been started to commemorate the death of Lakshmanasena, although it is true that the era has been used only in a few records. Even if it was started by Lakshmanasena, how is he to be connected with the Piṭhi family? It must be conceded that he was not an ordinary ruler having founded an era which has persisted for many centuries. It is strange that there should be no record of his activities or history if he actually flourished in Bihār during a period when it had become a battle-ground of opposing interests. It is known that the Gāhādavālas 'gradually advanced into Magadha during the period 1124-1180' (Dynastic History, Vol I, p. 369). Then, there were the Palas trying to keep up at least a show of power in Bihār. The imaginary Piṭhi king who is supposed to have founded the Lakshmanasena-era in 1119 A.D., and who had a descendant ruling 83 years after the introduction of this era, has left no trace behind him except this reckoning which is only guessed to be his creation.

³ JASB., 1906, Vol. I, N.S., p. 45ff.

for believing the tradition as true. If this view is to be accepted, it will be seen that the Lakshmanasena-era was introduced into Mithilā during the reign of Vijayasena to commemorate the birth of his grandson, which seems to have synchronised with the success of his army in that territory.¹ The inscriptions of Vallālasena do not refer to any campaign against Mithilā during his reign. Hence the expedition referred to in the tradition may have been the same as was undertaken by his father.

We may now pass on to the other kings who suffered defeat at the hands of Vijayasena. It has been proposed that Vīra, whose name is coupled with that of Nānya in verse 20 of the Deopārā inscription, was identical with the ruler of Koṭātāvī, who belonged to the *sāmāntachakra* of Rāmapāla and joined him on his expedition against Bhīma.² In the *Rāmacharita* commentary the name given, however, is Vīraguṇa. As regards the lord of Gauḍa, another victim of Vijayasena's military policy, it may be pointed out that the last of the Pālas, who was connected with that region, was Madanapāla. Although he ruled for at least 19 years, in Gauḍa his government was in all probability overthrown immediately after the eighth year of his reign. We have shown elsewhere that the cessation of his political control over Northern Bengal may have been brought about by Palapāla, who in the 35th year of his reign was styled *Gauḍeśvara*. It seems that Vijayasena conquered Gauḍa from the hands of Palapāla, who probably yielded to his power without any resistance. It appears from the evidence of the Mādhāinagar grant that Lakshmanasena played an important part in the capture of Gauḍa. According to this inscription he seized the goddess of fortune belonging to the lord of Gauḍa during his youth, or more probably when he was holding the office of Viceroy (*āsīd* = *Gauḍeśvara-śrīhaṭṭha-haraṇa-*

¹ D. C. Bhattacharyya agrees that the era was founded from the date of Lakshmanasena's birth see *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, p. 158.

² *Ind. Ant.*, 1920, pp. 174-75.

kalā yasya kaumāra-keliḥ).¹ Supposing he was twenty-five years of age at the time, the conquest of Gauḍa will appear to have taken place about A.D. 1144-45. The occupation of Gauḍa by the Senas was probably a culmination of repeated efforts directed towards that end. The Deopārā *praśasti* makes mention of another king named Rāghava, who felt the pressure of Vijayasena's arms. Some scholars have proposed that he should be identified with the Utkala king, Rāghava, a son of Choḍagaṅga, who ascended the throne c. 1154 A.D., but Vijayasena's reign must have been over by that date. It will be seen later that there is some reason to suppose that the reign of his grandson Lakshmaṇasena probably came to an end by A.D. 1170. Before him his father Vallālasena ruled for at least eleven years. Those of his own inscriptions which bear any date belong either to the second, the third or the sixth year of his reign. Thus it is necessary to make room for a period of not less than 14 years between the end of Vijayasena's government and 1170 A.D., when Lakshmaṇasena was no more a king. In reality this period must have been a little longer. It may, therefore, be concluded that Vijayasena died within a year or two of the conquest of Gauḍa (1144-45 A.D.).² His dated Barrackpur grant which makes a gift of land situated in the Pauṇḍra-vardhana-*bhukti* shows that he exercised his sway over Northern Bengal in the 62nd year of his reign. His Deopārā *praśasti*, which refers to the sad plight of the vanquished *Gauḍeśvara* and which was composed with the object of praising the temple of Pradyumneśvara, erected by the Sena king in the Rajshāhi district (Northern Bengal), cannot thus be assigned to a date earlier than A.D. 1144. As the Barrackpur grant must have been engraved after the conquest of Gauḍa, it will be seen that Vijayasena's reign commenced in about A.D. 1084. The proposed identity of Rāghava with the Gaṅga king of Utkala

¹ For the reading of the passage, see Ind. Ant., 1922, p. 148, n. 16; IB. p. 111.

² The conquest of Gauḍa by Vijayasena is said to be recorded in a MB. of the Dānaśāgara obtained by N. N. Vasu from Assam, see JASS, LXV, Pt. I, 1896, p. 90.

cannot be supported if this chronological plan is adopted. Is it possible that he was none other than Rāmapāla? The way in which his biography¹ has been treated by Sandhyākara Nandī suggests his obvious and probably also popular comparison with the epic hero Rāghava or Rāmachandra. Rāmapāla's enemy has been actually called a *Rākshasa* in the Kamauli inscription and probably also in the Belava grant. It is not, therefore, unlikely that Rāmapāla may have been referred to under the name of Rāghava in a contemporary inscription. It has been mentioned in the last chapter that, according to Tāranāth, the Pāla king retired in his old age from the throne and afterwards committed suicide. If his identification with Rāghava of the Deopārā *prastiti* is correct, his retirement seems to have been forced by his imprisonment by Vijayasena. Rāmapāla's son Kumārapāla resisted his advance by defeating him in a naval battle, but the onward progress of the Sena army could not be permanently checked. Gauda was conquered a few years later by what seems to have been a well-planned attack under the generalship of his grandson Lakshmanasena.

The identity of Vardhana, who was also put in prison with Nānya and Vira, remains uncertain. The Rāmacharita commentary mentions a feudatory called (Dvora)vardhana (?) who ruled over Kauśāmbī (in the Rājshāhi district). His identity with this chief may be regarded as probable but not certain.² In the east the weight of Vijayasena's power was felt by the kings of Utkala and Kāmarūpa. The Utkala contemporary of the Sena king was Choḍagaṅga. It has been said on a previous occasion that Vijayasena may have taken the earliest opportunity of establishing his authority in *Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha* with the departure of the Gaṅga king who must have thrown the country into a state of turmoil, having levied tribute from the people and forced its ruler to flee from his throne. Its annexation

¹ The view that Rāmapāla was a contemporary of Vijayasena is generally accepted, see Ind. Ant., 1920, pp. 174-75; JASS, N.S. 1921, pp. 6, 16; JDL, XVI, p. 11

² Ind. Ant., 1920, pp. 174-75.

was easy since he was allied to the Sūras through his marriage with Vilāsadevī, who has been described in the Barrackpur grant as 'moonlight unto the ocean of the Sūra family' (*Sūra kulāmbhodhi-kaumudī*—v. 7). The Barrackpur grant shows the existence of a Sūra family, with which Vijayasena had entered into a matrimonial alliance. It is highly probable that on the eve of Chodagaṅga's invasion Mandāra, comprised in *Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha*, was still under the domination of the Sūras, but they disappeared from the political stage when Vijayasena absorbed their territory into his own. It is difficult to say on what occasion the Utkala king suffered defeat at the hands of the Sena king, as is referred to in the *Deopārā prasasti*. The conquest of Utkala by Chodagaṅga was completed before A.D. 1118-19.¹ Perhaps he invaded Bengal for the second time, but the opposition he met with from Vijayasena compelled him to abandon his aggressive project. A treaty was established between the contending powers, for if we believe in Ānanda-bhaṭṭa's *Ballālacharita* Vijayasena was a friend of Chodagaṅga (*Chodagaṅga-sakha...*).²

The Sena empire was practically founded by Vijayasena. Not only the whole of Rāḍha was at his feet, but he conquered Gauda and Mithilā; besides Utkala and Kāmarūpa respected his authority. The forest-kingdom Koṭa may have also come within the sphere of his influence. As the Barrackpur grant of his reign was made from the victorious camp at Vikramapura (*Śrī-Vikramapura-sam = āvāsita-śrīmaj-jayaskandhāvārāt*), Vāṅga or Eastern Bengal, formerly under the Varmans, must have been conquered by him. The grant further refers to the palace at Vikramapura where a sacrifice was performed under the auspices of his queen Vilāsadevī (*Vikramapur = oparikā-madhye*). The Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra had established his authority in some portions of Bihār, which is evidenced by his land-

¹ Cf. l. 109 of his Visagapatam grant dated in Śaka year 1040, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 169; *JASB.*, 1906, N. S. p. 51; *JASB.*, LXXII, Pt. I, 1906, p. 119.

² *Ballālacharita*, Chap. XII, p. 66; Translation, p. 66.

grants dated A.D. 1126 and 1146 respectively. It is likely that he contemplated an extension of his power further to the east but was attacked by Vijayasena in his own territory. It is probably to this campaign that the Deopārā *praśasti* refers when it says that Vijayasena led a naval expedition across the Ganges towards the west (*Pāśchātya-chakra-jāya-kelishu yasya yāvad-Gaṅgā-pravāham-anudhāvati nau-vitāne*—v. 22). The name of a capital of Vijayasena's empire is given in the Pavana-dūta by Dhoyī as Vijayapurī, which may have been situated either in West Bengal or in the Rājshāhi district.

The inscriptions of the Senas, including those of Vijayasena himself, glorify his achievements in high terms. Thus the Deopārā *praśasti* says that it is impossible to reckon the number of kings who were either defeated or killed by him (*gaṇayatu gaṇaśaḥ ko bhūpatīms-tān=anena pratidina-raṇabhājā ye jītā vā hatā vā*—v. 17). Every day engaged in battle, he was a tireless fighter. Equipped with a sword, he obtained universal sovereignty as the fruit of his labours (*...khaḍga-latāvataṁsita-bhujāmātrasya yen=arjjitam...vasudhā-chakra=aika-rājyam phalam*—v. 17, Deopārā). He was the lord of the whole world (*...akhila-pārthivachakravartī*—Naiḥāti grant), who outshone Śāhasāṅka¹ or Vikramāditya by the faultless manifestation of his prowess (*...nirvyāja-vikramatiraskṛita-Sāhasāṅkaḥ*—Naiḥāti grant). He is described as the most aggressive monarch of his age (*Samara-viśṛimarāṇāṁ bhūbhṛitām=ekaśeśaḥ*—Mādhānagar grant, v. 6). He has been compared in the grants of Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena to Śiva (*devaḥ svayam sudhā-kiraṇa-śekhara*—v. 4, Edilpur grant). According to the same inscriptions he enjoyed the servile homage of many kings (*yad=aṅghri-nakha-dhorani-sphurita-maulayaḥ kshamā-bhujo...*). These copper-plates, again,

¹ B. D. Banerji (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 157) identifies him with Śālivāhana, also called Śāhasāṅka, mentioned in the Chambā grant of his son, who, according to Kiehlhorn, flourished about the middle of the 11th century (see Ep. Ind., Vol. V., App., p. 81, n. 6). Probably the reference is to the mythical hero called Vikramāditya (see *ibid.*, p. 70).

say that the ceaseless exercise of his sword brought destruction to many ruling families and he thus became the paramount sovereign in the world (*Ishan-nistrimśa-nidrā-viraha-vilasitairvvairi-bhūpāla-vamśyān* = *anuchchhidy-ochchhidyā mūl* = *āvadhībhuvam-akhilām śāsato yasya rājñah*). If it is assumed that Vijayasena died about 1145 A.D., his son and successor Vallālasena must be supposed to have occupied the throne till about 1156 A.D. as his Naihāti grant shows that he ruled at least for 11 years. The reign of Vallālasena's son and successor was most probably over by A.D. 1170. This conclusion is based on the interpretation of the date of a Bodh-Gayā inscription as referring to the Lakshmaṇasena-era when his reign had been already over (*Śrīmal-Lakshmaṇasenasy-ātīle rājye samvat* 51).¹ The theory² that Lakshmaṇasena was alive at the time of the Muhammadan conquest of Bengal (between the years 1199-1205 A.D.) is in conflict with epigraphic evidence, as will be presently seen. Now, there is a statement in some MSS. of the *Dānasāgara*, a work on Smṛiti, the authorship of which is attributed to Vallālasena himself, that it was completed by the king in the Śaka year 1091.³ Again, the composition of the *Adbhutasāgara*, a work on Astronomy, is said to have been undertaken by him but completed by his son Lakshmaṇasena. These texts are often

¹ For the Bodh-Gayā Inscriptions of Aśokachalla, dated respectively in the 51st and the 74th year, and the Jānibighā inscription of Buddhasena, dated in the 83rd year, and for the interpretation of these dates, see JBBRAS., XVI, p. 358; Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, Pl. XXVIII-A; Ind. Ant., X, p. 346; XIX, p. 7; Kielhorn, *List*, Nos. 576, 577, Ep. Ind., V, App., p. 79; Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 27-30; JBORS., IV, p. 267, p. 273ff; Ind. Ant., 1915, pp. 217-18; 1919, pp. 43-47; n. 16 on p. 46.

² This is supported by several Indian scholars. See GRM, pp. 64-65; Ind. Ant., 1923, p. 145ff.; N. N. Vasu, *Vaṅger Jātiya Itihāsa*, 1921 B.S., pp. 347-52; H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, pp. 379-82.

³ The text reads thus: *Śaśinava-dāsa-mita-1091-Śaka-varṣhe*. See Eggeling, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the library of the India Office*, 1911, Pt. III, p. 545; R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, No. 2, 1870, p. 151; H. P. Śāstri, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Second Series, Vol. I, Pt. II, 1898, p. 160ff; IB., p. 176; Ind. Ant., 1922, p. 145ff; JASB., LXV, Pt. I, 1896, p. 23.

quoted to show that Vallāla was alive in 1169-70 A.D.¹ But their reliability may be questioned on the ground that the verses giving these dates are not to be found in all available MSS.² In an India Government MS. of the Adbhutasāgara there is a passage which has been interpreted to mean that the first year of Vallālasena's reign corresponded to 1160 A.D. A further proof regarding the time of Vallālasena and his son has been advanced by proposing the emendation of 'rasaikavimśe' to 'rājyaikavimśe' occurring in the colophon of the *Saduktikarnāmrīta*,³ an anthology of Sanskrit verses, prepared by Śrīdharadāsa. Thus the 21st year of Lakshmaṇasena's reign is shown to have corresponded to 1206 A.D., when the work was completed. In other words Lakshmaṇasena ascended the throne in 1185 A.D.⁴ It is difficult to accept without hesitation the chronological scheme of the Sena dynasty based on this suggestion. The inscriptions of Lakshmaṇasena's sons show that they continued to rule Gauḍa for at least 17 years after the death of their father. If it is supposed that Lakshmaṇasena reigned till about 1205 or 1206 A.D., the Senas will appear to have possessed their kingdom till 1223 A.D., but the Muhammadan conquest was effected several years before this date. According to another theory Lakshmaṇasena ascended the throne in 1118-19 A.D.⁵ and inaugurated the era associated with

¹ Vallālasena is said to have undertaken the compilation of the Adbhutasāgara in this year: Śāke kha-nava-khendv-abde.' See R. G. Bhandarkar, Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency, 1897, p. LXXXIII.

² Hoernle in a private letter to R. D. Banerji rightly doubts the testimony of these statements as opposed to epigraphic evidence. For his letter, quoted in Bādgār Itihās, see p. 384 of that work. See also MASB., Vol. V, pp. 105-106.

³ The date is stated as follows: Bhoja-vasu-daśa-(1082)-mita-Śāke Śrīmad-Bullālasena-rājyādan ...—see JASB., 1906, N.S., p. 17, f.n. 1; IRQ., 1929, p. 135; *infra*, p. 471, n. 2.

⁴ See R. L. Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. III, p. 141; JDL, XVI, pp. 18-19; H. C. Ray, Dynastic History, pp. 379-82. If Vallālasena reigned till 1195 A.D., how is it that the Adbhutasāgara said to have been undertaken in 1168 A.D. by him, was left to be completed by his son? R. C. Majumdar's explanation is not convincing. See JASB., 1921, N.S., p. 6, f.n. 2. For other theories as to the interpretation of the passage, see *infra*.

⁵ For other views regarding Lakshmaṇasena's date of accession, see JASB., XLVII, p. 308; LXV, p. 81; LXIX, p. 62; Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency, 1897, p. LXXVIII. The theory criticised above is supported in JASB., 1909, pp. 467-71; 1918, p. 277; Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 186; 1916, p. 216; Bādgār Itihās, p. 386.

his name. If this date of the commencement of his reign is to be upheld, it will be necessary to conclude that Vijayasena began to rule in about 1047 A.D. Not to speak of Vijayasena, his father Hemantasena even used the paramount title of 'Mahārājādhirāja.' The assumption of an imperial status by the Senas would be incompatible with the prevalence of the Pāla supremacy during this period. The fact that the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena is not dated in the 32nd¹ year of his reign, as was believed by R. D. Banerji, a prominent advocate of the theory under discussion, but 30 years later, is enough to show that his chronological scheme needs a revision.²

MASB., Vol. V., No. 3, pp. 105-07; JBORS., IV, p. 267. See also Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 306 for Kielhorn's view.

¹ For different readings of the date of the Barrackpur grant, see JASB., N.S., 1906, p. 11, f.n.; 1921, p. 16, f.n.; Ind. Ant., 1922, p. 157.

² While finally revising the above portion, I notice that there is a tendency towards regarding the question of Lakshmapasena's date as settled quite satisfactorily. I find myself unable to agree with this view. By collating the available MSS. of the Saduktikarpāṃṛita, Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti (also cf. Saduktikarpāṃṛita, ed. by Rāmāvatāra Śarmā with a critical intro. by Har Dutt Sharma, 1933, p. 33, Intro.) gives the following reading of the colophon: *Sāte sapta-vimśaty-adhika-śat-ōpeta-daśa-śāte śaradām Śrīmat-Lakshmapasena-kṣhitipasya ras-aika-vimśe-bde Savitur-vatyā phālguna-vimśeśhu parārtha-betave kutukāt Śrīdharadāsen-edam Saduktikarpāṃṛitam chakre.* ["In Śaka 1127, in the year 27 of King Lakshmapasena on the 20th of Phālguna (calculated in terms of) the movement of the Sun, was composed this Saduktikarpāṃṛita by Śrīdharadāsa for the benefit of others."] Mr. Chakravarti argues that as the Śaka year 1127, corresponding to about 1206 A.D., is, according to this passage, equivalent to the 27th year of Lakshmapasena's reign, it must have commenced about 1178 A.D. The 27th year, mentioned here, cannot obviously have any reference to the well-known Lakshmapasena era which began in 1119 A.D., as in that case it would correspond to 1146 A.D. and not 1206 A.D., the date of the compilation of the text, as given in the colophon. It is to be pointed out here that there are variants of the colophon, and that consequently, the determination of its actual meaning has been a matter of much controversy (cf. JASB., 1906, p. 175). The only date that seems to be clear is the Śaka year 1127. The expression 'atitārāje' does not occur in the text, but the addition of "Śrīmat" to Lakshmapasena's name is not by itself sufficient to prove that the reign of this king was continuing at the time of its compilation, for in the Bodhi-Gayā inscriptions dated in the years 51 and 74 (atitārāje) Lakshmapasena, who had long been dead, is similarly described. I am aware of the limitations of this view; it cannot be doubted, however, that, ordinarily speaking, the form in which the date is given is to be interpreted as referring to the regnal year, whatever that may be. But in view of the controversy the point requires further investigation. The Editor of the Epigraphia Indica seems to be definitely in favour of the interpretation offered by Mr. Chakravarti, and in a note

Vijayasena's chief queen was the Sūra princess Vilāsadevī, who was the mother of Vallālasena (*asya pradhānamahishī*—

appended to Dr. D. C. Ganguly's introduction to the Śaktipur grant (Vol. XXI, pp. 215-16) he has attempted to show that from astronomical calculations that view would be confirmed. As there was no solar eclipse on the 7th day of Śrāvaṇa throughout the latter half of the twelfth century, except in 1163 A.D., which, he thinks, is too early for Lakshmaṇasena, it is to be understood that this grant refers to two dates, viz., the day on which the solar eclipse mentioned by it took place and the 7th day of Śrāvaṇa when the copper-plate was engraved. On the former day a mistaken grant was made and, after the mistake had been detected and rectified, the copper-plate grant was completed on the latter date. In 1183 A.D. the solar eclipse took place on Monday the 23rd May, while the 7th of Śrāvaṇa in that year corresponded to the 3rd July. Thus there was an interval of about six weeks during which the process of detection and rectification of the original mistake leading to the completion of the grant was in operation. Now, this year 1183 A.D. corresponded, as the grant states, to the 6th year of Lakshmaṇasena's reign; which, therefore, began in 1178 A.D. This would clearly confirm the testimony of the Śaduktikarpāṃṣita as quoted above. But the passage relating to the mistaken grant and its substitution by a new grant seems to point definitely to the conclusion that the latter step was effected on the occasion of the solar eclipse (*cf.* the passage: Śrī-Vallālasenadeva-pradatta-Gaṇḍa-Brāhmaṇa-Haridāśena pratigrihīta-pañchaśat-ōtpattika-kṣhetrapāṭaka-ābhidhāna-śāsana-vinimayena etad-Rāghava-haṭṭ-ādi-śaṭ-pāṭakam-pratyekam-uparilikhita-pramāṇam pañcha-śat-ōtpatti-yogyam kṣhetrapāṭakam koṣṭhikṛtiya asmai punar-Brāhmaṇāya Śrī-Kuvera-ābhidhānāya Sūryya-grahe etat-samantariya—lines 44-46. In the beginning the passage refers to a kṣhetrapāṭaka which had been already given to a certain Brahmin Haridāśa, and in the concluding part it refers to its substitution by the gift of another kṣhetrapāṭaka (mark the words vinimaya, utariya and Sūryyopagraha—all occurring in this portion) on the occasion of a solar eclipse. If this interpretation is correct, the copper-plate also must have been engraved on the same day, which is given, towards the end of the inscription, as the 7th day of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the year 6. I, therefore, hesitate, with due respect for the learned Editor, to accept his settlement of the question of Lakshmaṇasena's date as based on the evidence of the Śaktipur grant. In the absence of any definitely known inscription, I was reluctant to agree that Lakshmaṇasena had a long reign. I was inclined to be guided solely by available epigraphic evidence, particularly when I found that the evidence regarding the continuity of the Sena dynasty after his reign till its virtual overthrow by the Moslems might not clash with that view. But the re-discovery of the Bhawal copper-plate has raised an important issue in this connexion. Mr. Randle in his tentative reading suggests that it is dated in the 27th year of Lakshmaṇasena's reign. But this grant, while probably giving this date, does not provide any indication as to when the reign of this king commenced. If there was a solar eclipse on the 7th Śrāvaṇa in 1163 A.D., as mentioned by the learned Editor of the Epigraphia Indica, and if the latter was the 6th year of his reign, then it must have begun about 1156 A.D., so that the 27th year, being the last known year of Lakshmaṇasena, coincided with 1183 A.D., about which time his reign ended. This will also show that it was not this king who was conquered by the Moslems, but probably one of his descendants whose records have been found. Probably the 'atitarāṇya' samvat used in the Bodh-Gaya and Janibighā inscriptions started from

Vilāsadevī—v. 10, Naihāti grant). He must have been a middle-aged man when his father had been on the throne for sixty-two years, and a tribute is paid to his qualities in the Barrackpur grant of his father Vijayasena. In this inscription he has been depicted as the very parasol of the Kshatras, (i.e., the protector of the Kshatriyas), the fierce-rayed sun on the top of the Sumeru mountain (*Kshattrāṇām = ātapatram Kanakagiri-śirṣvartī-mārttaṇḍa-tejāḥ*). He was endowed with fame, physical charms and intellectual gifts (*—yaśobhiḥ—saundarya-sārah...suru[ra]guru-dhishanā-kāmukī-kāmākāntaḥ*). He was fearless as Śaṅkara (*Śrīman-niḥśaṅka-śaṅkaraḥ*). It was during the Mithilā expedition that Vallāṭasena seems to have displayed his military talent. His own grant and the later inscriptions of his dynasty refer in a vague manner to his martial successes and conquests. In his Naihāti grant it is stated that after the death of his father he established himself on the "lion-like throne," the top of a mountain as it were (*—adhyāsta yaḥ pitur = anantaram = ekarīraḥ śiṃhāsina = ādriśikharam naradevasiṃha...*). Many princes, having realised that to fight against him would be courting death, saved themselves by surrendering to his domination (v. 13, Naihāti grant). His enemy was the king of the Śavaras, whose children were prohibited by their mother from holding even a mock ceremony of coronation, as she was afraid lest it might invite his anger (*jananyā...sabhayaṁ nishid-dhāḥ*). He has been described as the moving embodiment

the moment of Lakṣmaṇasena's death or the termination of his reign, which will have to be placed in the neighbourhood of that year, i.e., 1183 A.D. The Gayā inscription of Puruṣhottamasimha, the son of Kāmadevasimha and grandson of Jayatūṅgasimha, of the Kama country, mentioning Asokachalla, the king of the Sapādalakṣha mountains, to whom Puruṣhottamasimha was a tributary is dated in the Nirvāṇa year 1813, which may have corresponded to 1269 A.D. (Fleet, JRAS., 1909, p. 347; H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, p. 383). If the dates in the Bodhi-Gayā inscriptions of Mahārāja or Rājādhirāja Asokachalladeva, the lord of the Khasa kings of the Sapādalakṣha mountains, are to be assigned to the era which began from Lakṣmaṇasena's death, it will be found that the former was on the throne in 1284 and 1287 A.D. The Gaya inscription dated in the Nirvāṇa era will show that he reigned at least up to 1269-70 A.D.

of the spirit of war (*saṅgrāmaḥ śrita-jaṅgam = ākritir = abhūd = Vallālasenas = tataḥ*—Ānulia, Govindapur and Tarpandighi grants). In the same inscriptions it is said that the great conqueror by the sheer force of his mind was able to bring under his control the fortune-goddesses of his foes (*yaś = chetomayam = eva śaurya-vijayī dattu = aushadham tatksanād = akshinā rachayāñchakāra vaśagāḥ svasmin paresham śriyaḥ*). The grants of Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena refer to fields of battle rendered impassable by streams of blood across which the fortune-goddesses of his enemies were carried away in palanquins (...*śivikām = āropya vairi-śriyaḥ*). The evidence of the Barrackpur grant, already cited, as well as that of the Mādhānagar inscription of the time of his son Lakshmaṇasena, makes it clear that he combined intellectual accomplishments with the qualities of a powerful king and a conqueror. The latter grant says that not only was he 'the greatest of all rulers of the earth, but also the head of the whole assemblage of learned men (*Yāḥ keralam na khalu sarva-nareśvara-rāṇām-ekaḥ samagra-rirudhām = api chakrarartti*). From the same source we learn that he married Rāmadevī, daughter of a Chālukya king (*Chālukya-bhūpāla-kul = endulekhā*—vv. 8-9). If this king belonged to the Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇi, he may be identified with either Vikramāditya (A.D. 1076-1127) or Someśvara Bhūlokamalla (A.D. 1127-80). The Naihati grant, which is the only available inscription of his reign, was issued from Vikramapura, and it is dated in the 11th year.

Vallāla was succeeded by his son Lakshmaṇasena. All the extant grants of his reign were made from Vikramapura with the exception of the Mādhānagar grant, which is found to have been issued from a place called Dhāryyagrāma, where the 'victorious camp was situated at the time. The last-mentioned record probably belongs to the first anniversary of his coronation (*Pārvaka-mūlābhishekaḥ*). Some information as regards the extent of his empire may be gathered from the names of places mentioned in his records. In Paundravardhana-bhukti were comprised Vyāghrataṭṭi (Ānulia grant), Khāḍi-maṇḍala (Sundar-

ban grant), *Varendrī* (Tarpendīghī and Mādhānagar grants) and *Kaṅkagrāma-bhukti*. Another important division was called *Vardhamāna-bhukti* mentioned in the Govindapur grant. The inscriptions of his reign have come from the districts of Dacca,¹ Dinājpur,² 24-Parganas,³ Nadiā,⁴ and Pābnā.⁵ The dated inscriptions of his reign range between the second and the sixth year. The evidence of his grants show that his Bengal empire remained intact during this period. In the Mādhānagar grant, which is probably to be referred to the end of the first year of his reign, his military exploits have been alluded to in one verse (No. 11), according to which he captured Gauḍa, defeated in battle the king of Kāśī and sported (?) with the women of Kālīṅga. (*Āsīd Gauḍeśvara-śrīhaṭha-haraṇakāle yasya kaumāra-keliḥ Kālīṅgen = āṅganābhīḥ...Yen-āsau Kāśīrājā samara-bhuvijito...—v. 11.*) The first of these exploits was achieved, as the text shows, when he was a *Kumāra*. Further light is thrown on his other conquests, including those mentioned in the Mādhānagar grant by the inscriptions of the reigns of his sons Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena. In a verse which is common to these later grants of the dynasty, it is said that he planted rows of pillars commemorating his military victory, accompanied by lofty sacrificial posts, on the shore of the southern sea. The sacred place 'where dwell the two gods, holding respectively a club and a mace in their hands, the realm of Viśveśvara, watered by the united flows of Asi and Varuṇā, and on the banks of the Trivenī, sanctified by Vedic sacrifices. (*Velāyām dakṣiṇ = ābdher = mmushala-dhara-gadā-pāṇi-samvāsavedyām kshetre Viśveśvaraṣya sphurad = Asi = Varuṇ = āślesha-Gaṅg = ornni-bhāji ; Tir = otsaṅge Trivenyāḥ kamalabhava-maḥ = ārambha-nirvyāpāt ye = ochchair-yajña-*

¹ The Sahitya Parishat grant and the Dacca image-inscription.

² The Tarpendīghī grant.

³ The Govindapur and Sundarban grants.

⁴ The Anulā grant. R. D. Banerji says that the plate was found in Malda town, but see S.P.P., Vol. XVII, p. 186.

⁵ The Mādhānagar grant.

yūpaiḥ saha samara-jaya-stambha-mālā nyadhāyi). His supremacy is thus mentioned to have been established in Kalinga, Benares and Allahabad. The Kalinga king defeated by Lakshmaṇasena was most probably Choḍagaṅga's son Rāghava (c. 1156-70).¹ His authority extended at least up to Puri on the eastern coast. The Gāhaḍavālas may have been checked for a short while by Lakshmaṇasena, whose hostility against the dynasty seems to have been inherited from his grandfather Vijayasena. In fact his entire foreign policy seems to have reflected the attitude of his great predecessor towards the neighbouring powers. We have already referred to the extension of the power of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty into portions of Bihār, as is evidenced by the Maner and Lar grants. The Tārāchaṇḍī inscription of Pratāpādhavala, dated in V.S. 1225 (A.D. 1168-69) shows that the authority of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayachandra prevailed in the Shāhābād district in that year.² Lakshmaṇasena seems to have fought not only against Kalinga and the Gāhaḍavālas, but also against Kāmarūpa like his grandfather Vijayasena. In the Mādhānagar grant it is said that he brought Kāmarūpa under his control through his prowess (*Vikrama-raśikṛita-Kāmarūpa*—l. 32). The Assam plates of Vallabhadeva reveal the existence of a lunar dynasty in Kāmarūpa in the 12th century A.D.³ The first king of this family was Rāyārideva, who adopted the *biruda* of Trailokyasiṃha. Verse 5 of this inscription says that he made the enemy abandon the entire practice of arms at the gorgeous festival of battle which was fearful on account of the presence of the lordly elephants of Vaṅga. The occupation of Vaṅga, and later, of Gauḍa, by the Senas brought them face to face with Kāmarūpa, making a clash between the two powers inevitable. The superiority of Vijayasena's arms was an effective safeguard on this front. Rāyārideva's son was Udayakarma, otherwise known as Niḥsaṅkasimha, which reminds us of the

¹ For his date, see JASB., 1905, p. 49.

² JASB., Vol. VI, p. 547.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 184.

epithet Nihśaṅka-Śaṅkara applied to Lakshmaṇasena's father Vallālasena. His son Vallabhadeva or Śrīvallabha was alive in the Śaka year 1107 (A.D. 1184-85) when the Assam plates were engraved. No definite military success has been attributed either to him or to his father. There is no doubt that the attention of the Senas was directed to this family, though it is difficult to name the kings defeated by them.

In the Mādhiānagar grant he is described as the lamp of the lunar family (*Soma-vaiśa-pradīpa...*), supreme in point of royal power (*rājapratāpa-Nārāyaṇa*), the suzerain of princes (*Kṣhmāpāla-Nārāyaṇa*), the paramount sovereign of the world (*avanimaṇḍal-aika-chakravartī...*), unique among those who are initiated (*paramadīkṣita...*) and the greatest of the Brahmakṣatriyas (*parama-Brahmakṣatriya*). According to the Ānuliā, Govindapur and Tarpandīghī grants he was devoted to statecraft (*rājanyā-dharmaśraya*), possessed ideal manners (*saujanya-sīma...*), was an enemy of poverty (*daiṇyadruha...*) and clever in entering the cities of enemies (*para-pura-praveśa-siddhi...*). He made extensive grants of villages to Brahmins along the banks of the Ganges (*yān sambandhya...yāh saṅgamyā na Gaṅgayā kṣaṇam=api svarg-go'pi saṁsmariyate | Tān-uchchair-atiśāyi-śāli-rasudhān=ārāma-ramyāntarān-riprebhy=oyam-adatta pattanagaṇān—v. 10, Ānuliā grant*). The war-like spirit of enemies cooled down before him (*dor-ushmakṣapit-āri-saṅgara-raso...*). The potency of his sword is praised (*tad=asi-mahaushadham-udbabhūra yatra*). In his prison were to be found kings, bound by chains, who had been his adversaries (*nigada=sranair-nniyamita-pratyarthi-prithibhujām*). The grants of his sons bestow on him the epithet of *Arirājamadana-śaṅkara*, while Vijayasena and Vallālasena are respectively called *Arirājavriṣhabhaśaṅkara* and *Arirājanihśaṅkaśaṅkara*. In the Dacca image-inscription he is simply mentioned as *Śrimal-Lakshmaṇasena* (*Śrimal-Lakshmaṇasenaderasya*).

Abūl Faẓl¹ mentions one Madhu Sen after Lakhan Sen.

¹ Jarrett, pp. 146-47.

The existence of a Mādhavasena is proved by the inclusion in the Saduktikarnamṛita of a verse composed by him.¹ Mādhavasena may have actually been the eldest son of Lakshmaṇasena, but there is no epigraphic evidence to show how long he reigned.² From the Edilpur, Madanapādā and Sāhitya Parishat³ grants the names of two sons of Lakshmaṇasena are available. The elder of them was Viśvarūpasena, as his name precedes that of his brother Keśavasena in the latter's Edilpur grant. They were sons by his queen (*mahārājñī*) whose name has been variously read—Tāndrādevī, Tādādevī, Tyastanadevī or Chāndrādevī—[v. 14, Edilpur; v. 13, Madanapādā]. The same name is read in the Sāhitya Parishat⁴ grant as Tyattanadevī by H. P. Śāstrī. The two extant grants of Viśvarūpasena refer to him as a great warrior, but no details of his military activities have been given. He was the crest-jewel of the hostile kings (*pratibhaṭa-bhūpāla-mukṭa-maṇi*), engaged in wars since the days of his viceroyalty (*ā-kaumāram = apāra-saṅgar.....a-hara-vyāpāra-trishṇā.....*),⁵ the prowess of whose arms was adored by the assemblage of brave people (*vīra-parishad-vandyasya dor-vikramam*). It is somewhat significant that his Sāhitya Parishat grant does not mention the place whence it was issued. Some unknown trouble, perhaps the advancing tide of Moslem attacks, necessitated frequent strategic and secret changes in the movement of his army.⁶ His inscriptions make grants of lands situated in Vaṅga lying under the jurisdiction of the Paundravardhana-*bhukti*, of which the eastern limit was the sea, i.e., the Bay of Bengal (l. 47, Sāhitya Parishat grant). His Madanapādā grant was declared from

¹ Ed. by Pandit Rāmavātāra Śarmā, p. 902; Cat. Catal., I. p. 448; verse translated by Aufrecht in ZDMG., XXXVI, 5401. Regarding the authorship of the verse, see JASB., 1906, p. 172.

² Regarding the possibility of Mādhavasena's settlement in Kumaon, see N. N. Vasu's article on the Sena Chronology in JASB., 1896, LXV, Pt. I, p. 26; R. D. Banerji, JASB., N.S., 1918, p. 288.

³ V. 16, Sāhitya Parishat grant; v. 14, Madanapādā grant.

⁴ V. 14, Madanapādā grant; v. 15, Sāhitya Parishat grant. (Successful manoeuvres in dealing with enemy forces and frustrating their tactics are clearly hinted at in the inscriptions of Viśvarūpa and Keśava, v. 15 and v. 18 respectively.)

Phalgugrāma, which is supposed to have become a new centre of the Senas on the banks of the river Phalgu in Gayā. The 14th year in which the plate was engraved is the only known date of his reign.¹ He seems to have been succeeded by his brother Keśavasena. The same verses in the Madanapādā and Sāhitya Parishat grants which praise Viśvarūpasena, are found applied to Keśavasena in the Edilpur grant. Besides, there are some additional verses in this record devoted to the praise of Keśavasena. This fact and the probability that in the Edilpur grant Viśvarūpa's name may have been erased and his name substituted in its place, may go to prove that Keśava succeeded his brother.

Kings who led expeditions in search of booty got confused when they came into contact with Keśava (v. 21—*vismay = ākulita-lokapāl = āvalī ; vilokita-viśrīṅkhala-praghana-jaitra-yātrābharah*). He was the most prominent among the reputed heroes (*prathita-vīraparg-āgraniḥ*—v. 21) and was like the god of destruction to the face of Garga-Yavanas (*Śrī gargayaranānraya-pralaya-kāla-rudro nṛipah*—v. 21). The last phrase quoted has been used with regard to Viśvarūpasena. Here there is probably a veiled reference to the Muhammadan enemy of the king. The meaning of “Garga” has been explained by K. P. Jayaswal, who takes it to correspond to Garjha (Gharjistan, Gharj or Ghor), so that it may be regarded as referring to the Ghorī dynasty.¹ If this equation is admissible, it will be seen that these plates provide us with an important datum as to the contact of the Senas with the Islamic forces which later destroyed the native dynasty and set up their own rule in the country. The Sundarban copper-plate grant,² dated in the Saka year 1118 (1196 A.D.), shows that in that year Śrī-Maḍommanapāla was in charge of a territory which included Pūrva-Khāṭikā or the eastern part of Khāṭikā which seems to be a Sauskritic rendering of Khāḍī, a name

¹ Jayaswal thinks that the actual reading may be Garjha or Garjha, see JBORS., Vol. IV, Pt. III, p. 366f.

² IHQ., Vol. X (1904), pp. 321-31 with Plate.

which occurs as that of a *bhukti* in the Barrackpur copper-plate of Vijayasena and a *vishaya* in the lost Sundarban copper-plate of Lakshmanasena, now represented by a pargana of the same name in the Diamond Harbour subdivison of the 24-Parganas district. In this record there is a descriptive phrase relating to the chief: *Mahāsāmantādhipati-Mahārājādhirāja-vipaksha-Sāmantarāja...* (l. 2), which may be interpreted in two different ways. Either, he is described here as a *Mahāsāmantādhipati* and also as a *Sāmanta*, who was hostile to an unnamed *Mahārājādhirāja*, or he is styled both as a *Mahāsāmantādhipati* and a *Mahārājādhirāja* who crushed the power of his feudatories (lit., one who cut off their wings).¹ If the former interpretation is right, the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* will appear to have freed himself from the authority of the paramount ruler who must have been either Lakshmanasena himself or one of his successors. If the latter interpretation is to be accepted, it will appear that Maḍommanapāla was virtually in possession of the territory indicated in the grant with his capital at Dvārahaṭāka. The second interpretation does not make clear what his relations with the paramount power were at the time. Was he helpful to the Senas at a time when the Moslem invasion was imminent? If he as the leader of the feudatories was engaged in hostilities with the Senas at this critical moment in their history, it will show that all was not well with the latter, so far as the internal condition and organisation of the province were concerned, on the eve of the Muhammadan Conquest. Maḍommanapāla is apparently described as one belonging to a Pāla family that came from Ayodhyā and occupied *Pūrva-Khaṭikā*, where was situated the place of his salvation, Dvārahaṭāka (*Ayodhyā-riniḥṣṛita-Pālāṇḍavay = śpārjjita-pūrva-Khāṭik = āntahpāti-sviya-mukti-bhūmauśrī-Dvārahaṭāke*—lines 3-4). His predecessor, whose full name cannot be correctly deciphered² owing to the damage caused to

¹ See *IHQ.*, Vol. X (1884), p. 326, n. 11.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 324, n. 5, 328. (Note the unfortunate printing mistake Śpi for Śri).

the plate, was a *Mahāmāṇḍalika*. There is no reason to suppose that he was a powerful prince, since in the record there is no account of victories won in battles, as are commonly met with in *prasaṣtis* incorporated in such grants. A vague suggestion of some antagonism either with the paramount authority, or with feudatories or neighbours is present. From the internal data of the inscription it is not possible to trace the history of his family earlier than the time of his predecessor, who carried out the duties of a provincial chief.

Some attempts¹ have been made to throw additional light on the interpretation of the text of this inscription. It has been proposed that the name of the donor has been given as *Śrī-Maḍom-maṇapāla*, which is a mistake for *Śrīmad-Dommaṇapāla*, a name that points to the South Indian origin of the family to which its holder belonged. Similarly, the name of his predecessor has been put through the scribe's mistake as *Śrīvāsapāla* for *Śrīvāsapāla*.² Assuming that the family emigrated from South India, it is urged that the Ayodhyā of the inscription must have been situated in the Madras Presidency where a family of the Ikshvākus are known to have ruled. There may be several objections against these theories. In the first place, it is not safe to draw any serious conclusion about the origin of a family from a study of names only. Rudradāman will appear to have been an Indian ruler if his name meant everything. Secondly, if the donor's predecessor was called *Śrīvāsapāla*, that would be a perfectly Sanskrit name. If they came from the Ikshvāku seat in the Madras Presidency, that should not even prove that they used South Indian names. As far as we know, the existence of an Ayodhyā in that region has not yet been proved. As to the reading of the names, it will appear somewhat strange that in a grant confirmed by a ruler, his and his predecessor's names will be given wrongly, while other names are given correctly, the text itself being not particularly faulty and careless

¹ Ind. Cult., Vol. I. (1925), pp. 679-82.

² IHQ, Vol. XV (1939), p. 306, n. 9.

on the side of grammar or orthography. An alternative suggestion has been made to the effect that the reference in the inscription to a Pāla family does not apply to Maḍommanapāla's family but to the Great Pālas of Bengal (whose dynasty was founded by Gopāla in the eighth century), and that this mention is made by way of contrast to Maḍommanapāla's line which was 'dākshinātya-viniṣṛita,' an additional phrase which, if the guess were right, ought to have been in the text. Apart from the uselessness of a mention of the Great Pāla family of Bengal which had long disappeared from the province, it is difficult to understand why Maḍommanapāla should refer to *Pūrva-Khāṭikā* which had been acquired not by them but by others, where there was no trace of the existence of the former's authority at the time of the grant, and where was situated *Dvārahaṭṭaka*, a place so sacred to the donor.¹

As no more information than given in the grant is available regarding the donor and his family, it will not be safe to connect them with any other known line of princes. Was he connected with the *Gauḍeśvara* Palapāla of the Jaynagar inscription of the year 35? Maḍommanapāla is described as 'dhavala-sāmantarāja.' Is it possible from this to infer that he was in some way related to Pratāpadhavalā and other feudatories of Jāpila?²

The end of the Hindu supremacy in Northern India was already in sight. In 1193 A.D. the Chauhan king Prithvirāja was defeated in the battle of Taraori and put to death. Subsequently, in about 1199 A.D.,³ Bihār lay at the feet of Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yar, and soon after this event the conqueror proceeded

¹ It is difficult to understand how Maḍommanapāla could anticipate at the time of the grant that he would die at *Dvārahaṭṭaka*, justifying its description as a place of salvation for him, as suggested in *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 681-82. J. C. Ghosh (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 189) thinks that the place is described in that fashion because probably the donor was born here. It is more probable that this place was the original seat of the family's power, associated with the sacred memory of his predecessor, where the donor may have created temples of Mahādeva whose devotee he was.

² *IHQ.*, Vol. X, p. 337 and footnotes 12 & 13.

³ *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 40.

to capture Nūdiāh in Bengal. Who was the Sena king that left his capital when it was seized by Muḥammad ? Minhāj, who was engaged in writing his history within about half a century of the event, gives his name as Lakhmaniya, which seems to stand for 'Lākshmaṇeya,'¹ meaning a descendant of Lakshmaṇa or Lakshmaṇasena. The name can be applied to Lakshmaṇasena's grandson and it is perhaps true that "Nūdiāh" was captured from his hands. The exact date of the fall of the city is not known but there is a general agreement among scholars that it took place sometime between A.D. 1193 and 1205.²

It is significant that Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena are both styled "*Gauḍeśvara*" in their records (l. 38, Madanapādā grant, Sāhitya Parishat grant ; l. 43, Edilpur grant). In these inscriptions the epithet is bestowed on their ancestors from Vijayasena to Vallālasena. It is, therefore, reasonable to hold that the term should be interpreted in the same sense in these different cases. Besides, they continued to assume the usual imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. The *dūtaka* employed in connection with the grant recorded in the Madanapādā copper-plate was Kōpivishṇu, the *Mahāsāndhirigrahika* of Gauḍa (*Gauḍa-mahāsāndhirigrahikah*—l. 59), and the person engaged in the same capacity in regard to the Edilpur grant of Keśavasena was also a high official of Gauḍa (*Gauḍa-mahāmahattakah*—l. 64). These data seem to point to the conclusion that the entire Gauḍa kingdom of the Senas was not lost up to the 14th year of Viśvarūpasena's reign and the 3rd year of Keśavasena's rule. Their land-grants were situated in Vaṅga in Paundravardhana-*bhukti*.

The Sāhitya Parishat grant of Viśvarūpasena mentions two *Kumdras*, viz., Sūryasena (l. 54) and Purushottamasena

¹ JBOBS., Vol. IV, pp. 267-70.

² For different theories regarding the date of the sack of Nūdiāh, see Raverty, p. 578, n. g; App. D; JASB., 1906, N.S., p. 40; 1908, pp. 151-53; 1913, p. 285. The date is given as 1202 A.D. in CHL, Vol. III, p. 46, f.n. 1; JDL, Vol. XVI, p. 77.

(l. 67). It is probable, as H. P. Śāstrī in his edition of the grant suggests, that they were Viśvarūpa's sons.¹ One of them may have ascended the throne of Gauḍa after Keśava's death and may be identified with the ill-fated sovereign described by Minhāj as Rai Lakhmaṇiyah.

The progress of the Muhammadan arms from Bihār to Bengal was easy. Since the downfall of the Pālas Bihār had practically been transformed into a battle-ground² of rival political interests. In 1180 A.D. the authority of the Gāhaḍa-vāla King Jayachchandra prevailed at Bodh-Gayā and its neighbourhood. Another king³ of unknown antecedents, Govindapāla by name, exercised his sway in the same region between 1161 and 1199 A.D., but his rule was frequently disturbed during this period. The Jānibighā ' inscription of the *Piṭhipati* Buddhasena, son of Jayasena, shows that in the year 83 of an era connected with Lakshmanasena's name (? *Lakshmanasenasasy = ātite rājye Sam* 83) a part of Bihār was under his control. As their names suggest, they may have been connected with the Sena dynasty of Bengal.

The Muhammadan attack on Nūdiāh was skilfully planned, but the fact that the normal government in the city had practically come to a stand still may have contributed to its success to a certain extent.⁴ The people of Bengal (Bang) were seized with

¹ H. P. Śāstrī reads the name as Sadāsena. This name is found in the A'in-i-Akbari, see Jarrett, p. 146. It is interesting to note that Abu'l-Faḍl mentions him next to Kesusena (Keśavasena?). The reading 'Sūryasena,' which seems to be correct, is due to, Majumdar.

² JASB., L, 1880, pp. 76-79.

³ JBORS. (XIV) pp. 493, 533-38; MASB., Vol. V, pp. 109-11. For a different theory regarding his date, see B. C. Majumdar, JASB., 1921, p. 6, n. 2; D. C. Bhattacharya, Ind. Ant., 1922, p. 156.

⁴ JBORS., IV, pp. 266ff, 273-80; Ind. Ant., XLVIII, 1919, p. 47. This inscription may also be referred to an era that started from the time of Lakshmanasena's death. H. C. Ray suggests that these Senas may have been local feudatory princes who ruled near Gajā. "possibly acknowledging the Muslims." See Dynastic History, Vol. I, p. 388.

⁵ For further details of the story, see Raverty, pp. 564-69; Elliot, History of India, Vol. II, pp. 307-09; CHI., Vol. III, pp. 46-47.

panic and fear when they heard of Muḥammad's doings in Bihār. According to the story told by Minhāj, a number of 'astrologers, wise men and counsellors' of Rai Lakhmaṇīyah who had been on the throne for 80 years (!) acquainted the king with a prophecy that the country would fall into the hands of the Turks. They told him that as the Muhammadans had already subdued Bihār, they would soon conquer their own country. Under the circumstances, it was expedient for the king to leave the country with the whole population, so that he might not be molested by the enemy. Rai Lakhmaṇīyah, however, did not recognise the force of their counsel but most of the Brahmīns and other inhabitants left the capital and went to the province of Sankanat, the cities and towns of Bang and Kāmarūpa. The city thus stood almost deserted when Muḥammad with a small following entered it and took the royal palace by surprise. No resistance could be offered by the king who left his capital at the mercy of the invader and fled to Sankanat and Bang, where he died. The city was destroyed and the conqueror made Lakṣaṇavati the seat of his government. The government of the Senas seems to have prevailed in Eastern Bengal for some time more as when Minhāj wrote his account Lakhmaniya's descendants were still ruling in Sankanat and Bang.

If there is any truth in the story of which an outline has been given above, it shows that the people of the country had no faith in the capacity of their ruler or in his resources to afford them protection in the face of the new enemy. The king, in fact, was unable to control his own subjects.

Part III

ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER I

PRE-PALA BENGAL

Lack of positive data stands in the way of an attempt being made towards the reconstruction of a systematic and consistent history of the administration of Bengal in ancient times. It is no doubt true that some evidence useful for the purpose is available, but it has two drawbacks. Firstly, it does not cover the entire range of time, qualified by the word 'ancient', which to a student of Indian history means a period extending at least from the time of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty to that of the establishment of Moslem power; secondly, even for the circumscribed period to which it applies, extending for purposes of this chapter from the 4th to the middle of the 8th century A.D., it is too inadequate to satisfy one's curiosity regarding the working of all the various departments of administration without which no normal government can function. Regarding those centuries which practically go unrepresented in this imperfect history of administration, some inferences are often drawn from observations embodied in foreign accounts, from the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, from the inscriptions of Aśoka and sundry other literary and archaeological sources. Against the use of such materials there may be two principal objections. The first objection is on the ground of uncertainty involved in the supposition that institutions parallel or analogous to those obtaining in the Maurya empire also existed in Bengal, of which it must be presumed to have formed an integral part. The second objection is based on the well-known arguments against the

ascription of the Arthasāstra to the Maurya Age. Even if these arguments are substantially refutable, how can this work which includes a large speculative element be taken to represent conditions actually existing and dealt with specifically from the standpoint of Bengal history, which will make it appear as if it were not a treatise on polity, partly realistic and partly idealistic, whatever that description means, but one bearing a settled relation to a fixed geographical and political area ?

Those who are interested in the Maurya administration will find a critical account of it based on the Aśokan inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Vol. I), re-edited by Hultzsch, an account which can be hardly altered or modified materially. Those who hold that the Arthasāstra can be well utilised for the purpose of acquainting oneself with administrative conditions in Bengal may find some guidance from Monahan's work on the early history of Bengal. The point of view, which is, however, adhered to in the following pages is that no evidence is to be considered applicable to Bengal, which does not connect itself definitely and beyond doubt with that province.

In the pre-Mauryan period the country of the Gangaridae,¹ which must be located in Bengal, was well defended militarily, and was ruled by a king. A point of military interest is that in the 4th century A.D. a memorable battle took place in Vāṅga,² in which several chiefs participated, ending with the victory of Chandra, mentioned in the Meharauli Iron Pillar inscription. The rulers defeated by him in this battle were probably those exercising local authority only in their respective spheres, which will mean that Bengal was divided at the time into a number of principalities. Inscriptions of subsequent times also go to show that the military unity of Bengal was seldom achieved, which is one of the reasons why the country could be successfully attacked from outside and subordinated.

¹ McCrindle, *Invasion of India*, pp. 364-365.

² *Pleest*, OII., Vol. III, p. 141.

The absence of such unity was also a means of preserving local independence and a bar to the easy creation of a single state.¹

In the Maurya Age² the city of Puṇḍravardhana was probably the administrative seat of a Mahāmātra. His functions are not described in the Mahāsthān inscription, but he seems to have held control over the local granary (*koṭhāgale*), and treasury (*kosam*), from which under instructions from superior authorities not actually traceable in the fragmentary record, they could make loans to people when they fell into a state of economic distress on account of any unforeseen occurrence.

All the available inscriptions of the subsequent period point to only one form of government, *viz.*, monarchy. They refer either to local dynasties or rulers, or to imperial families ruling over dominions which included portions of Bengal. As to the position actually occupied by the king himself in the prevalent system of government, or the specific duties performed by him in connection with the administration of his realm, there is no detailed evidence available. There is no reference to any cabinet of ministers such as is mentioned in the Kauṭīliya³ and in the Aśokan inscriptions.⁴ In two distinctive epochs Bengal formed an integral part of an imperial organization, once during the regime of the Gupta dynasty and again, under Śaśāṅka. It is likely that for some time during Harshavardhana's reign also portions of this province were ruled from the imperial centre, Kanauj. Regarding the subordination of Bengal to other rulers, more or less powerful, such as Harsha mentioned in the Kātmāṇḍu Temple inscription (759 A.D.),⁵ all that can be

¹ The army in later days consisted of four elements, infantry, cavalry, elephants and fleet. Cf. The Nidhanpur Plates of Bhāskara-varman containing the phrase: *mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-patti-sampaty-upeta-jayāśobhānvarita-skandhāvārit- Karppasuvarpavāsakāt-* II. 2-3, Ep. Ind., XII, p. 78.

² Ep. Ind., XX, p. 85. This inscription bears an undoubted affinity to the Sohgaurs Copper-plate, see *ibid.*, p. 89; Ep. Ind., XXII, p. 1 f.

³ 1, 15, 11 (Sham Shastri's edition, p. 29).

⁴ See Rock-edicts, IV, VI.

⁵ Ind. Ant., IX, p. 178.

gathered from inscriptional sources may be important from the standpoint of dynastic history, but is of no material use to a student of administration. Amongst the local dynasties or rulers, mention should be made of the Varmans of the Susuniā inscription (early fourth century),¹ the Khadgas of Samatata (7th century);² local chiefs with varying degrees of power and authority were Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāradeva of East Bengal,³ Jayanāga of Karnasuvarṇa⁴ and Vainya-Gupta of Tippera.⁵

Early in the 4th century the title of a king was simply *Mahārāja*. This was the designation enjoyed by Sinhavarmān and his son Chandravarman of Puskarāṇa (Pokharan in the Bankura district). The latter was undoubtedly a potentate of some importance since he is mentioned as one of the prominent rulers of *Āryāvarta* in the Allahabad *Prasasti* of Samudra-Gupta. The titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and *Parama-daivata* were used by the Gupta sovereigns, by Kumāra Gupta I (Dāmodarpur copper-plates No. 1, lines 1-2; No. 2, lines 1-2; in the Dhanaidaha grant only "*Parama-daivata-para*—" can be traced),⁶ by Budha-Gupta (Dāmodarpur, Nos. 3 and 4) and also the king who issued the Dāmodarpur Plate No. 5. Among local rulers the title *Mahārājādhirāja* only was used by Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāradeva (6th century), by Jayanāga of Karnasuvarṇa (6th century). This title was also used by Saśāṅka (Ganjām Plates). Even in the imperial Gupta period, if the ruler's name was not given explicitly, he was simply referred to by the title '*bhaṭṭāraka*' (cf. *bhaṭṭāraka-pādānām śaḍbhāga*—Baigram Plate; also Pālārpur Plate). The title *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* was not always used along with the title *Mahārājādhirāja*. In the Faridpur

¹ Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 133.

² See Aarārpur Plates, Mem. ASB., Vol. I, p. 85.

³ Ind. Ant., 1910, pp. 128 ff., Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 74.

⁴ Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 60.

⁵ Ind. Hist. Quart., 1930, p. 45.

⁶ Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 247.

copper-plates of Dharmāditya (No. B) and Gopachandra (No. C) the simpler form *bhattāraka* is used. While in the earlier times the simple unostentatious '*Mahārāja*' was enough for an independent sovereign like Chandravarman, in succeeding centuries this title was generally reserved for high officials or feudatories. The only exception known to us, so far as Bengal is concerned, is the case of Vainya-Gupta who in the Tippera copper-plate inscription is styled *Mahārāja*, though under him there were at least two men enjoying the same title (*Pādadāsa-Mahārāja* Rudradatta-line 3; *Dūtaka-Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta* Vijayasena—lines 15-16). This is again the title adopted along with the designation *Uparika* by the officer in charge of the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana who was holding this post in 544 A.D.; by Sthānudatta who served under Dharmāditya (Faridpur Plate A), and also Vijayasena, as shown by the Mallasārul grant. Probably, as in the Tippera grant he acts as *Dūta*, *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahāpratihāra*, his capacity in this grant is of a twofold character, as a feudatory as well as an official who actually participated in the government of his suzerain. The titles *Sāmanta* and *Mahārāja* do not always go together; in the Vappaghoshavāta grant Nārāyaṇabhadra who is called a *Sāmanta* is designated neither a *Rājan* nor a *Mahārāja*. It is to be noted, however, that the *Sāmanta* in this grant was either a feudatory, who administered his own territory as a vassal, or governed a district or province as an official of the king (*Nārāyaṇabhadrasy-Audumvarika-rishaya-sambhogakāle cha*).

The largest unit governed by a deputy of the king was called *bhukti*. Such a division was Puṇḍravardhana which practically corresponded to the whole of North Bengal, appearing in Dāmodarpur Plates, Nos. 1-5. In the Pāhārpur grant of Budha-Gupta this *bhukti* is to be found mentioned by implication, as its chief city which was called by the same name is clearly noted in it. Another *bhukti* is that of Vardhamāna referred to in the Mallasārul grant of Gopachandra (6th century), which seems to have comprised the southern part of ancient Rāḍha. What was

the denomination of the region entrusted to the government of *Mahārāja* Sthānudatta (Faridpur grant A) by Dharmāditya, or to *Uparika* Nāgadeva who had his headquarters at Navyāvakaśikā (Faridpur Plates B and C), who served respectively under Dharmāditya and Gopachandra, or to Jivadatta whose name is found in another grant of Samāchāradeva, carrying on his administration from the same centre, is not known definitely, but the position and status of these officers were apparently not inferior but corresponded to those of the deputies appointed by the imperial sovereigns to administer the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana. A *bhukti* was to comprise a number of *vishayas* or districts. The inscriptions of the period name only a few *vishayas*. The *vishaya* which appears in the Dāmodarpur Plates (Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5) is called Koṭivarsha belonging to the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana. The Dhanāidaha copper-plate of the reign of Kumāra Gupta I (113 G. E.), makes mention of another such administrative division called Khāṭāpāra or Khādāpāra (Khaṭāpūraṇa)¹ which must also have been comprised in the same *bhukti*. The Baigrām copper-plate refers to a *vishaya* which included Pañchānagarī as its headquarters; it is most likely that this was the name of the *vishaya* too (*etad-vishaya*—). This is the third *vishaya* that we know of, as belonging to the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* although the last-named two *vishayas* are not explicitly assigned to any *bhukti*. From the Faridpur grants the existence of a *vishaya* named Vāraka-Maṇḍala is proved. This was under the administrative control of Navyāvakaśikā. The Vappaghoshavāta grant, as stated already, refers to the Audumvarika-*vishaya*, whose governor 'meditated on the feet' of *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayanāga of Karnaśuvarṇa. A subdivision which is generally found in inscriptions to have been smaller than and included in a *vishaya* is known by the name *Maṇḍala*. There is no definite reference to such a subdivision in the Bengal inscriptions of the period. The Tippera copperplate's reference to Uttara-Maṇḍala may suggest the existence of an administrative area comprised within

¹ Cf. Mallastul Inscription, Ep. Ind., XXIII, p. 155.

an unnamed *vishaya* or *bhukti*, corresponding to a *Maṇḍala* in the northern part of the kingdom indicated by the inscription and implying a *Maṇḍala* in the southern part as well. It is neither improbable that the term *Maṇḍala* here used bears no such administrative signification as is attached to it as a technical term. It might have been used to denote an unlimited area of political authority. From the Faridpur grants (A, B, C) and the Ghugrāhāṭi grant of Samāchāradeva the name of *Vāraka-Maṇḍala-Vishaya* is available. This may mean either a *vishaya* comprised within the *Vāraka-Maṇḍala*, or the latter may have been the name of the *vishaya* itself. The weakness of the former interpretation lies in the fact that the inscriptions concerned are not found to supply any information regarding the place occupied by the '*Vāraka-Maṇḍala*' in the administrative arrangement followed, apart from the deviation that it will necessitate from the usual practice of regarding a *vishaya* as larger than a *maṇḍala*, which, however, may be supported by certain known exceptions. There is more probability, therefore, that the name of the *vishaya* itself was *Vāraka-Maṇḍala*, which will show that the term *maṇḍala* as used in these records, do not contain any technical sense.

Several inscriptions refer to another type of administrative area to which the name *Vithi* is given. The reading *Suvarṇa-Vithi* (2, 3) in the Ghugrāhāṭi inscription of Samāchāradeva is right, but its interpretation as meaning 'the bullion market' situated in *Navyāvakāśikā* seems to be unwarranted, for *Vithi* in the sense of an administrative district is available (cf. the *Mallasārul* and *Nandapur* grants). In the Ghugrāhāṭi grant the expression *Suvarṇa-Vithi* is to be taken as the name of one such district. This is found to have been included in the jurisdiction exercised by *Navyāvakāśikā*, the governor of which enjoyed a status higher than that of the Officer-in-charge of the *Vāraka-Maṇḍala-Vishaya* (*Navyāvakāśikāyām Suvarṇa-vithy-adhikṛit-āntaraṅga-uparika-Jivadattas = tad-anumodilaka*—). The *Mallasārul* grant shows that in the reign of Gopachandra (6th century) there was a *Vithi* called *Vakkattaka* comprised in the *Varddhamaṇa-bhukti*. The

relevant passage in this grant while referring to the situation of a village names only the *bhukti* and the *Vithi*. The *Vithi* here referred to is thus found affiliated to a *bhukti*; being unconnected with any *Vishaya* and belonging to a division wider than that denoted by this term, it presents an undoubted affinity to the *Suvarṇa-Vithi* of the *Ghugrāhāṭi* grant. The position of the *Vithi*, mentioned in the *Nandapur* inscription of the year 169, is in this respect different from that of the two others above referred to. Thus this copper-plate furnishing the name of *Nanda-Vithi* refers to it as lying under the jurisdiction of *Ambila-grām-Āgrahāra*, where the headquarters of *Vishayapati* *Chhatramaha* were probably situated. The case of the *Dakṣiṇāmśaka-Vithi* is uncertain. It appears to have been under the jurisdiction of *Puṇḍravardhana*, as recorded in the *Pāhārpur* grant. The *adhishṭhānādhikaraṇa*, referred to in this inscription, may have been the court situated in the headquarters of the *Puṇḍravardhana bhukti*, in which case this *Vithi* must have been under its jurisdiction. The position of *Nāgiraṭṭa-Manḍala* as standing next to *Dakṣiṇāmśaka-Vithi* in the geographical portion of the *Pāhārpur* inscription seems to point to the inclusion of the former in the administrative area, of which the latter was the name.

In the system of administration, revealed in our inscriptions, villages, as will be seen later, played a significant part. The name used in these records to denote a village is *grāma*. Perhaps the village was the smallest administrative unit. Some village-names end with the term *agrahāra*. Thus in the *Tippera* copper-plate appears the name of the village *Guṇekāgrahāra-grāma*; in the *Nandapur* grant that of *Ambila-grām-Āgrahāra*, the importance of which can be realised from the fact that it was the seat of a district officer's (*vishayapati*'s) administration. It may be supposed that an *agrahāra* considered from the standpoint of administration was often more important and better developed than an ordinary *grāma*, but there was nothing to prevent the latter from being raised to the status of an *agrahāra* through administrative exigencies. Behind the expression *grāmāgrahāra* or

agrahāra-grāma may, therefore, lie a history of internal expansion, a process which some of the more fortunate villages underwent through pressure of administrative and economic necessities. Groupings of villages for purposes of administration are well-known (*cf.* Manu), but our inscriptions do not make any direct reference to any such combination. The name *Palāśa-vrindaka* occurring in the Dāmodarpur copper-plate No. 3, may denote a larger area than usually indicated by the term *grāma*. It may be noted here that the administrative machinery that worked at *Palāśavṛindaka* does not appear to have been wholly identical in type and structure with the one operating at *Chañḍagrāma*, both of which are indicated side by side as if for comparison in the same inscription. Similarly, *Vai-grāma* of the Baigram copper-plate may have represented a combination of hamlets; it is found to have included at least two distinct localities, *Trivṛita* and *Śrīgohāli*. Names of some cities are available, *Koṭivarsha*, *Puṇḍravardhana*, *Karṇasuvarṇa*, *Pañchanagarī*. The second of these was the name of a *bhukti* also, the first and the fourth those of two *rishayas* and the third that of a considerably wide area; these names are not actually furnished as those of cities, but the presumption that they were so may be safely made from the context in each case; for example *Puṇḍravardhana* is mentioned as an *adhishṭhāna* in the Pāhārpur inscription; the *adhishṭhāna* of the *Koṭivarsha-rishaya* was presumably at a city called by the same name; if the latter had a different name it would have been given separately. *Karṇasuvarṇa* where *Bhāskaravarman's* forces assembled, as shown in the *Nidhanpur* grant, must have been a city and not a wide territory merely, of which it was a part. *Naryāvakaśikā* (*Faridpur Plates*), *Kripura* (*Tippera copper-plate*), *Pañchanagarī* (*Baigram copper-plate*) are probably names of well-organised cities or towns, although these may have been parts of extensive areas also called by these names.

We shall now proceed to a discussion of the material furnished by our inscriptions regarding the nature of administrative

arrangements connected with the different units mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs. The extremely limited character of the information available on the subject must be admitted at the outset. Most of the inscriptions deal with transactions relating to sale of lands; in setting forth details about these, they refer only to those parts of the administrative machinery which had to work in accordance with certain fixed rules for purposes of a legal conveyance or deed. The very nature of these documents did not require them to cover the entire field of administration.

The *bhukti* was to be under the government of an officer whose appointment to this post was either in the gift, or subject to the approval of the crown. Thus in each of the five Dāmodarpur copper-plates the governor of the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana is described as *tatpād ipariग्रहिता* in relation to the king under whom he may have served. The designation of this high official is *Uparika* (Dāmodarpur Plates 1, 2, 3, 4); to this is added 'Mahārāja' in two plates only (Nos. 3 and 5), dated respectively in 483 (?) and 544 A.D. Chirātadatta was in charge of the *Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti* at least from 124 to 128 G. E. (Nos. 1 and 2); *Uparika Mahārāja* Brahmadatta was in this post in 163(?) Gupta year; in the reign of Budha-Gupta *Mahārāja* Jayadatta occupied the same office; in 544 A.D., the governorship was held by another *Uparika Mahārāja*. In the last-named year the officer who was in charge of the province is further styled as *Rājaputra-deva-bhaṭṭāraka*, from which it may be concluded that a member of the royal household itself, if not himself a son of the reigning king, had been appointed to the governorship of the *Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti*. Thus in this year this particular governorship was regarded as a sort of viceroyalty to which only a prince could be appointed. The *Uparikas* of the preceding years, as recorded in the other Dāmodarpur inscriptions, did not belong to the reigning family, as the surname Datta in their names shows that they were different from the Guptas. The Faridpur grants while not mentioning the term *bhukti*

name certain officers decidedly of a high rank, serving under the different rulers, Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāradeva, who definitely appear to have enjoyed a status higher than that of those who were placed in charge of the *Vāraka-maṇḍala-vishaya*. These officers also owed their post to the favour or approval of the king (*tad-anumodana-labdh-āspadasya*—Plate B; *tat-prasāda-labdh-āspade* — A, C; *charaṇa-kamala-yugal-ārāadhan-opātta*—Ghugrāhāṭi Plate). The titles, adopted by these officers, are not, however, wholly identical with those enjoyed by the Dāmodarpur governors. Copper-plate A from Faridpur styles Sthānudatta as *Mahārāja* simply; copper-plate B confers the two designations *Mahāpratihāra* and *Uparika* on Nāgadeva (serving successively under Dharmāditya and Gopachandra), to which some more (including *Kumārāmātya*?) appear to be added (cf. C). The Ghugrāhāṭi grant calls Jivadatta as *Antaraṅga* and *Uparika*. In three out of the four plates from Faridpur, therefore, the title *Uparika* is found to be used, which will surely warrant the assumption that the officials to whom this designation attached occupied a post which was as important in the dominions of Gopachandra, Dharmāditya and Samāchāradeva, as that of the *Uparika Mahārājas* of the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* in the Gupta empire. The designation *Mahāpratihāra* which Nāgadeva enjoyed seems to show that the region which he governed was so situated that he had to co-operate in the defence of the frontiers of his master's territory. It is not unlikely that these officers were sometimes originally local chiefs who, having been subjugated by their more powerful neighbours, agreed to serve under them as provincial governors. The Mallasārul grant while referring to the officials connected with the administration of the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, mentions amongst these an *Uparika*, who, judging from the evidence of the Dāmodarpur plates, must have been employed as a governor of that province. The *Mahārāja-Uparikas* who were at different times in charge of the Navyāvakāśikā division had their tenure of office characterised as *adhyāsanakāla* (Faridpur Plate C; also

cf. B, where, however, the title *Uparika* is not given). If the reading *Pañchādhikarāṇoparika* and *Purapāloparika* in the Tippera copper-plate of Vainya-Gupta is correct, it will be seen that the designation *Uparika* could stand singly as in the Dāmodarpur and some of the Faridpur plates, also as in the Mallasārul inscription, or as an element of a compound, as noticed in the Tippera plate. In the latter case it will be found to have denoted only a position of headship, which might be held by a person not necessarily employed as a provincial governor, that position of headship being one connected with the office or offices indicated by the compound. The designations quoted above on this supposition will mean respectively the head of five *Adhikarāṇas* or the *Adhikarāṇa* of five (*i.e.*, consisting of five members) and the head of city-administrators, both offices having been held by the same person mentioned in the Tippera grant. There is no certain indication, it must be admitted, that he held the post of a provincial governor. Regarding the manner in which a provincial governor carried on his administration, there is also little evidence so that it is impossible to draw even a bare outline of the system followed. A Basarh seal¹ shows that a provincial governor had his own *Adhikarāṇa* (office or court, probably the entire establishment through which he carried out his official duties), situated at his headquarters or *adhishṭhāna*. It is evident also that he was directly responsible to the king as he owed his appointment to the king's choice or approval. It was the provincial governor who appointed the heads of the districts or *rishayas* which were comprised in his own province. The Pāhārpur inscription of the time of Budha-Gupta (159 Gupta Era)² may be interpreted to mean that the head of the provincial government of Puṇḍravardhana was not directly connected with his *Adhikarāṇa* at least in so far as it concerned itself with transactions of land-sale. This copper-plate mentions at the beginning that certain officials, designated *Āyuktakas*

¹ ASI, 1908-04, p. 108.

² This interpretation is different from those suggested in Ep. Ind., XX, p. 69.

(a reference to officials of this category may perhaps be traced in the Nandapur grant also) and the *Adhikaraṇa* of Puṇḍravardhana communicated a proposal of land-sale, which had originally been received by them, to subordinate local staffs. Here there is no mention of the *Uparika* of the *bhukti* concerned. The record-keepers who examined the proposal were Divākara Nandī, Dhṛitivishṇu, Virochana, Rāmādāsa, Haridāsa and Śaśinandī. The Mallasārul grant mentions among officials apparently connected with the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, the *Kārttākritika* (officer-in-charge of manufactures?), the *Audraṅgika* (chief officer of a town), the *Aurnasthānika* (officer-in-charge of woollen articles?), the *Hiranya-samudāyika* (officer-in-charge of all taxes, both in money and in kind), the *Āvasathika* (officer-in-charge of "dwellings for pupils and ascetics" ?), the *Chauroddharanika*, the *Pattalaka* and the *Bhogapatika*. The mention of the *Kārttākritika* and the *Aurnasthānika* will show, if our interpretations of these two derivations are correct, that the provincial government exercised some sort of control over the industrial life of the people.

The district officers were usually designated *vishayapatis*. Vetravarman was in charge of the Koṭivarsha-*Vishaya* from 124 to 128 G.E., having been appointed to this post by the provincial governor Chirātadatta (*tan-niyuktaka*—Dāmodarpur, 1 and 2); the same office was held by another person, whose name is not clear, owing his appointment to *Uparika-Mahārāja* Jayadatta, at an unknown date in the reign of Budha-Gupta; and in the year 544 A.D. this *vishaya* was being administered by Svayambhūdeva who was the nominee of the officer in charge of Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. The Baigrām copper-plate seems to suggest that the district officer Kulavṛiddhi was directly responsible to the *bhaṭṭāraka*, who may have been the king himself (Kumāra-Gupta I). The term *bhaṭṭāraka* is found used in this inscription as definitely applying to the sovereign himself (*bhaṭṭāraka-pādānām dharma-phala-shaṣṭibhāg-avāptis-cha*—1, 18). From the Faridpur copper-plates names of four

district officers are available; *Vishayapati* Jajāva appointed by *Mahārāja* Sthānūdatṭa (Plate A), Gopālasvāmī (Plate B), and after him Vatsapāla by Nāgadeva (Plate C), himself the officer in charge of Navyāvakāśikā enjoying the titles of *Uparika* and *Mahāpratihāra* (reading ' *Vyāpāra-Kāraṇḍya* ' is probably wrong; read *vyāpāra-kāraṇāya* in Plate B). Pavitrūka in the year 14 of Samāchāradeva's reign was holding this post of *Vishayapati*, his appointment having been approved or confirmed by Jīvadatta, the *Uparika* in charge of the office at Navyāvakāśikā in Suvarṇa-vīthī. Between the Baigrām Plate and the Vappaghoshavāṭa grant there is one affinity; in both, the officer carrying on the administration of a *vishaya* pays his respects directly to the sovereign (*tat-pād-ānudhyāta*—*Sāmanta* - *Nārāyaṇabhadra*—*vishaya* - *sambhogakāle*-Vappaghoshavāṭa grant). It is not clear, however, whether the duties, functions and status of *Nārāyaṇabhadra* were the same as those assigned to a *vishayapati* in ordinary circumstances. In the first place, the latter is usually found to have been a subordinate of a higher officer, viz., the provincial governor; here there is no such official referred to. *Nārāyaṇabhadra* is under direct obligations to the sovereign. Secondly, he has under him an officer styled *Mahāpratihāra* (Chief Warden of the Marches), to whom he issues orders to be carried out (*tad-asy-ājñā*—*tad-vyavahāri*—) The title *Vishayapati* or *Kumārāmātya*, applied in other inscriptions to the district officer, is not bestowed on *Nārāyaṇabhadra*; instead he is given the designation of *Sāmanta*. On these considerations, one may incline to think that the Audumvarika-*Vishaya* was not a district governed by an officer but a dominion governed by a feudatory.

No detailed information is available regarding district-administration. The little light that is provided by our inscriptions may be deemed sufficient for the purpose of ascertaining the part played by the administrative machinery in connexion with sale of lands. The information that can be gleaned, therefore, touches a very small part of the authority exercised by the district-officer and his staff. Like the officer-in-charge of a *bhukti*,

the district-officer too had his *adhikaraṇa* in his headquarters (*adhiṣṭhān-ādhikaraṇam*). From the picture of an *Adhikaraṇa* drawn in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*¹ with its building (*Maṇḍapa*) and staff such as the *Adhikaraṇikas*, *Adhikaraṇabhojakas*, the *Sreshṭhī* and *Kāyasthas*, it will be quite reasonable to infer that the *Vishaya-pati's* *Adhikaraṇa* referred to in our inscriptions was of a type similar to it. The business of this *Adhikaraṇa* was not probably limited to transactions of land-sale, as recorded in these inscriptions, but for want of evidence its other possible functions cannot be determined. The direct responsibility for managing the affairs of the *Adhikaraṇa* lay in the hands of the district officer ; the deputy of the *Uparika* (*tan-niyukta*—; cf. *adhiṣṭhān-ādhikaraṇam...saṁvyavaharati*—Dāmodarpur, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5). But he carried out his duties in the presence of the *nagaraśreshṭhī*, the *prathamakulika*, the *prathama-kāyastha* and *Sārthavāha* (*-puroge*—). From 124 to 128 G. E. the district officer of Koṭivarsha was assisted by Dhṛitipāla as the *Nagaraśreshṭhī*, Bandhumitra as the *Sārthavāha*, Dhṛitimitra as the *Prathama-Kulika*² and Sāmbapāla as the *Prathama-Kāyastha*. The district officer mentioned in Dāmodarpur Plate No. 4, who held his post in Budha-Gupta's reign, conducted the business of the *Adhikaraṇa* with Ribhupāla as the *Nagaraśreshṭhī*, Vasumitra as the *Sārthavāha*, Varadatta as the *Prathama-Kulika* and Viprapāla as the *Prathama-Kāyastha*. Svayambhūdeva, the district officer, in 544 A.D., had for his colleagues Sthānudatta the *Sārthavāha*, Matidatta the *Prathama-Kulika*, Skāndapāla the *Prathama-Kāyastha*, and a *Nagaraśreshṭhī* whose name unfortunately is lost. There is no need of raising the question here whether the *nagaraśreshṭhī*, the *sārthavāha* and the *prathamakulika* were elected by their respective communities or guilds, or appointed by the government to the posts assigned to them in the *Adhikaraṇa*, as there is no means of giving a correct and definite answer to this question. That they were heads of the different organizations of trade,

¹ Act, IX.

² On the meaning of ' Kulika ', cf. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba*, p. 127.

industry and commerce in the leading city of the district, can be well imagined ; perhaps it was provided that such heads were to advise the local government in the Court by virtue of their eminent and responsible position in the economic life of the people. Their special knowledge of men and affairs, particularly the guild-laws, made their services essential to the proper administration of justice at least in so far as it related to questions of transfer of property. The *Prathama-Kāyastha*, however, being probably the chief secretary to the district government, does not seem to have held a position similar to that of his other colleagues, who could not be dubbed officials in the same sense. The constitution of the district court as revealed in the Faridpur grants is not found drawn with sufficient clarity. Here, however, the elements present are not those mentioned above. In Faridpur Plate No. 2, besides the *Adhikaraṇa*, where the *Vishayapati* is engaged, there is a considerable assembly of *vishaya-mahattaras* (including Ititta, Kulachandra, Garuḍa, Vṛihachchatta, Ālūka, Anāchāra, Bhāsaitya (?), Subhadeva, Ghoshachandra, Anamitra, Guṇachandra, Kālasakha, Kulasvāmi, Durlabha, Satyachandra, Arjuna, Bappa, Kundalipata (or *Bappa-Kundalīpta*), followed by other men of lesser importance (*purogāḥ prakṛityaś-cha*). It is apparent that the connexion of such a large body of men with the *Adhikaraṇa* could not have been of such an organic character as that of the three non-official representatives who used to sit with the district officer of Koṭivarsha, as found in the Gupta copper-plates. These *Mahattaras* or leading men of the district along with others who attended the *Adhikaraṇa* of *Vishayapati* Jajāva must have done so in the capacity of witnesses who were not mere idle spectators of its proceedings but had the right of raising any question or objection, and as far as the particular business, viz., that of land-sale was concerned, no such transaction could have taken place without their consent or approval. It appears that in the next three documents from Faridpur including the Ghugrābāṭi grant, it is not the *Vishayapati* who controls the affairs of the *adhikaraṇa*

but one who is designated either *Jyeshṭha-Kāyastha* or *Jyeshṭhādhikaraṇika* (cf. *Adhikaraṇika* of the *Mṛichchhakatika*). This is enough to show that the term *Adhikaraṇa* as used in these records must mean as in the *Mṛichchhakatika* a court of law. It may be noted here that in three inscriptions the designation *Vishayapati* is not used, but the functions assigned to the officer connected with the *Vāraka-maṇḍala-vishaya* must have been those performed by a *Vishayapati* (cf. *saṁvyavaharati* as in other inscriptions), for, it is distinctly stated that he was appointed for the purpose of administering the affairs of the district (*vishaya-vyāpāra-kāraṇāya*—B; *vishayapati-Yotasya vyavahārataḥ*—Ghugrābhāṭi), the only difference being that he is not found attached to the *adhikaraṇa*. The *Adhikaraṇa* (Plates B and C) is referred to as presided over by a *Jyeshṭha-Kāyastha* named *Nayasena* who served under both *Dharmāditya* and *Gopachandra*. In *Samāchāradeva's* Plate the *Adhikaraṇa* is under the leadership of the *Jyeshṭhādhikaraṇika* *Dāmuka* (*-pramukham-adhikaraṇam*). Other *Adhikaraṇikas* who took part in the work of the court are not mentioned, but it may be presumed that the *Jyeshṭhādhikaraṇika* carried on his work with the assistance of juniors, probably also the *Nagaraśreshṭhi* and a *Kāyastha*. If, as these inscriptions seem to suggest, the functions of the district officer were separated from those connected with the court of law, the change must have resulted in a differentiation of the executive from the judiciary in the field of district-administration. An annexé of the court was the assembly of a number of *Vishaya-mahattaras* (*Ghugrābhāṭi*; *vishayīṇaḥ* not *vishayāṇām* as read by Pargiter—Plate B), of influential men styled *Mahattara*, including one *Vishaya-mahattara* and others designated as *pradhāna-vyāpārīṇaḥ* or *pradhāna-vyavahārīṇaḥ* (business men). As a distinction has been drawn between a *Mahattara* and a *Vishaya-Mahattara*, it seems that the latter belonged to a higher category than the former. Plate B shows that this assembly which met along with the court consisted of *Somaghosha* and other *Mahattaras*; there is no clear reference here to the presence of one belonging to the rank

of a *vishaya-mahattara*. In the Ghugrāhāṭi Plate it consists of the *vishaya-mahattara* Vatsakuṇḍa, *Mahattaras* Suchipālita, Vibhitaghosha, Suradatta and Priyadatta, Janārdana and other *Mahattaras* together with many *Vyavahārins* of high status. Did the *Mahattaras* represent the landed gentry and the *Vyavahārins* the industrial or commercial interests of a district?

There was a staff of record-keepers whose services were available to the *vishayādhikaraṇa*. Rishidatta, Jayanandī and Vibhudatta were the record-keepers, consulted by the *adhikaraṇa* in Dāmodarpur Plates 1 & 2; Vishṇudatta, Vijayanandī and Sthāpūnandī in Plate 4 and Naranandī, Gopadatta and Bhaṭtanandī in Plate 5. Names of two *Pustapālas* Durgādatta and Arkkadāsa, who were available for consultation by the district authorities of Pañchanagarī in 448 A.D., are given in the Baigrām inscription. The Nandapur copper-plate also furnishes names of some record-keepers.

The administration of a *Vithi* should next engage our attention. It was to have its own *Adhikaraṇa* as shown in the Mallasārul inscription. How this *Adhikaraṇa* was constituted however, is, not known. So far as the question of sales and gifts of lands was concerned, the *Adhikaraṇa* of the *Vithi* performed the same functions, as were assigned to the district-*adhikaraṇa*. As in the Faridpur grants the *Vishaya-Adhikaraṇa* is found to have been assisted by an assembly of important personages, this inscription shows *Mahattara* Suvarṇayaśāh of Nirvṛita-*Vāṭaka*, *Mahattara* Dhanasvāmī of Kapishtba-*Vāṭaka* *Agrahāra*, Bhaṭṭa Vāmanasvāmī of Koḍḍavira-*Agrahāra*, Mahidatta and Rājyadatta of Godbagrāma-*Agrahāra*, Jivasvāmī of Sālmali *Vāṭaka*, Khādgi Hari of Vakkattaka, Khādgi Goika of Madhu *Vāṭaka*, Khādgi Bhadrānandī of Khaṇḍa-Joṭikā, and Hari, the *Vāha-Nāyaka* of Vindhapurā, etc., co-operating with the *Adhikaraṇa* of the *Vithi* and issuing orders under a system of joint authority. Thus among those who had to attend to the business of the *Vithi-Adhikaraṇa* there were not only *Mahattaras* hailing from different localities or wards of the *Vithi* but also others in

place of the *pradhāna-vyavahārins* mentioned in the Faridpur inscriptions. The occupations of these latter are not definitely ascertainable. At least there were two Brahmins (Bhaṭṭa-Vāmanasvāmī and Jīvasvāmī) in the assembly; no designations are attached to the names of Śrīdatta, Mahīdatta and Rājyadatta; there were three *Khāḍgīs* (swordsmen), and one *Vāha-Nāyaka* (Superintendent of conveyances or a cavalry leader?).

Prominent persons in villages had some share in the administration of local affairs, but their activity seems to have been limited to co-operation with state-officers, paralleled by the participation of *Mahattaras* and other influential men in the business of the *Adhikaraṇa* of a *vishaya* or a *rīthī*. From the available material it will be difficult to assert that at the head of administration in every village there was a *Grāmika*. By whom the official side was represented in villages not administered by *Grāmikas*, it is not at all clear from the evidence furnished by our inscriptions. The non-official element was represented by Brahmins, *Kuṭumbins* and *Mahattaras* in one village (Pāhārpur inscription); in the village Chaṇḍagrāma, in Budha-Gupta's reign (Dāmodarpur Plate No. 4), those who served in a similar capacity included prominent subjects headed by Brahmins, and also *Kuṭumbins* (the chief *Brāhmaṇas*, the prominent subjects and householders). It appears, however, that as these are the only persons to whom orders are issued for execution, they may have constituted the sole authority in the localities concerned in respect of matters to which these orders applied. The administration of such villages where these people were solely responsible differed from that of others, where powers lay not only in the hands of local *Mahattaras* and *Kuṭumbins* but also the *Ashtakulādhikaraṇa* and the *Grāmika* (Dāmodarpur Plate No. 4; cf. the Dhanāidaha grant mentioning *Mahattaras Kuṭumbins* and the *Ashtakulādhikaraṇa*).¹ In view of the very damaged condition of its writing, it is impossible to be certain

¹ For a discussion of the meaning of the term, see Ind. Cult., Vol. V, No. I, pp. 101-11.

that the inscription did not refer to a *Grāmika*. The official side in such villages was represented by an *Adhikaraṇa*, which was probably a body of eight persons (cf. *Pañchakula*)² and the *Grāmika*. This system reminds one of the parallel institutions obtaining in a larger sphere of administration,—in the *Vāraka-maṇḍala-vishaya*, with the *Vishayapati* at its head, assisted by an *adhikaraṇa* together with an assembly of prominent men. There appears to have been an office of record-keepers also attached to such villages. At *Palāśa-rṇindaka*, as shown in the Dāmodarpur copper-plate No. 4, where responsibility was shared between the *Grāmika*, the *Adhikaraṇa*, *Mahattar as* and *Kuṭumbins*, there was only one record-keeper, *Patradāsa*, who was consulted by those authorities.

We may now proceed to see how the different functionaries operated in response to requirements of a specific character. As we have already said, the administrative machinery is to be observed in action mostly in connexion with matters relating to the business of land-sale. One intending to purchase lands was required to put an application before the *Adhikaraṇa* to whose jurisdiction he was attached, in which he was to state the purpose for which such lands were needed, their total measurement, whether these were fallow lands to be brought under cultivation, or lands meant for building purposes, or both, the price that was to be offered for these in conformity with current local rates, and also whether the ownership of such lands was to be offered for these in agreement with current local rates, and also whether the ownership of such lands was to be of a non-transferable character. In the application presented by Brahmin Karpāṭika to the *Adhishthāna-Adhikaraṇa* of Koṭivarsha in 444 A.D. (Plate 1)—the facts stated (*viññāpitam*) were that for purposes of *Agnihotra* rites he required one *Kulyavāpa* of uncultivated, fallow land, which had not been given to anybody before, that it was to be

² References to a body called *Pañchakula* are to be found in several inscriptions, which was concerned with financial matters of various kinds including those connected with lands, see U. N. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 238, 255, 257-58.

given him under the law known as *Nivīdharmā* or the law of non-transferability of the principal, that it was to be perpetually enjoyed (i.e., by himself and his legal successors). The application made by another Brahmin to the same authority five years later (Plate 2) was on similar lines. The land required by him was to be of the class described as *Aprada*; it was to be given in accordance with *akshaya-nivī-maryādā*; it was to be acquired in order to enable the buyer to conduct 'the five daily sacrifices.' The application in the form in which it is found does not refer to the current rates, but the price actually paid by him is described as being in accordance with the usage obtaining in the locality (*yath-ānucṛitta*). *Sreshṭhī* Ribbupāla, who was a member of the advisory board connected with the district *adhikaraṇa* of Koṭivarsha in Budha-Gupta's reign (Dāmodarpur, 4), applied for some *vāstu* land in the neighbourhood of the eleven *kulyavāpas* of *aprada* land, formerly purchased by him, to enable him to build two temples of Kokamukhasvāmī and Sveta-Varāhasvāmī together with two store-rooms. The implied undertaking was to pay the price for this land, as determined by the current rate which was three *dināras* for each *kulyavāpa* of land. A similar application was submitted by Amṛitadeva, the *kulaputra* from Ayodhyā, to the Koṭivarsha-*Adhikaraṇa* in 544 A.D. (Dāmodarpur, 5), stating his desire to purchase some land (*kshetrastokam*) in a forest area (*atrāranye*) within the district where the rate was also three *dināras* for one *kulyavāpa* of land, such land having been required for the purpose of providing himself with the cost of carrying out necessary repairs in the temple of Sveta-Varāhasvāmī, of *balī*, *charu*, *sattu*, the supply of cow's milk, incense and flowers, and the maintenance of *madhuparka*, lamp, etc., and also for the purpose of increasing his mother's merits. The applicant was able to secure altogether five *kulyavāpas* of *khila* land with *vāstu* in different localities. In the Faridpur inscriptions the same procedure seems to have been followed. What was essential on the part of an intending purchaser was to make an application to the local authorities.

This application is not always found reproduced in all its details, but there is no lack of information as to the different items which a complete application was to touch upon, these being generally dealt with in another part of the record, describing the final stage of the transaction. Some applications, as recorded in the Dāmodarpur Plates, are brief inasmuch as they do not mention the current rates, but these are referred to when transactions reach their concluding stages. Similarly, in the Faridpur Plates, the application as embodied in Plate No. A simply states that the applicant Vāṭabhoga wants some land (*kshetra-khaṇḍam*) for the purpose of making a gift of it to a Brahmin. There is no reference here to the current rates, neither to the nature of land wanted, nor to the character of ownership required to be transferred, nor to the total area of land, etc. These details are provided in the latter part of the inscription. Application in Plate B is fuller than the preceding one; the applicant Vāsudeva-svāmī, stating that he requires some land (area unspecified) for a gift at certain rates (not mentioned). In the concluding part it is said that the rate was four *dināras* for each *kulyavāpa* of fallow land, but it is not clear how much land was sold to the applicant. Application in Plate C is almost as brief as the former, stating only that one *kulyavāpa* was required which after purchase was to be given to a Brahmin, Bhaṭṭa Gomidattasvāmī. The inscription being in a fragmentary condition, it is impossible to say whether other details were given in this portion, but necessary information as to local rates, etc., is to be found only in the concluding part. Application D (Ghugrāhāṭi), made by Supratikasvāmī for some land required for the establishment of *baḷi*, *charu* and *sattra*, so that it might be useful to a Brahmin, does not specify the area of land needed, nor the price to be paid for it, nor does it include an expression of his willingness to pay at the current rates. In the portion that follows there is no mention of the price paid, but of the total area which was given, amounting to three *kulyavāpas* of land. It is doubtful if this inscription

records a case of land-sale of the nature above discussed. There is, however, some difficulty in regarding it as a free gift to the person who applied for it, since in that case it will be necessary to infer that a *vishay-ādhikaraṇa* was empowered to make such a gift. Secondly, the expectation of revenue from this land is implied where the inscription holds that if 'it is capable of being used,' it will be a source of revenue to the king. The interpretation of this passage, as meaning that a general improvement in local conditions leading to a consequential increase in revenue would be facilitated by the grant of this particular piece of land lying fallow and unexploited is not barred out as improbable. In regard to the question why applications are sometimes so brief, making no reference to certain essential items which are found included in other similar statements (*cf.* Dāmodarpur, 1 and 2), it may be suggested that certain details were excluded for the sake of avoiding superfluity and repetition, for these in any case were to be incorporated in the portion dealing with the concluding stages of the transaction, and also that it was found convenient by experience that it was better not to be precise regarding the measurement of land required, etc., for the authorities alone after proper consultation of state-records and suitable inquiries were able to decide how much land could be spared.

We have so far dealt with cases appearing before a district *adhikaraṇa*. There was the village *adhikaraṇa* also which was empowered to consider similar applications. Thus Grāmika Nābhaka applied before the authorities of Palāśa-*vṛindaka* (the *Mahattaras*, the *Adhikaraṇa* or the Committee of Eight, the *Grāmika* and the *Kuṭumbins*), with a request that he might purchase some land (not specified in the application-portion) in the village Chandaḡrāma, enabling him to settle a certain Brahmin on it, the land so required was to be *apraḍa*, *khīla* (fallow) and free from all taxes (*samudaya-bāhya*-), for he was ready to pay in accordance with the rate prevalent in the village (*grām-ānu-krama-vikraya-maryādā*). As the land required was not situated

in Palāśa-*vṛindaka*, but in Chaṇḍagrāma, the authorities had to be in communication with the Brahmins, *Kuṭumbins* and other prominent residents of the latter. It is very likely that Chaṇḍagrāma was under the jurisdiction of the court at Palāśa-*vṛindaka* and that its authorities must have helped the latter in finding out a suitable piece of land for Nābhaka and also in other ways locally under the supervision of the higher staff. The Dhanāidaha inscription also refers to an application which was received by the *asṭakulādhikaraṇa* of a certain village (name not available), and its leaders of the different categories. The Pāhārpur inscription refers to an application which was received by the *Adhikaraṇa* of Puṇḍravardhana, where the *Nagaraśreṣṭhī* was present, giving all requisite details, but as the land required was situated outside the *adhisṭhāna*, prominent Brahmins, *Kuṭumbins* and *Mahattaras* of the locality where it was available were informed of it, so that with their help suitable lands could be selected and steps taken to demarcate the area to be sold. The village-authorities who co-operated with the *Bhukti-staff* in the Pāhārpur grant belonged to the same categories as mentioned in the Dāmodarpur Plate No. 4. The Baigrām copper-plate is the third available record showing how an application received by a higher authority (in this case the *Kumārāmātya* and the *Vishayādhikaraṇa* of Pañchanagari), was passed on to the authorities of a village (*saṁvyavahāri-pramukham*), such as Brahmins, and *Kuṭumbins* for necessary help in giving effect to it. The *Adhikaraṇa* of the Vakkattaka-*Vithī* heard an application for purchase of land as stated in the Mallasārul inscription. The proceedings of the *Adhikaraṇa* which opened with the representation of his case by the applicant reached their next stage when it was referred to the record-keepers for an expression of their opinion as to whether the land required could be given under the terms mentioned or implied by him. If the record-keepers who were consulted signified their consent, then only the application could be granted. As already stated, the applicant does not always give particulars about rates, etc. These are to be found out by

the *Pustapālas* after proper investigation. It appears that a transaction could not take place immediately after the *Pustapālas* referred to by an *adhikaraṇa*, had submitted their report in the event of certain conditions intervening. In the case recorded in the Dāmodarpur Plate No. 5, the *Vishayapati* of Koṭivarsha seems to have differed from the opinion given by the *Pustapālas* that the proposed transaction would be perfectly valid and proper. The question that arises here is: when did the difference originate? The report submitted by the *Pustapālas* seems to have attempted to meet a point raised by the *Vishayapati*. Their argument was that Amṛitadeva, the prospective buyer, intended to make the proposed gift under the knowledge and impression that he had a legitimate right to do so, while the *Vishayapati* alone (not in combination with his advisory committee), perhaps entertained some suspicion on this point. If the *Vishayapati* gave his personal opinion after the report from the *Pustapālas* had been received, then it will have to be inferred that the case had been referred to them twice. This is, however, not stated in the inscription. Perhaps when the case after having been presented to the *Adhikaraṇa* was on its way to the *Pustapālas*, the *Vishayapati* made a note of his objection. In the case of disagreement with the *Vishayapati*, it was for the king himself to decide the matter. It is to be noted here that the case did not go up to the provincial governor whose subordinate the *Vishayapati* was, but straightway to the king for final disposal. Apparently, therefore, in certain reserved matters appeals from a district were to be heard directly by the king himself. In regard to the disputed point that was referred to the king, as recorded in the above-mentioned Dāmodarpur Plate, his decisions upheld the findings of the *Pustapālas* it was found by him that Amṛitadeva had a right to the act of piety (*dharmaparat-śraddhā*), which he wanted to perform, viz., to make the gift under conditions mentioned by him. This shows beyond doubt that the record-keepers were not bound to follow the dictates of the highest officer of the

district, but that it was required that they should judge everything in an unfettered manner.

All the other cases recorded in our inscriptions show that steps were taken to complete sale-transactions immediately after record-keepers had given their verdict in favour of those proposed. This will prove that rarely did differences arise between *Pustapālas* and other authorities such as the District Officer in regard to the *bonafides* or competence of a person applying for purchase of land.

As regards the payment of price, the documents are not clear as to how it was collected. The measurement and demarcation of any land sold took place after the price for the same land had been collected (*upasaṅgrihya* or *āyikṛitya*), following the *pustapālas'* approval to the proposed transaction. There is probably no serious reason to doubt that the price in every case was paid to Government. So far as the documents of the Guptas are concerned, the same authorities that received applications, forwarded them to *pustapālas* for scrutiny and opinion, directed as in some cases local staffs to select and measure lands which were to be given, arranged for a copper-plate to be drawn embodying the terms of the sale, accompanied some times by conditions of the gift made by the third party, must also have been responsible for the collection of the price. Whether this was done directly by them or through some other department of Government, is a question that cannot be answered definitely. It was evidently the district government of Koṭivarsha, to which prices were paid for transactions recorded in Dāmodarpur Plates Nos. 1, 2 and 5; the local government of Palāśa-*vṛindaka* (the *ashṭakul-ādhiparāṇa*, the *Grāmika*, the *Mahattaras*) to which Nābhaka, the *Grāmika*, submitted the price of the land situated in a different locality which was most probably under the former's jurisdiction. Similarly, for the transaction recorded in the Pāhārpur inscription, it was the government of Puṇḍravardhana (the *Adhikarāṇa* in this case was under some *Āyuktakas*) that received the application for the purchase of some land and arranged for its scrutiny

by *Pustapālas* and directed the local staff to collect the price from the purchasers (*dīnāra-trayam-āyikṛitya*). The *Vishayādhikaraṇa* of Pañchanagarī which directed the authorities at Vāigrāma with regard to their duties in connexion with sale of lands within their area to Bhāskara and Bhoyila, must have taken (*āyikṛitya*) the price amounting to six *dīnāras* and eight *rūpakas* from them. The Mallasārul grant shows definitely that the price for the land purchased by Vijayasena from the *Adhikaraṇa* of the Vakkattaka-*Vīthī* was paid to the same authorities. As there is no reference to any other authorities entrusted with the task of collecting prices from buyers of lands, it may be taken as certain that this was a matter for local government and that this was one of the sources of income to them. According to Pargiter, Faridpur Plate B shows that Vāsudevasvāmī bought his land from a private individual named Thoḍa, a *Mahattara* (l.17); Faridpur Plate A shows that the land purchased by the *Sādhnika* Vātabhoga was the joint property of *Mahattaras* and common-folk; and Faridpur Plate C records a case of purchase of land belonging to certain Bhāradvāja Brahmins or in other words to a joint family. The *Mahattaras* and others from whom the land was purchased according to Plate A, were those who sat in the *Adhikaraṇa* receiving the application from Vātabhoga. They were connected with the application for purchase as well as the whole process of sale itself like the *Adhikaraṇa* of the Koṭivarsha-*riśhaya*, associated with the *Nagaraśreshṭhī*, the *Kulika*, etc., in the Dāmodarpur Plates. As nowhere in these plates it is said that the lands sold were the common property of villagers as represented by these elements, the assumption that they were so will be wholly unwarrantable. Then, again in the same Faridpur Plate there is no indication that the *Mahattaras* and others referred to by Pargiter, came from any village, i.e., Dhruvilāṭī where the land was situated. In regard to Plates B and C, Pargiter's conclusions are based on highly doubtful readings of certain passages which are damaged beyond recovery. The word *samvaddha* in what

Pargiter reads as *Mahattara-Thoḍa-samvaddha*¹—is a pure guess (Plate B) and the reading *Bhāradvāja-sagotra*, as referring to *bhavanta* (*bhavantaḥ*- l. 14), is equally doubtful in Plate C. There is sufficient space for a single or conjunct letter between 'tra' of *sagotra* and 'bha' of 'bhavanta' and this may be referred to *asmāt*, i.e., the purchaser. It is difficult to understand how in a legal document like this a set of owners could be referred to vaguely as belonging to the *Bhāradvāja-gotra* and not actually named. 'Bhavantaḥ' must be taken as referring to the authorities before whom the purchaser submitted his application (cf. *tadarhatha matto dīnāram-upasaṅgrīhya*—Dāmodarpur Plate 5). The discovery of the Dāmodarpur and other Plates of the Gupta period has rendered a correct interpretation of the Faridpur Plates easier, for most of the former are better preserved and more explicit than the latter.

One of the essential duties of the local administrators in connexion with these land-sales was to take the utmost care in measuring accurately each piece of land sold. Some of the inscriptions do not say by whom the measurement was carried out (Dāmodarpur Plates 1, 2, 4 and 5: Faridpur A, B, C; Ghugrā-hāṭi). In respect of these it may be safely said that the business of measurement was conducted under the supervision of the authorities who received the respective applications for purchase of lands. The places where such lands were situated must have been comprised within the direct sphere of work of the *Adhikarāṇa*, the *Vishayapati* and others connected with it. In regard to lands situated in villages, for the administration of which local staffs were responsible, directions were issued by these higher authorities to them to the effect that they were free to select such sites as would not conflict with their own agricultural operations, carry out measurements as fixed by them in accordance with the current system of measurement and mark the boundaries with permanent signs of chaff and charcoal. These directions (cf. *Baigrām*), came after the price for the land had

¹ Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, notes 96, p. 201 and 18, p. 202.

already been paid and a copper-plate engraved. It is to be mentioned here that some inscriptions do not record the result of the steps taken by the village authorities on the lines of such communications received by them from administrators of superior grades. In these inscriptions also details regarding boundaries, etc., are not to be found (*cf.* Baigrām Plate etc.), for the copper-plates which have come down are original or copies of them which were engraved before the finishing stages concluded, recording circumstances which end with the payment of the sale-price for the land with its measurement and situation fixed, subject to rights of ownership which are defined. The actual position of the land sold and its boundary-marks were noted at a later stage when these had been carefully determined by local staffs in accordance with instructions received from higher quarters. Dāmodarpur copper-plate No. 3 seems to suggest that the land sold to the *Grāmika* Nābhaka had been inspected and measured by the *Adhikaraṇa* of Palāśa-*rṛindaka* accompanied with *Mahattaras*, *Kuṭumbins*, etc., before the communication regarding the sale had been issued by them to the local authorities of *Vāyigrāma*. If our interpretation is correct, it will mean that nothing was left to be done by the latter except that they were required to take note of a completed transaction.

Local administrators are in some cases found to have utilised the services of a set of persons appointed by them to carry out some well-defined work. In the *Mallasārul* grant¹ it is noticed that several persons were entrusted by the *Adhikaraṇa* of the *Vakkattaka-Vithi* with the task of distributing the money paid by Vijayasena as the price of the land he had purchased and already 'credited to the revenue of the *Vithi*' in accordance with the instructions issued by them. These officers are described in the inscription as *Kulavāra-kṛita*. In the *Ghugrāhāṭi* inscription *Samāchāradeva*, the *Adhikaraṇa* of the *Vāraka-maṇḍala-vishaya*, governed by the *vishayapati* *Pavi-truka*, is found to have appointed *Karaṇikas* *Nayanāga*, *Keśava*

and others as *Kulavāras*, with whose assistance three *kulyavāpas* of land were separated from an area formerly granted by the issue of a copper-plate, and who after setting up proper boundaries on four sides gave away what remained in Vyāghrachoraka to the applicant Supratikasvāmī. Faridpur Plate No. C shows that the district *Adhikaraṇa* chose some persons (names not given) as *Kulavāras* who seem to have rendered their services at the concluding stage of the transaction recorded in that inscription, viz., the effecting of the separation of the particular plot of land from the connected areas, and its proper measurement. The specific duties of the *Kulavāras* in this inscription have not been detailed as in the two other inscriptions referred to above. The *Kulavāras* from these records appear to have been chosen from those who were conversant with the business conducted by *adhikaraṇas* (*adhikaraṇa-jñān*—Faridpur C) or with matters relating to documents (*karaṇikas*) which clearly fell within the *Adhikaraṇa*'s cognizance. It may not be wrong to suppose that there was a panel of such experts formed by local authorities, from whom the requisite number had to be appointed in turn as cases appeared requiring their services. From the non-mention of *kulavāras* in some inscriptions it may be natural to infer that their services were not always necessary; where the help of village institutions was available there was no need to appoint *kulavāras*. It is also possible from the evidence available to infer that they were appointed particularly in such cases where it was not possible for various reasons for the local authorities to be present to inspect measurement, etc., at the site, where they had to act as deputies or representatives.

It may be asserted without hesitation that the law which the State administered relating to transfer of property was of a definite character not only in its provisions as regards conditions of ownership, but also in the matter of procedure. This law accorded full recognition to local usage. Prices of lands, for instance, were to be determined in accordance with rates current locally. The Pābārpur and Baigrām inscriptions show that in

the years 159 and 128 (Gupta era), the price of one *kulyavāpa* of land in the localities respectively referred to by them was 2 *dīnāras*; in the Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscriptions of the years 124-224 the current rate is given as 3 *dīnāras*; in the Faridpur Plates as 4 *dīnāras* (*prāk-pravṛitti-maryādā-C*; *prāk-vikrīyamānaka-maryādā-B*; *prāk-samudra-maryādā-A*). That within a comparatively circumscribed area rates varied even in the same year is shown by the discrepancies between the Dāmodarpur copper-plate No. 2 and the Baigrām copper-plate, both belonging to the same year, 128 G.E. Such variations must have been due primarily to differences in the economic conditions existing in different localities, which should also explain the discrepancy between the Dāmodarpur and Pāhārpur rates, applying to the same *bhukti* and practically to the same period (Dāmodarpur Plates No. 4 and the Pāhārpur inscription). Differences between Dāmodarpur (No. 5), Pāhārpur and Baigrām on one hand and Faridpur rates on the other can be accounted for by the supposition that with the advance of time prices of lands rose higher, but the absence of any record belonging to the same area as shown in the Faridpur Plates, which might be assigned to the age of the Dāmodarpur Plates, stands in the way of judging if prices in the same locality had increased, if so by how much. The law regarding transfer of property drew an essential distinction, which is only natural, between lands meant for purposes of cultivation and those for building (*kshetra* and *vāstu*). In an application for purchase of land the candidate had to note clearly whether he wanted (a) cultivable land or (b) homestead land or (c) both [instances of (a)-Dāmodarpur, 1, 2, 3; instances of (b) Dāmodarpur, 4, 5, Pāhārpur, Baigram]. It was not always necessary as in the Baigrām Plate to specify separately the area of cultivable and that of homestead lands, for instances in the Dāmodarpur Plates 4 and 5 and the Pāhārpur Plate the total area of land given away is stated as inclusive of *vāstu*. From the Baigrām Plate it appears that *vāstu* land could be used for purposes of drainage and passage (*tala-vāṭak-ārthan*—1.9); in

Pāhārpur the lands sold included *tala*, *vāṭaka* and *vāstu*. In the law relating to transfer of property there was presumably a section dealing with the sale of lands belonging to the category of those described as *Aprada* (not given, i.e., remaining open to occupation), *aprahata* and *khila* (uncultivated, fallow) lands (*kshetra*—Dāmodarpur, 1), which could be disposed of as exempt from payment of all the usual dues and extra taxes (*samudaya-bāhya* and *apratikara*—Pāhārpur; *akiñchit-pratikara* and *samudaya-bāhya*—Baigrām; *samudaya-bāhya*—Mallasārul). The right to enjoy such pieces of land with the above-specified advantages attached to it, which took effect from the moment of the completion of a sale-transaction, was both a restrictive and perpetual one; it was not allowed to the transferee to change or modify its ownership by means of sale, mortgage or otherwise, but to confine its enjoyment to himself and his line in perpetuity; if the property was transferred to a religious institution or establishment, the same principle applied, that is to say, it was to remain non-transferable till eternity (*Ścetavarāhasvāmine śāstrat-kālā-bhogya-dattaḥ*—Dāmodarpur 5; *śāśrad-āchandra-tārakā bhogyatayā*—Dāmodarpur 1; *putra-pautra-krameṇa vidhinā prati-pāditam*—Faridpur C). This conditional ownership was provided by the rule termed as *Nīrī-dharma* (Dāmodarpur, 1). Lands sold under the provisions of this rule were described as *akshaya-nīrī* (Pāhārpur, Baigrām). It was thus not open to a private individual or institution in whose favour a property had been transferred subject to the operation of this rule to violate it by effecting a second transfer of its ownership. The grant of this kind of limited ownership fixed in perpetuity extending over a whole village in the case of a direct and voluntary gift was within the legal competence of a *Sāmanta* as conditioned by the *akshaya-nīrī-dharma* (Vappaghoshavāṭa grant). 'Undistributed wastes' were treated as involving economic loss to the state, or more appropriately, to the king. The existing law encouraged private enterprise, allowing a suitable person to secure portions of such lands for valuable consideration, for his own use or for

purposes of a gift to another person or religious establishment. Usually it was the State's duty to encourage the cause of learning or education by attractive gifts of entire villages ; the Ghugrāhāṭi copper-plate recording a gift of land to a Brahmin who applied for the same to the authorities of the *Vāraka-Manḍala-Vishaya* and the Vappaghoshavāṭa copper-plate recording the gift of a whole village to a Brahmin named Bhaṭṭa Brahmavīrasvāmī, preserve two instances of such encouragement by the State where no price was paid by the parties benefited or others seeking to benefit them. Other inscriptions record purchases of untilled, undeveloped wastes by private individuals either for themselves or for others. Rights conferred on the transferee in such cases were as sacred and as inviolate as those attached to gifts made by kings. The transferee's rights were ensured by the issue of a copper-plate. Even when a particular piece of land was bought by a certain Brahmin and the transaction effected in conformity with the custom of sale, it would still be regarded as a case of land-gift to be protected by all future administrators (*api cha bhūmidāna-samvaddhāvubhau ślokaḥ bhavataḥ*). Every such transaction was profitable to the State in two ways ; firstly, being treated as a case of gift it would mean the acquisition of a share of religious merit (*dharma-phala-śaḍ-bhāgaḥ* or *dharma-śaḍ-bhāgaḥ*), secondly, as the land could be had only for consideration, it brought in some revenue (*Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānām arthopachayaḥ—dharma-śaḍ-bhāg-āpyāyanaṅcha—Pāhārpur*). Prices of lands purchased were to be paid to local authorities before whom applications had been submitted. The Mallasārul grant mentions that payment was made at the *Vīthī* court of Vakkattaka by Vijayasena. Other inscriptions show how applications had to state that they were prepared to pay due prices to district or village authorities approached by them with their respective requests.

The law regulating transfer of property took proper care in respecting other people's rights, particularly those acquired in connexion with vacant lands available for purchase by outsiders.

The protective attitude of the State seems to be indicated in the terms embodied in communications addressed to village authorities, which required them to select sites that would not cause any interruption to their own agricultural work (*sva-karmman = ā virodhena*—Pāharpur). It appears to be evident from this that every step was taken to avoid transgressing any such right as that of passage or of the use of water, when the question of selecting the land for which money had been already paid was taken up.

As a means of preventing undesirable elements from securing a footing in village-life, it was required to state details as to the object of buying the land for which an application had been made, which was to be examined by the *Adhikaraṇa*. The *Nivādhama*, which applied to all these transactions of land-sale, extended to the property taken as a whole including *vāstu* and *khīla-kshetra* both, when in any case of sale these two kinds of land were involved. Thus the law provided for the maintenance of the indivisible character of the land, which might be altered at the option of the transferee or his representative at any time if one part of the land sold were allowed to be regarded as transferable and the other non-transferable. This was another means of preserving the integrity of village-life and checking competition in prices of lands.

Every piece of land to be sold had to be measured under a fixed system which had been devised and was current in those days. What was the exact measurement of a *kulyavāpa* in terms of the modern system is not known. Whatever the derivative meaning of this term might be, there is no doubt that it meant a definite extent of land in this period. This was adjusted to the system of measurement based on a unit of 8 by 9, in which the length was greater than the width by 1 (*aṣṭaka-naraka-nalena* or *aṣṭaka-navaka-nalābhyaṁ*),¹ the unit being represented by two *nalas*, one for measuring the length and the other for measuring the breadth of the area disposed of. That the figures

8 and 9 stood for the corresponding numbers of cubits representing the measurements of the two *nalas* respectively is shown by the explicit reference in some inscriptions to the employment of *hasta* (cubit) in the prevalent system of land-measurement (Dāmodarpur, 3, *asṭaka-naraka-nalābhyām*, also Baigrām, Mallasārul ; *asṭaka-naraka-nalena*—Faridpur, A and B ; *darvī karmma-hastena* - Mallasārul ; *Dharmaśīla-Sivachandra-hasta*—Faridpur, B and C ; *Sivachandra-hastena*—Faridpur A). Thus two *nalas* were used in turn for the measurement of length and breadth respectively, one measuring nine cubits and the other eight. The element *asṭaka* as well as *naraka* in the compound can well be taken as representing the size of the *nala* employed in each case, and the custom of measuring by *hasta*-standard having been shown in some inscriptions to have been current, it is evident that whether the compound is preceded by *hasta* or not, the same practice must have been followed throughout. Taking the average measurement of a *hasta* to be 19 inches¹ the unit represented by the *asṭaka* and *naraka nalas* will correspond to an oblong area of $19 \times 8 \times 19 \times 9 = 25992$ sq. inches or $180\frac{1}{2}$ sq. ft. How many times this area a *kulyavāpa* contained is not possible to determine. In measuring one *kulyavāpa* of land either the same two *nalas* were applied as many times as would give the required area lengthwise and breadthwise respectively or, as many numbers of *nalas*, divided into two sets of unequal sizes, as required by the standard system for the measurement of length and breadth, were employed till the fixed area was fully covered. If one *kulyavāpa* corresponded exactly to an area measuring 8 reeds by 9 reeds, as suggested by Pargiter, it would have been superfluous to mention the two identical expressions separately. It is to be added that no word is used to denote this assumed correspondence between the two. Besides, Pargiter's calculation does not give a definite result, for the equivalence of one reed to 16 *hastas* is a mere suggestion. One *kulyavāpa* of land was equivalent to 8 *droṇas* as shown by the

¹ Pargiter, *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 215.

Baigrām Plate. This is borne out by the Pāhārpur grant according to which 12 *droṇa-vāpas* + $\frac{1}{2}$ *kulya-rāpa* of waste-land corresponded to an area measuring two *kulya-vāpas*. 40 *droṇa-rāpas* (or 5 *kulyavāpas*) corresponded to one *Pāṭaka*, as illustrated by the Tippera plate of Vainya-Gupta, which should correct Gangamohan Laskar's fixation of 1 *Pāṭaka*¹ as being equivalent to 50 *droṇavāpas*, which he attempted on the basis of the Asrafpur Plates. The Tippera Plate gives a definite basis of calculation mentioning that 11 *Pāṭakas* of land were distributed in one village in five separate plots consisting respectively of 7 *Pāṭakas*, 9 *Droṇavāpas*, 33 *Droṇavāpas*, 30 *Droṇavāpas*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ *Pāṭakas* (thus 90 *Droṇavāpas* were equivalent to $2\frac{1}{4}$ *Pāṭakas*, which means 1 *Pāṭaka* was equal to 40 *Droṇavāpas*). As *Pāṭaka* and *Droṇavāpa* are names of measures of capacity, it is quite possible that the system of land-measurement which was in vogue during the period was based on an average calculation as to the extent of area on which one *droṇa* of seeds could be sown. The emergence of such a principle of calculation adjusted to the *hasta*-unit of measurement presupposes a detailed study of agricultural conditions and much experience in survey and assessment work.

That gold coins were in use in this province is proved not only by actual specimens which have been recovered but by references in inscriptions to *dīnāras* used in payment of prices of lands. Silver money was also in use; for instance, in the Baigrām Plate there is a reference to *rūpakas*, eight *rūpakas* being equivalent to a half-*dīnāra*, which means that one *dīnāra* was worth 16 *rūpakas* in value. During the reign of Kumāra-Gupta I (Dhanāidha and Dāmodarpur Plates), the weight of a gold coin as judged from extant specimens varied from 124.7' to 127.3' (original weight must have been slightly

¹ There is no sure basis of his calculation. The reading of the Asrafpur plates is uncertain in many places. According to him, 5 *Pāṭakas* + 60 *Droṇavāpas* = 6 *Pāṭakas* + 10 *Droṇavāpas*; therefore, 50 *Droṇavāpas* = 1 *Pāṭaka*. He interprets '*Droṇavāpa*' as meaning the extent of land on which one *droṇa* of seeds could be sown.

higher) grains. In the time of Skanda-Gupta the *dināra* coin nearly approximated to the weight of a *Suvarṇa*, i.e., about 146 grains (coins weighing about 142 grains have been found). The weight of gold coins slightly increased later.¹ The usual weight of a silver coin was that of a silver *Kārshāpāṇa*, i.e., 56-58 grains.

¹ V. A. Smith, CCIM, Vol. I, Plate XVI, 18.

CHAPTER II

ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE PĀLAS AND THE SENAS

The administrative condition of Bengal from about the middle of the eighth century to the end of the twelfth is pictured in the inscriptions of the Pālas, the Chandras, the Varmans, the Kāmbojas and the Senas. A close study of these records shows that the administrative system generally followed in this period, though uniform throughout in its main outline, was subject to changes and modifications as occasions arose. Secondly it is also evident that when the period opens, it does not start exactly with the same system as is known to have prevailed in the preceding age.

In the eighth century A.D., when Bengal under the leadership of the Pālas found herself in the rôle of an imperial power, confronting the task of administering large territorial possessions, scattered over a wide area, she simply could not do without looking out for precedents elsewhere. Unlike Magadha from the days of the Mauryas down to the end of the Gupta Age, she herself did not possess any long-standing systematic experience in the art of administering an empire. No doubt, with the collapse of the Gupta empire, attempts were made by some local dynasties in the province to extend the boundaries of their states, but they are not definitely known to have attained an imperial status in the real sense of the expression, not in the sense in which panegyrists understand it. The case of Śaśāṅka may be pointed to as an exception, but it is commonly held that even he was originally connected with the Guptas; it is also almost certain that his career began outside Bengal, as the Rohtāsgarh seal which furnishes the earliest evidence of his power seems to show.

The imperial history of Bengal definitely commenced from the time of the foundation of the Pāla dynasty, when she had to find out and apply a system suitable for administering her developing dominion.

The early Pālas cannot claim much originality in respect of the administrative machinery which they put into operation. The system already stood more or less complete at the time of the Deo-Baranārka inscription of Jīvitagupta II¹ which mentions a number of official designations, also to be found in the inscriptions of the early Pāla period.

The government which prevailed throughout the period was wholly of a monarchical type. There is little evidence of the existence of any constitutional authority by which the conduct of a king could be controlled. The Rāmacharita by Sandhyākara Nandī records the case of a Pāla king, Mahāpāla II, ruling in a capricious and despotic manner, not paying any heed to the counsel of his ministers, but there was nothing in the whole system of government which could make this impossible. It was a single individual who revolted against his oppressive regime and organised a movement which brought about its end. In fact there is no clear picture of a definite form of constitution in the inscriptions of the period. It is the king and his family whose glory is constantly harped upon in a tireless strain. Among the many records from which the history of the different ruling families of the period is to be recovered, there is only one, the Badal *Prasasti*,² which emphasises the importance of a certain family of ministers. If this were the only source of information, the formulation of the theory that kings in those days were mere puppets in the hands of their ministers might have been justified to a certain extent. But this view is contradicted by a large mass of evidence which points to the king as the sole idealised hero, apart from whom the State had no existence, and who in

¹ Fl-et, CII, III, pp. 213 ff. An earlier instance is the Banakhera copper-plate of Harshavardhana, see Ep. Ind., IV, pp. 208 ff.

² Ep. Ind., II, pp. 161 ff.

truth was the State, as understood in those days. The *Badal Praśasti*, which depicts the achievements of a Brahmin family producing successive generations of ministers who served under the Pālas from Gopāla I to Śūrapāla I, may have pitched the claims of the family too high; for in the official records of the Pālas there is no corroboration of its evidence in so far as, if at all, it raises the prestige and power of the minister's family above those of the king. What the inscription may at the most prove is that nothing could prevent a king from offering his personal homage to a Brahmin minister, but this did not mean any deterioration of his supreme authority as the paramount head of the government. The influence secured by such a minister, as shown in the *Badal Praśasti*, was of a personal character, due to his good services to the king, but not to any constitutional right which could be duly enforced.

It may be safely mentioned here that there was the possibility of a constitutional development of a far-reaching character on the eve of the accession of the Pālas. At that time the country witnessed a general collapse of royal authority; it appeared as if everybody tried to seize power and bring others under his subjection. But there was yet no apprehension of the failure of monarchy as a system, so deep-rooted it had become in the consciousness of the people. It was felt that only a strong ruler could save the country from the crisis into which it had been plunged, not that kingship as an institution had failed, and consequently, a different form of government should be given a trial. Gopāla was acclaimed as the right type of ruler capable of steering the vessel of the state across troubled waters.

A question of constitutional importance is involved in the manner in which Gopāla came to occupy the throne. The verse in the Khālimpur inscription of Dharmapāla¹, the son and successor of Gopāla, stating the circumstances in which the Pāla dynasty was founded, uses two words of a technical character,

¹ Ep. Ind., IV, pp. 247 ff.

viz., *Mātsyanyāya*¹ and *Prakṛiti*. The Kauṭīliya, speaking of the origin of the state of *mātsyanyāya*, defines the term as follows : *Apraṇīte hi mātsyanyāyam-udbhāvayati | Balīyān-abalaṁ hi grasate daṇḍadhar-ābhāve—i.e.*, “When the law of punishment is kept in abeyance, it gives rise to such disorder as is implied in the proverb of fishes (meaning that a great fish swallows a small one); for in the absence of a magistrate, the strong will swallow the weak, but under his protection the weak resist the strong.” According to Indian speculators, monarchy had its origin amidst circumstances characteristic of a state of *mātsyanyāya* : *mātsyanyāy-ābhībhūtāḥ prajā Manuṁ Vaivasvataṁ rājānaṁ chakrire*.² (“People suffering from anarchy as illustrated by the proverbial tendency of a large fish swallowing a small one first elected Manu, the Vaivasvata, to be their king”). The political condition of the country on the eve of Gopāla’s accession, described as a state of *mātsyanyāya*, was such as required the concerted action of the affected people to be put an end to. The term ‘*Prakṛiti*,’ therefore, which has been used in the Khālimpur Plate to denote the agent that brought about the end of this state of *mātsyanyāya* in which the country had been placed, should have the same meaning as the word ‘*Prajā*,’ employed in the Kauṭīliya, denoting those who removed ‘anarchy’ by electing Vaivasvata Manu as their king. *Mātsyanyāya* is a recurrent phenomenon ; it appears whenever there is a failure of the law of punishment, i.e., whenever the kingly authority is non-existent. The situation which arose in Bengal was unlike one common to a state of temporary uncertainty, confusion and disorder marking a period of transition from one regime to another. At such a time there was the need of all combining together to find out a solution. The use of the word ‘*Prakṛiti*’³ in the sense of people

¹ Cf. *Mātsyanyāya-virahiteḥ prakāśa-ratnaḥ*,—P. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāstīśvālī*, Texts, p. 12.

² I, 18.

³ ‘*Prakṛiti*’ in the sense of subjects is probably used in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, see Ep. Ind., XX, pp. 71 ff; also in the Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta, Fleet, CII, III, p. 60.

in general is to be found in two earlier inscriptions from Dāmodarpur and Faridpur.¹ In this sense the word is also used in the Arthaśāstra: *Arāja-bīja-lubdhaḥ kshudraparishaṭke virakta-prakṛitir.....*. The Arthaśāstra also gives the name *Prakṛiti* to each of the elements—the king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the ally (*Svāmy-amātya-janapada-durga-kośa-daṇḍa-mitrāṇi prakṛitayaḥ*), the aggregate of which constituted a State ruled by a monarch. This theory regarding the constituent elements of sovereignty is known to the author of the Kamauli *Prasasti* of Vaidyadeva (*Saptāṅga-kshilipādhitram*—verse 12). An existing kingdom is endowed with these factors, but when there is no kingdom, no state, no form of recognised political authority, who are to be meant by the '*prakṛitayaḥ*' that placed the crown on the head of Gopāla? Out of the elements mentioned in the Kauṭīliya, although scattered and disintegrated owing to the absence of an acknowledged ruling authority, the *daṇḍa* and the *janapada*, i.e., the soldiery and the country-folk, may have taken part in the election of the king in association with others like those who had served as ministers under monarchs whom they later discarded, and it is quite likely that this movement had the financial support (*kośa*) behind it which it needed in order to have proved a success. It can be shown that in the earlier period local leadership in villages and districts had been quite an effective and serviceable factor of the prevailing system of administration. In such limited regions individuals designated *Mahattara* and various institutions of local self-government had been accustomed for centuries to functions of a responsible character. It is probable that local authorities of such types connected with a comparatively small area joined together or took the initiative in electing a sovereign, who afterwards gradually extended his sphere of authority, so that the whole country came to accept his rule. But as there is nothing on record showing such activities on their part as were commensurate with the dignity and importance

¹ Ep. Ind., XV, p. 186; Ind. Ant., 1910.

of which evidence is supplied by the act of the election itself, it may be that there had been no system in vogue requiring regular meetings of large popular assemblies for any kind of normal constitutional business connected with the central executive of a State. That the people were at first treated with respect even by the head of the State is shown by the importance attached by Dharmapāla to the good opinion of the people, which he enjoyed throughout his dominion. The Khālimpur grant of this monarch, unlike the later inscriptions of the family, also contain expressions which seem to show that local leaders were held by him in high regard and esteem. The omission of these as well as the non-mention of the part played by the *Prakritis* in the establishment of the Pāla dynasty in the subsequent records does not seem to be without some significance. It is not unlikely that the Pālas who had owed so much to the people on the onset of their career consolidated their position so effectively by stamping out the evils of lawlessness and by making conquests abroad that they very soon felt free to go the way they liked without having to seek popular approval or consent. Moreover, having secured the active association of some generations of very capable ministers whose work is praised in the Badal *Praśasti*, the early Pāla kings felt themselves well fortified. Those who had elected Gopāla do not appear to have attempted to devise a new constitution for themselves.

With these introductory remarks we may now proceed to examine the system of administration as it actually worked. Royal titles remained as in the preceding period.¹ To these usual titles some of the Sena kings added their own *birudas*. The *birudas* assumed by Vijayasena, Vallālasena, Lakshmaṇasena, Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena were respectively *Ari-vṛishabhā-śaṅkara*, *Arirāja-Niḥśaṅka-Śaṅkara*, *Arirāja-Madana-Śaṅkara*, *Arirāja-Vṛishabhāṅka-Śaṅkara* and *Arirāja-Asahya-Śaṅkara*.

¹ The Tippera copper-plate grant of Lokanātha gives two titles, *Adhimahārāja* and *Paramēśvara*, see Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 301 ff. The title *Paramēśvara* is assumed by Vijayasena, Vallālasena and Lakshmaṇasena, and the expression *Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja* tray-*ādhipati* is bestowed upon Viśvarūpasena.

The king's eldest son, as usual, was meant for heir-apparency (*yauvarājyam*). As to his duties and functions, no detailed information is supplied. One such *Yuvarāja* or heir-apparent, Tribhuvanapāla, carried out the duties of a messenger in connexion with the Khālimpur grant; another, *viz.*, Rājyapāla was entrusted with similar business in the matter of the Monghyr grant.¹ Vigrabapāla, the Pāla king, abdicated in favour of his son Nārāyanapāla who was acting as the *Yuvarāja* at the time of the renunciation of the throne by his father.² The term *Kumāra* was applied to a son of the king, appointed to a high administrative post such as a provincial governorship. The *Kumāra* sometimes gave a good account of himself by taking part in the reigning king's military campaigns. Thus Lakshmapasena in his youth, before his installation as a king, appears to have participated in some victorious expeditions (Mādhānagar grant).³ Rāmapāla used to hold consultations with his sons, particularly Rājyapāla, in connexion with his war-preparations against the Kaivartas, the collapse of whose power was not only the greatest achievement of his reign but one of the most notable episodes of the closing period of Pāla history.

Not only the king and his son or sons were interested in the government, but the former's cousins sometimes intimately associated themselves with its policy and activities. Dharmapāla and his son Devapāla were each in turn assisted generously by their respective cousins, Vākpāla and Jayapāla, in the prosecution of their military plans. The Sāhitya Parishat grant of Viśvarūpasena⁴ gives the names of two *Kumāras*, Sūryasena and Purushottamasena, recording the gift of

¹ Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp. 304ff.

² Ind. Ant., XV, pp. 305ff; G.I.M., pp. 56ff.

³ JPASB, V, p. 471ff; 9B, pp. 109ff. The date of the Tippera copper-plate of Lokanātha is uncertain. If it is not a pre-Pāla inscription, it will show that sometime in the early part of the period under review a chief named Bhavanātha abdicated in favour of his nephew and himself became a 'rishi' (*bhrātub sute guṇavati pratipādya rāyam śrīman-dhād = rishi-samo...V. 4*), see Ep. Ind., XIII, pp. 301 ff.

⁴ 1B, pp. 143ff.

a plot of land measuring 10 *udānas* by the former to Halāyudha on his birth-day (*varshariddhau*- 1.54), and the gift of another plot measuring 24 *udānas* by the other *Kumāra*. The *Kumāra* used to have his own *amātyas*, styled *Kumārāmātyas*. Whether such *Amātyas*, distinguished from the *Rājāmātyas*, were to be attached only to those among the princes who had been appointed to provincial governorships, or to all such persons whether free or in such service, is not clear. From the inscriptions of the earlier period it appears that the *Kumārāmātyas* used to be appointed as *Vishayapatis* or district officers. This was perhaps because the administration of a province was generally regarded as a matter principally reserved for a *Kumāra*. Consequently, those who were to be appointed as *Vishayapatis* were usually recruited from the rank of the *Kumārāmātyas*. There is no direct evidence in the inscriptions of the period to show that there was any incident of internal dissension among the many royal families whose history is to be found in these records. The *Rāmacharita* commentary, however, has preserved some authentic information regarding the most serious fratricidal quarrel that started during the reign of Mahīpāla II, in the course of which one brother, Rāmapāla seems to have been thrown into prison, and another, Sūrapāla, was probably done away with at a subsequent stage. The death of another king in the family, Gopāla III, was probably engineered by his uncle Madanapāla, as suggested by verse 18 of the latter's *Manabāli* grant, combined with the evidence of the *Rāmacharita* (IV). A study of the earlier inscriptions of the Pālas raises the suspicion that a struggle for power may have taken place in the royal family after the death of Devapāla, leading to a change in the line of succession. But for want of definite evidence this suspicion cannot be converted into a certainty.

In the initiation of a policy and in the devising of ways and means to give effect to it, the king surely had to turn to his ministers who must have lived in the capital of his dominion, so that they might be directly available to him in the conduct of the central

administration. It may be noted here that none of the Brahmin advisers mentioned in the Badal *Prasasti* has been actually designated a minister, but their functions, as referred to in the inscription, were actually those of a minister or counsellor. In this inscription Garga claims to have made Dharmapāla the master of the 'whole world' (*Dharmah kṛitas-tad-adhipas-tv-akhilāsu dikshu*). His son Darbhapāni made the long stretch of territory extending from the Himālayas to the Vindhya tributary to Dharmapāla's son and successor, Devapāla; this achievement was due to the *policy* said to have emanated from him (*nītyā*). Darbhapāni's son Someśvara who also flourished in Devapāla's reign has been described as *paramēśvara-vallabha* or one enjoying the confidence of the sovereign. His son Kedāramiśra is credited with the whole responsibility for the success that attended Devapāla's relations with the Utkalas, the Hūṇas, the Gurjaras and the Draviḍas. Kedāramiśra, his son, was associated with the reign of Śūrapāla, and his son was Guravamiśra whose skill in and devotion to polity won the admiration of his sovereign Nārāyaṇapāla. It was this Bhaṭṭa Guravamiśra who acted as a messenger in connexion with the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla. There are two verses in the Badal *Prasasti*, from which one may be tempted to draw the inference that the influence exercised by this Brahmin family was so great that even the Pāla kings who received the benefit of its guidance and advice, particularly in the conduct of their foreign policy, had to acknowledge themselves as inferior to it. Verse 6 states that Devapāla had to wait at the gate of Darbhapāni for an interview with him (*Tasthau Śrī-Devapālo nṛpatir-arcasār-āpekshayā drāṇi yasya*). The next verse records that this king first offered him "a chair of state" before seating himself on the throne (*dattāpy-analpam-uḍupa-chchhavipīṭham-agre yasy-āsanam nara-patih surarāja-kalpah | nānā-narendra-mukutāṅkita-pādap-āmśuḥ śimhāsanaṁ sa-chakitaḥ śrayam-āsasāda ||*). It is difficult to agree with A. K. Maitreya¹ who holds that the Pālas were

¹ OLM, p. 79a.

most anxious to pay homage to these ministers and to do nothing that might displease them for this reason that they were the leaders of the people who had elected Gopāla I to the throne. There is no evidence in this inscription, or in any other, as far as we know, to support the view that these ministers had their power based in a constitutional sense on popular support or that they owed their allegiance or were responsible to any group of people or institution except the king.

As several generations of this Brahmin family were associated with successive Pāla rulers, it is evident that the hereditary principle was observed in the appointment of ministers. This principle in regard to higher services at least appears to have continued to operate under later dynasties also, *viz.*, the Chandras and the Yādavas, as is shown by the Bhubaneswar *Prasasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.¹ This inscription probably shows that Ādideva, the grandfather of Bhavadeva II served under a Chandra king, and his son Govardhana may have also been connected with the same family. But Govardhana's son Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva served under Harivarmadeva who appears to have been a member of the Yādava family of East Bengal.

Having made some concession for the fact that such statements regarding the honour and prestige enjoyed by these ministers at the hands of their sovereigns occur in an inscription where the panegyric element is too manifest to escape notice, one cannot but be persuaded to hold that there must be a substratum of truth in them, and on such a view of the matter may attempt to explain what accounted for the dominant position held by these Brahmins in the royal court. One of the most apparent causes of their influence was their learning, which to judge from the internal data of the Badal Pillar inscription, must have been of an outstanding character; another cause was their wealth which must have secured for them a large following, and the third factor that contributed to their success

¹ Ep Ind, VI, pp. 203-07; IB, pp. 26ff.

in the affairs of the state was their efficiency as soldiers. Garga, the adviser of Dharmapāla, was more than Bṛihaspati, the counsellor and preceptor of the gods (*vijahāsa Bṛihaspatim yah—*verse 2); his son Darbhapāṇi appears to have been well-versed in the four Vedas (*Vidyā-chatusṭaya-mukh-āmburuhāta—*verse 4); Someśvara was like Dhanāñjaya in point of prowess and he bestowed liberal gifts on suppliants, and through his wealth was able to make his friends dance in joy (verse 9); Kedāramiśra was a great scholar having easily succeeded in acquainting himself with the four *vidyās* (verse 12), who seems to have given away large sums of money to needy persons, thinking that the wealth possessed by him really belonged to them, having been stolen by himself (*stayam-apahṛita-rittān-arthino yo'numenc—*verse 14); Guravamiśra was a second Paraśurāma (verse 18); his sovereign himself expressed his appreciation of his wealth of speech, his knowledge of the *Āgamas*, the *Vedas*, *Jyotiṣa* or Astronomy, etc. (verse 20); he was as much competent to defeat his opponents in assemblies of learned men as in overpowering his enemies in fields of battle (verse 22), however powerful they might be. His scholarship and sacrificial activities are spoken of with evident admiration in the Bhāgalpur inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla, where he is mentioned as doing the duties of a messenger (verse 18). Their intellectual qualities, in particular their political wisdom as well as martial abilities, above all, their personality, no doubt gave them a commanding position which few rulers could ignore, but the Buddhist monarchs of the Pāla dynasty must have been specially concerned to pay them their homage on the very material ground that through them they could expect to keep the non-Buddhist element in the population in good humour. In the Kanauli *Praśasti* of Vaidyadeva, he is mentioned to have originally served as a *sachita* under the *Gauḍeśvara* Kumārāpāla (end of the 12th century). He is described in that inscription as the sharp-rayed sun unto the lotuses of the assembly of *sachiras—Sachira-samāja-saroja-tigmbabhānuḥ* (verse 10). The nature of his duties

and functions before his transfer to Assam is to be understood from the fact that he won a signal victory over the enemy in a naval battle in South Bengal and that the sovereignty of his master was a matter of deep and close concern to him (verses 11-12), which made him the latter's friend, dearer than his life. The functions of this officer must have been those of an intimate adviser or counsellor, also qualified to back his efforts towards the success of his master's reign by rendering personal military service. Vaidyadeva was afterwards appointed to rule in the east in place of Timgyadeva who had become disaffected against Kumārapāla. It seems that in those days a minister who had no military qualities had little chance of being recognised by the government as indispensable. Vaidyadeva gave a further proof of his pre-eminence as a soldier by defeating Timgyadeva in battle, whereupon he was able to feel secure as a ruler in Kāmarūpa (*tam-avanipatiṃ jitrā yuddhe*—v. 14). The term *Mantri* is also found used in some of the Pāla inscriptions. The Dūta of the grant recorded in the Bāngarh inscription of Mahipāla I (10th century) was Bhaṭṭa Vāmana, styled *Mantri*.¹ The messenger of the Āmgāchhi grant of Vīgrahapāla III was also a *Mantri*.²

From the preceding discussion it will appear that the supreme position in the State belonged to the king who was advised and assisted by his sons, kinsmen and counsellors (*sachiva*, *mantri*). For further details one should turn to those portions in the available inscriptions, which supply designations of various officials to whom all grants of lands were to be communicated in a formal manner. The Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla, which is the earliest dated record of his reign, gives a list of designations mentioned here in the order in which they occur in the text: *Rājarājanaka*, *Rājaputra*, *Rājāmātya*, *Senāpati*, *Vishayapati*, *Bhogapati*, *Shashṭhādhikrita*, *Daṇḍaśakti*, *Daṇḍapāśika*, *Chauroddharanika*, *Daussādha-sāadhanika*, *Dūta*, *Khola*, *Gamāga-*

¹ Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 325.

² Ibid., XV, p. 298, n. 3.

mika, *Abhitvaramāṇa*, *Hasty-aśva-go-mahish-ājāvik-ādhyaksha*, *Nāvādhyaksha*, *Balādhyaksha*, *Tarika*, *Śaulkika*, *Gaulmika*, *Tadāyuktaka*, *Viniyuktaka*. In the undated Nālandā Plate¹ of the same king certain designations which do not occur in the above-mentioned inscription are found included in a similar list, viz., *Mahākārttākṛitika*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Mahā-sāmanta*, *Mahārāja*, *Pramātri*, *Sarabhaṅga*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Rājasthānīya*, *Daśāparādhika*, *Uparika*, *Dāṇḍika*, *Kshetrapāla*, *Prāntapāla*. A comparative study of the two lists will also show the omission of certain titles in the Nālandā plate, which are to be found in the Khālimpur Plate, viz., *Shashṭhādhyakṛita*, *Daṇḍasakti*, *Nāvādhyaksha*, *Balādhyaksha*, *Bhogapati*, *Dūta*, *Khola*, *Senāpati*.

The lists given above begin with the designation *Rājārājanaka*. In the Monghyr grant of Devapāla the first designation mentioned is that of *Rāṇaka*. In the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla this is preceded by the word 'Rājā,' with which it seems to form a compound, implying a single office. In the Bāngarh and other later Pāla inscriptions this place is occupied by 'Rājārājanyaka' but the older form is *Rājārājanaka*, which occurs in the grants of Dharmapāla. It is thus to be noticed that while it is the grants of Devapāla only which begin with *Rāṇaka*, the other Pāla inscriptions begin either with *Rājārājanaka* or *Rājārājanyaka*. In the Rāmpāl copper-plate of Śrī-Chandra² of the Chandra dynasty the designation 'Rāṇaka' occurs next to 'Rājñi.' In the Belāva copperplate³ of the Varmans and some inscriptions of the Senas (Barrackpur,⁴ Naibāti,⁵ Ānuliā⁶), both 'Rāṇaka' and 'Rājārājanyaka' are to be found, the latter standing at the head of the list while the former coming in after 'Rājñi.' It has been suggested that the term 'Rājanaka' which occurs in the Chamba inscriptions

¹ Ep. Ind., XXIII, p. 290 ff.

² IB., p. 1 ff.

³ Ep. Ind., XI, pp. 87-88; IB., p. 14 ff.

⁴ Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 283 ff; IB., p. 61 ff.

⁵ Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 189 ff.

⁶ JASB, LVIX, pt. I, p. 62 ff; IB., p. 55 ff.

is a Sanskritised rather than a real Sanskrit word. This expression in Chamba corresponded, as Vogel suggests,¹ to *Rāṇā* and was applied as a title to the vassals of its *Rājās*. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* quoted by him shows that the word *Rājanaka* used to be applied in Kashmir almost in the same sense as is denoted by the word 'minister.' If '*Rājanaka*' is the same as '*Rāṇaka*' or '*Rāṇā*,' how is it to be explained that both '*Rāṇaka*' and either *Rājanaka* or *Rājanyaka* occur together in some of the inscriptions? It may be that '*Rājanyaka*' or its apparent corruption '*Rājanaka*' is nothing but a diminutive form of '*Rājanya*.' Regarding *Rāṇaka*, it is quite possible that the designation denoted some such status as is done by the word '*Rāṇā*' in Chamba. That there was not probably a vast difference between the position of a *Rājārājanaka* and that of a *Rāṇaka* may be evident from the fact that the place of one appears to have been taken by the other in the grants of the Pālas. The Deopara *Prasasti* of Vijayasena (11th century)² was engraved by *Sūlapāṇi*, who was a *Rāṇaka* and the head of the guild of artisans of Varendra. If a king can write poetry, of which there are many instances in Indian history, there is nothing surprising in a prince engaging himself as an artist. But what is significant here is the headship of a guild, which must have been an economic organization, that is claimed for the *Rāṇaka*.³ It is probable that members of the princely order, sometimes forgoing political ambitions, preferred to win distinctions in other spheres of life.

The *Rājāmātyas* were probably the companions of the king, who were men of noble descent. An *amātya* may not have infrequently been employed as a royal adviser. In the absence

¹ *Antiquities of Chamba*, pp. 110, 121.

² *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 807 ff.

³ The Bihār Buddhist brass image inscription of the reign of *Nārāyaṇapāla* records a gift made by *Rāṇaka* *Thāroka*, a resident of *Uḍḍapapura*, see *Ind. Ant.*, XLVII, p. 110. The date of the grant recorded in the Gauṇām Plate of *Daṇḍimahādevī* is a *Rāṇaka* named *Dāpālava*, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 137 ff.

of definite evidence it will be hazardous to attempt to indicate his position more precisely and how or whether his duties differed from those of *mantrins* and *sachivas*. The designation '*Rājāmātya*' is to be understood in contradistinction from the term '*Kumārāmātya*,' the former apparently being used to denote a certain class of persons serving on the king's staff, while the latter a definite group of officers serving under the *Kumāras*.

The *Senāpati* was the highest military officer of the State, the Commander-in-Chief of the king's Army. The Nālandā grant does not mention this post but that of the *Mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka*, who probably performed duties similar to those of the *Senāpati*. The Irdā copper-plate of the Kāmboja king Nayapāla uses the term in the plural number. It is not improbable that the king was still regarded as the highest military authority in the State working with a number of *Senāpatīs*. What is, however, most significant in connexion with the military department of the Kāmboja king is a phrase in this inscription which definitely shows that the *Senāpatīs* had to carry on their business with the help of a number *Sainika-saṅgha-mukhyas* or chiefs of corporations of soldiers. It is interesting to note that the Kauṭīliya speaks of the corporations of the *Kāmbhojas*, the *Surāśhṭras* and the *Kshatriyas* devoted to trade and industry as well as to the practice of arms as a means of livelihood (*Kāmbhoja-Surāśhṭra-Kshatriya-śreṇy-ādayaḥ vārttā-śāstr-opajīvinah*).¹ The Irdā grant may thus be regarded as incidentally furnishing a piece of valuable evidence about the identification of the Kāmbojas who established their political power in Bengal in the tenth century A.D. and also in regard to the continuity of their military institutions as late as that period. The *Shashthādhikṛita* was in

¹ XI. 1, 160. It is difficult to agree with K. P. Jayaswal that the term *śreṇi* used here is the name of a particular republic like that of the *Kāmbhojas*, etc., see his *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, pp. 60, 62. I am, however, inclined to think that the term *Kshatriya* here used is a tribal name. Regarding the identification of the *Kāmbhojas* of the Kauṭīliya and the *Kāmbojas*, see H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 94-96 (Second Ed.).

charge of the department entrusted with the work of collecting for the king one-sixth share of the produce from the cultivators. The title '*Danḍasakti*' occurs only in the Khālimpur Plate. Its place in the lists is taken by '*Dāṇḍika*' in the other inscriptions of the period, even in the Nālandā grant of Dharmapāla himself. Probably the same office is denoted by both the expressions. The *Danḍasakti* appears to have been the officer in charge of the Law of Punishment. The *Danḍapāśika* of the Khālimpur and Nālandā plates of Dharmapāla must have filled the same office as that of the *Danḍavāsika* who appears in the other inscriptions. The expression is derived from '*danḍa-pāśa*,' i.e., 'rod-and-rope.' The form '*Danḍavāsika*,' according to Vogel, is due to 'vernacular influence.' The title describes rather crudely the functions of the Chief Police Officer. The *Chauroddharaṇika* was the highest officer concerned with the apprehension of thieves, robbers and brigands, his functions being the same as those of the *Chauroddhartār* or *Chauragrāha*, mentioned in the Hindu law-books.¹

It has been found difficult to understand the implications of the expression '*Dauḥsādhasādhanika*' or any of its variants, to be met with in the inscriptions of the period. It is not clear if it sometimes refers to the functions of two different officers—*Dauḥsādha* and *Sādhanika*. The latter term can be traced in one of the Faridpur grants² by which some nautical officer³ may have been meant. The form *Dauḥsādhyasādhanika* occurs in the Rāmpāl grant of Śrī-Chandra, *Dauḥsādhanika* in the Belāva grant of the Varmans, and most of the Sena inscriptions, *Mahādauḥsādhi* in the Edilpur grant of Keśava-sena and

¹ Jol'y, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 124; translation by B. K. Ghosh, p. 271.

² *Ind. Ant.*, 1910. p. 211. According to Pargiter, a *Sādhanika* was 'some agent, attorney or factotum, appointed by the lord of the district to transact business generally on his behalf' and that he was 'a person of higher authority than the officer who looked after the *Vyāpāra*'. See *ibid.*, pp. 211-213.

³ Cf. '*Kari-turaa-ombhara-nau-sādhanika*' in the Sone East-Bank Copper-plate of Indra-deva and Udayarāja, see Harit Krishna Delh., *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 222 ff.

Mahādauhsāadhanika in the Pāla grants excepting the grants of the reign of Dharmapāla, where the expression is used without the prefix '*mahā*.' It cannot be doubted that in most cases, if not in all, the duties and functions of a single officer are meant. The construction of the phrase makes it quite clear that whatever his actual work might have been, its extremely difficult or delicate character must have been its most prominent feature.¹ The term is sometimes interpreted to mean the designation of an officer entrusted with the care of those who were mentally defective.

The *Dūta* held the post of an ambassador.² The designation was also used to mean the office of a messenger, to which one was temporarily appointed for the purpose of communicating the king's sanction and order regarding a grant and getting it executed in the form of a legal document by local officers. The term '*Khola*' means in Sanskrit literature a lame person. What the functions of the officer designated *Khola* were, have not yet been correctly ascertained. Among the Bengal inscriptions the title occurs only in the Khālimpur grant, and curiously enough, once again in the Rānganj inscription of the 13th century. The derivative meaning of '*Gamāgamika*' is 'one who goes and comes,' and that of '*Abhivaramāṇa*' 'one who hurries.' It may strike one that the officers designated by these titles could not have been of a high rank, since their functions, understood etymologically,

¹ In the chapter dealing with the organisation of espionage in Kauṭilya's *Arthśāstra*, the phrase—*daṇḍakarsāddhan-ādihikāreṇa vā janapada-vivēśaṁ grāhayet*—occurs. Shama Sastry's translation (see p. 27) seems to be defective for it does not pay sufficient attention to the implications of '*adhikāreṇa*.' It may be possible that there was a department authorised to impose fine and oppressive taxes for the sole purpose of creating political troubles to the advantage of the king. '*Sādhayet*' is used in the *Arthśāstra* in another passage (V. 6) in connexion with the task of tactically handling a disloyal chief—*āpat-pratikāreṇa vā sādhyet*. A *Sādhanika* may be presumed to have been appointed to carry out difficult state-business involving much personal risk.

² The *Irdā* grant of the Kāmboja family seems to show that a *Dūta*, who must have been employed as a representative of his sovereign at the court of another king, was assisted by a number of *gūḍha-puruṣas* (officers of the secret service). There are two chapters in the Kauṭilya, respectively entitled '*Gūḍha-puruṣa-otpattiḥ*' and '*Gūḍha-puruṣa-prapattiḥ*' (I.11-12) dealing with spies and the organisation of the department of espionage.

merely carry with them a sense of physical efficiency and movement. But such a view cannot possibly be entertained as they have been grouped with those among whom the most responsible officers can be recognized. It is probable that the *Gamāgamika* was appointed to carry out functions of an urgent character in connexion with the diplomatic department of the State, requiring frequent visits to neighbouring kingdoms or to the dominions of vassals. The *Abhitvaramāṇa*'s duty was probably to be actively responsible for an expeditious dispatch of official business of either some or all the departments of the State.

There were superintendents to deal with matters relating to different classes of animals, viz., the elephant, horse, cow and the buffalo (*Hasty-aśva-go-mahish-ājārikādhyaksha*—Khālimpur Plate). The functions of this officer became more limited with the creation of another post, concerned with the care and maintenance of those animals specially useful to the Army, viz., the elephant, the horse and the camel (Nālandā). The *Nāvādhyaksha* and the *Balādhyaksha* were the heads respectively of the department of navy and that of land forces. The term 'bala' in '*Balādhyaksha*' may have the same sense as it bears in the expression '*hasty-aśv-oshtṛa-bala-vyāpṛitaka*.' It may be noted here that the latter phrase does not occur in the Khālimpur plate, as in the Nālandā plate of the same monarch it does occur with the omission of '*balādhyaksha*.' It will, however, be difficult to conclude from this that the functions of the two officers were the same, for part of the duties at any rate must have been carried out by the officer designated *Hasty-aśva-go-mahish-ājārikādhyaksha*. There cannot be any doubt that this last-named officer and the *Balādhyaksha* employed by Dharmapāla carried out their work in mutual co-operation, the latter doing some additional duties in connexion with the management of Infantry. The military headship of the entire army must have belonged to the *Senāpati*. Among other duties of the *Nāvādhyaksha* must have been those connected with the construction of *nau-vāṭakas* or bridges of boats, as are frequent-

ly mentioned in the Pāla inscriptions, across the Bhāgīrathī and other rivers of strategic importance, as well as their maintenance and upkeep. Navy played an important part in the military history of the Pālas and the Senas. There are references in the Kanauli grant of Vaidyadeva and the commentary of the Rāma-charita to naval engagements or to crossings of rivers by the Pāla Army, and in the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena to a successful military undertaking during his reign involving the use of boats (*pāschātya-chakra-jayakelishu yasya yārad-Gāṅga-prarāham-anudhāratī nau-citāne*).

The term '*Tarika*' means a ferryman, but the officer thus styled must have been much more than a mere ferryman. The grants of Devapāla contain two designations, *Tarika* and *Tarapati*, which may seem to be allied in meaning. The *Tarika* appears to have been placed in charge of ferry service, probably a source of revenue,¹ and was besides responsible for carrying out those regulations which may have existed in regard to the movements of private individuals from one place to another. The *Tarapati* serving under Devapāla may have been responsible for the construction of ferries, their development and upkeep. The *Saulkika* was the Superintendent of tolls or customs, and the *Gaulmika* performed the duties of the Superintendent of forests.

It should be pointed out here that in the Khālīmpur grant there is no mention of '*Sāmantas*' in its list of officials. In the other grants of the Pālas an officer, styled *Mahāsāmānta*,² appears, including the Nālānda grant of Dharmapāla. The Khālīmpur grant shows, however, the existence of this office by reporting that the gift recorded in that inscription was made

¹ See Kauṭilya Arthśāstra, II, 6, where the Samāhartā or Collector of revenue is asked to attend to *stā, bhāga, bali, kara, vapik, nadipāla, tara, nāva, puṭṭana, vivita, vartāni, rajjū, chorarajjā*.

² The Tippers Copper-plate of Lokanātha refers to a Brahmin named Pradoshaśarman who held the post of the Mahāsāmānta, Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 801 ff. The other administrative terms contained in this inscription are Kumārmatya, Adhikarapa, Visbayapati, Sāmānta and Vyavahāri.

at the request of the *Mahāsāmāntādhipati*. Such an officer must have been appointed to exercise a general control over the feudatories; he was the link through which the king's contact with the *Sāmantas* was maintained. It may be suggested here that at least some of the *Rāja-Rājanakas* present at the king's court were a group of *Sāmantas* who used to spend most of their time at the imperial capital, with their military quotas placed at the disposal of their sovereign. (*Udichin - āneka - narapati - prābhṛitīkrit-āprameya-haya-vāhini*). The presence of many such subordinate rulers in the immediate neighbourhood of the king is alluded to in the passage: *dikchakr-āyāta-bhūbhṛit-parikara-risarad - vāhinī-durvilokis-tisthau Śrī-Devapāla-nṛpatir-avasara-āpekshayā drāriyasya* (verse 6), occurring in the Guraḍa Pillar inscription of Bhṛṅga Guravamiśra. The wives of such *Sāmantas* may have been referred to as *Rājñīs* in the lists of officials, contained in our inscriptions. What arrangements these absentee lords made for the government of their own people are, however, not known. If these princely persons were really among those who are definitely known to have been officers of the Crown to whom every royal grant had to be communicated, it will appear that they along with the others had been drawn into the orbit of the central administration of the State. Another noteworthy point is that the king and his family together with probably certain ministers also appear to have been treated as a body entirely separated from the group of officers noted in these inscriptions. The king making a grant himself, it is true, need not be told about it, but members of the king's family including the *Kumāras*, if any, the *Yutarāja*, the queen or queens, should have been mentioned among those to whom such communications had to be made, had they not been regarded as a compact body distinct even from the highest officials of the State. Is it probable that the king with the responsible members of his family, his kinsmen and some prominent ministers also, formed a sort of inner chamber acting in close concert, isolating themselves from the aristocracy of officials? The Irdā copper-plate of the Kāmbojas, however,

shows that their king treated himself as solely responsible for a grant, and did not associate with his family or any one of the highest officials even for purposes of consultation, as shown by the fact that the grant made by him was to be communicated to the queen (*mahishī*), the crown-prince (*Yucarāja*) the ministers (*mantriṇaḥ*), the Priest (*Purohita*), etc., in the first place, and secondly, to the *adhyakshas* or departmental heads including the *Senāpati* with their staffs (*Karaṇas*).

The picture of the administrative condition of the early Pāla period, as can be framed on the evidence of the Khālimpur grant of Dharmapāla, does not agree in every way with the one contained in the other inscriptions of the dynasty, including even the Nālandā copper-plate grant issued by the same monarch. The official designations to be found mentioned in the Nālandā grant are repeated with slight occasional changes in all the other records of this dynasty. Only in the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyanapāla the list given contains the additional designations: *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahākshapaṭalika* and also *Rāṇaka*, besides *Rājarājanaka*. This list also omits *Tarapati* and combines *Rājasthāniya* with *Uparika*. Moreover, in the Manabali grant of Madanapāla (12th century) there is no mention of *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*. The term 'Amātya' is occasionally replaced by the more explicit form *Rājāmātya*. The Bāngarh grant probably contains a reference to the post of *Mahāmantri*, but this is not to be found in the usual list of officers. Against the designation '*Hasty-aśva-go-mahish-ājavikādhyaaksha*', to be noticed in the Khālimpur plate, as already mentioned, two designations are used in these grants including the Nālandā grant, viz., *Hasty-aśv-oshṭra-bala-cyāpri-taka* and *Kiśora-vādava-go-mahish-ājavikādhyaaksha*. Although the Nālandā grant is not dated, the similarity between its administrative portion and the lists of officers to be found in the records of the Pālas after Dharmapāla, makes it quite probable that this grant was issued later than the Khālimpur grant dated in the 32nd year of his reign. In all these grants, as already

shown, some of the official designations are prefixed by 'Mahā.' Whether this addition is merely ornamental, or is to be taken as signifying a distinctive status superior to that of the others who may have been given any such designation without the prefix, will remain a matter for speculation for the present, but it is quite possible that there was a tendency in the administrative system towards greater organization, further concentration of power, and unity of control, which manifested itself in the appointment of heads even among some of the highest ranks of officials.

Two designations in particular seem to bear the mark of such a tendency in the policy of the State crystallising into a definite shape, viz., *Mahākumārāmātya* and *Mahāsāmanta*. The officer styled *Mahākumārāmātya* was evidently appointed to exercise a sort of general control over and guide the conduct of the *Kumārāmātyas*, and the officers designated *Mahāsāmanta* was entrusted with similar functions in regard to the feudatories of the king. *Kumārāmātyas* are known to have been employed in the Gupta period as district officers working under the direction of provincial governors. The appointment of a *Mahākumārāmātya* and a *Mahāsāmanta* shows that the Pāla kings were well aware of the inherent evils and dangers of an imperial system, often originating from maladministration of provincial officers and the recalcitrance and disloyalty of feudatories, which they were anxious to eliminate by bringing them under a system of unified control. It cannot be claimed, however, that the Pālas originated a novel policy, for many of such designations with the prefix 'Mahā' occur in several earlier inscriptions. It may be mentioned here that in the list of officials supplied by the Maṇahali grant of Maḍanapāla there is the mention of a *Mahāsādhivigrahika*, while the grant itself is associated with a *Sādhivigrahika* as its *Dūtaka*. Similarly, the Bāngarb list, if it includes a *Mahāmantri*,¹ will prove the existence of such a high

¹ GLM. p. 96. R. D. Banerji reads 'mahāmātya' (l. 83.), Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 32.

office in addition to those of *Mantrins*, one of whose names seems to be given as that of the *Dūtaka*. Among the other officers named in the Pāla inscriptions, the *Mahākārttākṛitika* is sure to attract special attention; the *Kārttākṛitika* of the Mallasārul inscription (6th century A.D.) is already a familiar figure. Perhaps it will not be a mistake to suppose that in the imperial system of the Pālas there was room for many *Kārttākṛitikas*, *Pratīhāras*, *Daṇḍanāyakas*, etc., as well as *Sāmantas* and *Kumārāmātyas*, spread over a wide geographical area, and that heads were appointed at the centre to keep them under proper control and maintain some uniformity in the policy and conduct of government in so far as they were dependent upon these different classes of officers and supporters of the State. The *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, who figures in the Bhāgalpur grant, being in charge of Peace and War, must have occupied a specially important place, as the Pālas throughout had a military career, having been required to fight against a series of external enemies for defensive as well as offensive purposes. The Bhuvaneswar *Prasasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva gives the account of a Brahmin family which produced some successive generations of *Sāndhivigrahikas*. The earliest of them probably served under a Chandra king described in the inscription as the ruler of Vaṅga. Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva himself was engaged as such a minister under Harivarmadeva who appears to have been a king of the Varman dynasty which supplanted the Chandras in East Bengal. It is necessary to take note of the fact that Ādideva, the first in the family that had settled at Siddhala in Rāḍhā (West Bengal) to adorn the office of a minister, has been given several epithets or designations. He was the *Vīśrāma-sachira*, the *Mahāmantri*, the *Mahāpātra* and the *Sāndhivigrahī* of a king of Vaṅga. He enjoyed the greatest confidence of his master as he was allowed, not in his private capacity, but as a *Sachira*, to enjoy the company of the king when he was free from all preoccupations; that is to say, matters of statecraft used to be discussed in complete privacy between these two persons. He, therefore, has been rightly described as the

Chief Mantrin (*Mahāmantri*), i.e., the chief of the royal advisers or counsellors; and the designation '*Sāndhivigrahi*' shows that as the *Viśvamasachira* and *Mahāmantri* of the king, he specially concerned himself with questions of war and peace. Although no such particular designation has been applied to the Brahmins whose activities are recorded in the *Badal Prasasti*, it appears highly probable that functions denoted by these titles were similarly entrusted to them by the Pāla monarchs under whom they served. An outstanding personality, Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, who flourished in a subsequent period, serving under Harivarmadeva, has been described as his *Mantraśakti-sachira* (verse 16),¹ whose ministry was probably responsible for the victory of the king over the Nāgas, and among other things for the long reign which he enjoyed. There seems to be no doubt that his functions were the same as those of his ancestor Ādideva; he was a *Mantri* and *Sachira* like him, his principal authority being associated with *Mantraśakti* which means the policy of war and peace.² The inscription seems to contain a hint that his son was also a high officer who had a practical knowledge of *Daṇḍa-nūti* (verse 16). It is claimed in the Bhuvaneswar inscription, that Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva was well acquainted with the Vedas, the *Āgamas*, the *Arthaśāstra*, the science of medicine, the science relating to the use of arms, *Siddhānta*, *Tantra*, *Gaṇita*, the *Phalasaṃhitā* (Astrology) and that he was the author of a treatise on *Horāśāstra* (Horoscopy) and also works on *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy and the *Dharmaśāstra*. Three extant texts, the authorship of which belongs to Bhavadeva, viz., the *Tautātīlamata-tilaka*, the *Karmānushṭhāna-Paddhati* or *Daśa-Karma-paddhati* and the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* (the first treatise being on *Mīmāṃsā* and the two others on *Smṛiti*), substantiate the evidence of the inscription as being actual proofs of his scholarship and literary activity.

¹ The Junagarh inscription of Rudradeva (180 A.D.) mentions two classes of *Sachivas*, viz., *Karma-sachivas* and *Mantra-sachivas*, see Ep. Ind., VIII. The success of Rājapāla is attributed to his possession of the threefold strength constituted by *utsāha* (energy), *mantra* (counsel) and *prabhu* (authority), see for instance the Āṅgāchhi grant, Ep. Ind., XV (v. 9), p. 296.

² IB, p. 38, n. 4.

Madanapāla was served by a *Sāndhirigrahika* named Bhimadeva appointed as the messenger of the Manahali grant. Lakshmanasena was also served by a scholar-minister, Halāyudha (a Brahmin of this name is mentioned in the Edilpur grant of Keśava-sena).¹ Harighosha served as a *Sāndhirigrahika* under Vallālasenā, who performed the duties of a *Dūtaka* in connexion with the grant recorded in the Naihāṭi copper-plate. Lakshmanasena's *Sāndhirigrahika* was entrusted with the work of a messenger in connexion with his Tarpandighi, Govindapur and Ānuliā grants. *Sāndhirigrahika* Nāṇisimha serving under Viśvarūpasena carried out similar duties in respect of the Sāhitya Parishat grant.

The *Mahākshapaṭalika* appearing for the first time in the Bhāgalpur grant must have been the officer in charge of Accounts. The Gupta inscriptions show that there was often a number of *Pustapālas* who had to be consulted at the time of sale of lands by Government. The *Mahākshapaṭalika* stationed at the centre of the empire was responsible as part of his duties for the whole department of Records with branches probably in the different provincial towns and cities.²

Among officials connected with the central administration or executive, the nature of whose duties and functions is being investigated, may be mentioned the *Pramātri*, who seems to have been concerned as a judge with civil cases only. Vogel³ on the authority of the chronicler Śrīvara is persuaded to conclude that this officer was entrusted with the administration of justice, but the passage quoted by him seems to show that the scope of his work was limited to cases relating to disputes regarding

¹ IB, pp. 121 ff.

² See IB, App. 10, p. 186; Antiquities, p. 133; Fleet CIL., p. 190, n. 2. The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya gives a detailed account of the duties (*Gāpanikyādhikāra*) attached to the *Akshapaṭala* (II, 7). Among such duties particular attention may be given to those connected with the [compilation and preservation of the] history of customs, professions and transactions of countries, villages, families and corporations; the gains in the form of gifts to the king's countries, their title to possess and enjoy lands, remission of taxes allowed to them," etc.

³ Antiquities, pp. 122-23.

property only. The title *Rājasthānīya*, where it occurs singly, is taken by Bhagawanlal Indraji to mean 'a political agent,' and by Bühler the official who carries out the object of protecting the subjects and gives them shelter, i.e., a Viceroy. Stein¹ shows that this office was connected with the administration of justice, and Vogel,² accepting this meaning, adds that the *Rājasthānīya* performed duties equivalent to those of the Chief Justice. This designation appears in some places to form a compound with 'uparika' (a provincial governor?). In such cases it is probably meant, if the interpretation by Stein and Vogel is to be accepted, that the administrator of a province, besides being an executive officer, also performed judicial duties. It should be noted here that in the Badal *Prasasti* king Nārāyaṇapāla is referred to in its verse No. 20 as *yasy-ānalpamater-ameya-yaśaso Dharmmāratāro'vadat*). In what sense this expression has been used here may be understood from the Kamauli Plate of Vaidyadeva, in which Kovida Gonandan (scholar) is described as engaged in the post of *Dharmādhikāra* (*Dharmm-ādhikār-ārppita...*). The Nālandā grant of Devapāla is referred to in that inscription as *dharmmādhikāra*, which has been translated by Hirananda Śāstri as 'religious undertaking.' In the light of the evidence contained in the Kamauli Plate it will be more reasonable to hold that there was a department styled *Dharmādhikāra* (*Dharmādhikaraṇa*), and that the Nālandā grant was regarded as a matter which pertained to that department. The essential function of this department must have been connected with the issue of grants, as both the Nālandā and Kamauli grants show, and that it usually worked in co-operation specially with the department of *Sandhi* and *Vigraha*, as the messengers of many of the available grants are found to have been those in charge of that portfolio.³ It is clear at

¹ *Rājast.* (Stein's Translation), Vol. I, p. 810 n.

² *Antiquities*, p. 122.

³ The Dāmodarpur Plate No. 5 also contains a passage which refers to *dharmmādhikāra*, see *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 148, where a similar explanation is possible.

any rate that the term *Dharma* has not been used in the Badal *Prasasti* in the sense of *Rājadharma*, but in a specific sense, probably in the sense of justice. If so, it will be difficult to hold that the king himself had no part to play in the administration of justice which used to be carried on through officials only. He probably served as the highest court of appeal while the normal judicial duties were left in the hands of others. The *S(Ś)arabhaṅga*'s functions are not quite clear. If the term means one who pierces with arrows, it will still not give a definite idea of his official work. The designation is used only in the inscriptions of Devapāla and the Nālandā grant of Dharmapāla. Its occurrence in the Chamba inscriptions has been noticed by Vogel. According to Dr. R. G. Basak,¹ the designation may have been applied to superior military officers in the Army, equipped with bows and arrows. The designation, however, does not contain any element indicative of this position of superiority among men of a certain class, as understood by this scholar. The *Sarabhaṅga* may have been an officer whose usual function was to accompany the king on his hunting expeditions, as the use of arrows was the characteristic mark of his service, and to look after all business relating to such activities of his master. The *Dūta-Praishanika* was another officer connected with the central executive. As the designation clearly shows, he was in charge of the department concerned with the despatch of envoys to friendly states on diplomatic business. This Department must have worked in co-operation with the department of war and peace controlled by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*. The *Daśaparādhika* was in charge of cases relating to the commission of "the ten offences."

The *Kshetrapa* was probably the officer in charge of all matters concerning cultivated lands. His department must have kept an account of every holding paying taxes to the king, and as such its activities were correlated to those

¹ *Palā-Sāmrajyer Śāsana-praśāhī*. Prayāsi, B. S. 1343, Āvān, pp. 1-9.

of the *Mañākshapaṭalika* and his staff. Besides the various officers mentioned, there were some who cannot be regarded to have been directly associated with the conduct of central or provincial administration. They do not appear to have been departmental heads like the others. When designations to be applied to them are mentioned, it should be presumed that a group of individual officers enjoying the same rank in each case and performing duties of the same nature are meant. There must have been a number of *Prāntapālas* (governors of borderers) and also several *Koṭṭapālas*. Such officers may have been responsible not to the Provincial government but to the military department, the supreme head of which was the *Senāpati* or the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*. It will appear that the jurisdiction of provincial government became narrower owing to the separation of military duties from the executive. But as it is not known definitely whether the *Prāntapālas* and the *Koṭṭapālas* owed their allegiance to the provincial governors within whose areas their spheres of activity may have fallen, it will be impossible to form the hypothesis from the mere mention of these designations that Government by appointing those officers were actuated by a policy of checking the prospect of an easy victory for any movement of provincial independence that might be set afoot by a disloyal, disaffected or ambitious governor of a district or province.

The inscriptions of the Chandras, the Varmanas and the Senas show a large measure of agreement with the inscriptions of the Pālas in respect of those portions which refer to the administrative machinery. Apart from minor modifications of official designations, the principal omissions in the former group of inscriptions are those of the *Prāntapāla*, the *Mahākumārāmātya*, the *Grāmika*. The Rāmpāl inscription of Śrī-Chandra omits the *Rājasthānīyoparika*,¹ but this record of the Chandra dynasty, the

¹ The term *Rājasthānīy* is interpreted by Bühler from an explanation given in Kāśemendra's *Lokaprakāśa* (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 207) as meaning, "he who carries out the object of protecting subjects, and shelters them." In the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodhar-

Belāva copper-plate grant of Bhojavarman of the Yādava family and the grants of the Senas mention the *Antaraṅga-Bṛihaduparika*. Two new additions are the *Mahāvṛūhapati* (the chief military officer amongst those in charge of different squadrons), occurring in the Chandra, Varman and the Sena grants (excluding the Śaktipur grant¹ of Lakshmanasena), and the *Mahāpīlupati* (officer-in-charge of the elephant force),² appearing in the Varman and Sena inscriptions. The functions of the latter officer must have been different from those of the *Adhyaksha* in charge of elephants, who also appears in these grants along with *Pīlupati*. The most important additions are the *Mahādharmaādhyaaksha*, who performed the duties of the Chief Justice, the *Mahāpurohita*,³ the Chief Priest, appearing in the grants of Lakshmanasena, besides the Edilpur and Madanapādā grants,⁴ and the *Mahāsarvādhikṛita* or the Chief Superintendent exercising some kind of unspecified supervision over all the departments of the State. The term '*Sarvādhikṛita*' can be traced in the copper-plates of the Vākāṭakas, and among the non-Pāla inscriptions, the office of the *Mahāsarvādhikṛita* is found referred to only in the Rāmpāl inscription of Śrī-Chandra, and later, in the Rāmganj inscription of Īśvaraghoshā.⁵ From the non-mention of this designation in the records of the Varmans and the Senas, it may be inferred that the office denoted by the term may have been abolished, as the experiment involved in the institution of the post by Śrī-Chandra probably did not prove a success. The Varmans and the Senas do not, therefore, appear to have encouraged a step by which so much power was to be put into the hands of a single

man of the Mālava year 549 mention is made of the Rāsthānīya, Abhayadatta protector of the region between the Pāriyātra and the Western Ocean, and was succeeded in the post by Dharmadoshā who bore the heavy burden of government for his lord atigurubhārām yodadhāda - bhartur = artha - 1. 18), see Fleet, CII, p. 154, and his remarks in fn. 1 on the same page.

¹ Ep. Ind., XXI, pp. 211 ff.

² On this term, see IB., p. 186.

³ This designation is to be found in the Tippera Copper-plate of Vainyagupta.

⁴ JASB, Vol. LXV, Pt. I, pp. 9 ff., IB., pp. 133 ff.

⁵ IB., pp. 149 ff.

officer. There are two other offices which are not mentioned in the Pāla inscriptions : the post of the *Piṭhikāvitta*, noted only in the Belāva copper-plate, and that of the *Mahāgaṇastha* appearing in the Sena grants. The *Piṭhikāvitta* was probably an officer engaged in collecting some kind of state-dues from visitors to sacred places or from incomes accruing to religious institutions. It is to be noted that he is mentioned next to the *Purohita* (Priest) in the Belāva grant (*cf.* *Piṭhādhiikaraṇa* referred to in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī). As regards the other post, perhaps a definite clue to the functions attached to it is to be found in 'gaṇa,' which means, among other things, a small body of troops. The *Mahāgaṇastha* will thus appear to have been a high military officer acting as the Head of the different units, each called a *gaṇa*, in the Army of the Varman and Sena Rulers. In the inscriptions of these kings this designation is found in close combination with 'Mahāvyūhapati' and 'Mahāpīlupati' which also appear to have been names of certain military posts. As already stated, in the Pāla inscriptions which do not mention these new offices, references to the designation 'Mahādaṇḍanāyaka' are to be found, but in the Varman and Sena grants where the former designations occur, 'Daṇḍanāyaka' replaces 'Mahādaṇḍanāyaka.' It is not improbable that the Army was recognized on a new basis, as suggested by the use of the terms 'vyūha' and 'gaṇa,' although the principle according to which, under the Pālas, the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* acted as the supreme Head of the Army, may have continued to operate under the other dynasties, perhaps in a less prominent manner, being required to be adjusted to the new system of control and discipline in the military administration. Another noteworthy feature in the administration under some of the non-Pāla, non-Buddhist sovereigns is the officialisation of the Brahmin priest. As the Brahmanical elements in the social organization were being brought in an increasing measure under the control of the priestly class, the administration of the country could not remain free from the direct influence of that community. No doubt it had always been possible in the

past for the priest in a Brahmanical court to act as a moral force behind the throne, but he now comes directly into the picture as a part of the administrative machinery itself. Under the Sena Rulers the *Purohita* is given the recognized status of a high government officer (*Rājapurusha* or *Adhyaksha*), the head of a state department. The interest of such an officer whose position in the social sphere was one of unquestioned domination, would naturally lie in the administration becoming a tool of priesthood.

The Edilpur grant probably refers to an official, styled *Gauḍa-Mahāmahattaka* (cf. the designation '*Gauḍa-Sāndhivigrahika*', occurring in the Madanapādā grant by which the Minister of War and Peace serving under the Gauḍa king must have been known), who is believed by some to have acted in the capacity of the Prime Minister of Gauḍa. The information is given in the inscription that the grant had to pass through the hands of the king's own staff, as well as the staffs respectively of the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* and the *Mahāmahattaka*. While there cannot be any doubt that this *Mahāmahattaka* was one of the highest officials of the king, it is not known on what authority his post can be taken definitely as identical with that of the Chief Minister. As such an officer is not referred to in any of the earlier inscriptions from Bengal, it may be that in view of the precarious condition of the royal family, this new post was instituted as an emergency measure, providing for the assumption of supreme control of the administration in case of necessity by some one who stood next to the king. The designation '*Sachiva*' also occurs in the same inscription which refers to the *Gauḍa-Mahā-mahattaka*.

There is no such definite information as is to be found in the earlier inscriptions regarding the manner in which the different units of a kingdom used to be generally administered during the four centuries commencing from the time of Gopāla I of the Pāla dynasty. Some idea, however, can be formed

from a study of certain official designations used in the inscriptions of this age, which are either identical with or similar to those known to have been applied to persons entrusted with provincial administration in the earlier epochs of Bengal history. Thus there is the mention of an official styled *Bṛihad-Uparika*, as already stated, who, as the designation implies, seems to have acted as the Head of the *Uparikas* and in that capacity exercised a sort of general control in all matters concerning provincial government lying in the hands of his subordinates, each of whom must have been in charge of a large administrative unit. In the Rāmganj inscription, which is outside the scope of the present inquiry, the more modest designation '*Uparika*' occurs in place of '*Bṛihaduparika*,' which may suggest that the scheme of departmental control in respect of provincial administration sponsored by the earlier rulers did not find favour with Išvargosha. The term '*Antaraṅga*' is sometimes found to stand as the independent designation of a separate official, and occasionally also it is joined to the title '*Bṛihaduparika*' as in the Kedārpur grant of Śrī-Chandra, and the Varman and Sena inscriptions. When the two titles are to be found grouped together, it must be understood that it is applicable to a single officer, instead of two separate ones. It may be recalled here that the epithet *Antaraṅga-Uparika* is to be found as the designation of a provincial governor mentioned in one of the Faridpur grants. The *Antaraṅga* evidently must have been an officer who was on intimate terms with the king. That such an epithet should be conferred on the head of a province can be well imagined; the stability of an empire depends on the loyalty of its provincial administrators, and a king who knows this simple fact must choose for such a responsible post one whose integrity of character and steadfast adherence to the royal line has been proved in the course of an intimate personal relationship with the monarch himself. It is interesting to note that from the

¹ For the use of the term *Antaraṅga* meaning a royal physician, see GLM, p. 48, n. 1; also B. D. Banerji, JASB, V (N.S.), 1914.

evidence of the earlier inscriptions, Uparikas are found to have been appointed to their posts by their respective sovereigns. In the subsequent period the *Bṛihaduparika*, appointed for the purpose already specified, was a close associate of the king, in whom the latter had complete confidence. The term '*Antaraṅga*' also means a royal physician. When the designation stands independently, it probably denotes the post of a physician attending on the king. When, however, it is attached to the title, '*Bṛihaduparika*,' it may mean that the king sometimes appointed his own physician as the official head of the *Uparikas* placed in charge of provincial administration in the different parts of his territory. The occurrence of the term *Pradeshtṛi* in the Irdā copper-plate grant is very interesting, not only because it cannot be traced in any other inscription from Bengal, but also because the *Kautilīya* refers to it and in several passages gives useful hints as to the functions attached to the officer called by this designation. F. W. Thomas has shown that the evidence of the *Kautilīya* makes it amply clear that such an officer was charged with executive duties of revenue collection and police. He also attempts to prove that *pradeshtṛi* can be regarded as a '*nomen agentis*' of the verb *pradiśati*, 'to direct.' There is no doubt that as such officers appear in the same group with the *Mahishī*, the *Yuvarāja*, the *Mantrins*, the *Purohita*, etc., they must have been regarded as belonging to one of the highest ranks among the officers of the king. The *Kāamboja* inscription does not give many of the usual official designations; consequently, it is difficult to say whether a *Pradeshtṛi* was not connected with provincial administration in some of its branches.¹

In the inscriptions of the Senas, the lists of officers include a *Mahābhogika* as in the Mallasārul grant of the sixth century A.D. This designation is the same as '*Bhogika*' without the prefix, noticed by Fleet who interprets the word as derived from '*bhoga*,' taken in the sense of a *bhukti*, a territorial term. Thus a

¹ JRA8, 1914, pp. 383ff; 1915, p. 112; Hultzsch, CII, I.

Bhogapati was in his opinion a provincial governor. It appears, however, that the designation of a provincial governor is frequently given as *Uparika*. The expression *Bṛihaduparika* occurs along with ' *Mahābhogika* ' in the Bengal grants. It may be argued that although the officer at the head of the department of provincial administration at the centre may have been designated *Bṛihaduparika*, a provincial governor was given the title ' *Bhogika*,' but this is not probable since the designation actually found is *Mahābhogika*, which seems to have been applied to the head of the *bhogikas*. Consequently, the functions of the *Mahābhogika* and those of the *Bṛihaduparika* will be found to be the same. Is then the *Mahābhogika* to be regarded as an official entrusted with the collection of the specific tax *bhoga*, which was one of the sources of revenue to the State? There is another probability. In the Bhumarā Stone Pillar inscription of the *Mahārājas* Hastin and Sarvvanātha, the term *bhoga* appears in connexion with the setting up of a boundary pillar between the dominions of the two kings. The designation *Bhogapati*, *Bhogika* or *Mahābhogika*, may, therefore, have been assumed by a delimitation officer, whose function was to examine and settle all questions relating to the boundaries of a kingdom. It is not, however, suggested here that the term *bhoga*, wherever it occurs, should be taken in the same sense (cf. *sva-bhoga-nagar-Airikṇa-pradeṣe* — Eran inscription of Samudragupta).

Next to the *Uparikas* whose activities were controlled at the centre by the *Bṛihaduparika*, were the *Vishayapatis* responsible for the conduct of district administration. The designation ' *Vishayapati* ' occurs in all the grants of the period. *Tadāyuktakas* or *Viniyuktakas*, mentioned in the Pāla grants, were also probably connected with the machinery set up for the administration of districts or similar areas. Their exact functions are not described in these inscriptions. According to Dr. R. G. Basak, it was the function of the *Tadāyuktakas* to appoint ' *sevakas* ' or officers of various classes if any occasion arose for the carrying out of some special duties with which they were

to be entrusted. The function of the *Viniyuktakas*, in the opinion of this scholar, was to appoint persons to their specific offices. The duties assigned by him are of such a vague character that it is in the highest degree improbable that any system of government could work properly if there were a constant chance of friction with the departmental heads in regard to the right, which is ordinarily known to reside in such responsible officials, of making appointments in their own establishments and of deciding with what specific functions they are to be entrusted. There is no evidence that such a right was taken away, unless it is shown that a sort of Public Service Commission was set up by the Central Government invested with all powers relating to the appointment of officers or their subordinates.¹

As to the system of village-administration, the most striking feature of this period is the non-existence of the *Aśṭakulādhi-karaṇa*, to be inferred from the absence of any reference to it in the available inscriptions. Then, again, it is only in the Khālimpur Plate that the term '*Daśagrāmika*' is mentioned. It is very likely that village-organization was overhauled shortly

¹ The Yuktas as a class of officials figure in two places of the Rock-Edict I of Aśoka, once in the company of the Rajjukas and the Prādesikas, and again as receiving orders from the [Mantri-] Parishat. Manu refers to the Yuktas as looking after lost properties. The Ayuktas are mentioned by Pāṇini (II, 3, 40). The Kāśikā explains the word as having the same meaning as 'Vyāpṛita.' It may appear from certain references in the Kauṭīliya [cf. Sarvādhikarāṇeṣu Yuktapayukta-tatpuruṣaḥpāṇ. II, 5]; Yuktās-tathā kāryavidhau niyuktāḥ [II, 9] that the Yuktakas and upayuktakas (both are also mentioned in the Cambay inscription of S 852, Ep. Ind., VII, pp. 36-41) were employed in different departments, see for references in the Kauṭīliya and in the Aśokan epigraphy, F. W. Thomas, JRAS., 1909, pp. 466-67; 1914, 387-91; D. R. Bhandarkar, Aśoka, p. 58. The Ayukta-Puruṣas were engaged by Samudragupta in restoring conquered territories (Fleet, CII, III, p. 8). Tanniyuktakas as Vishayapatis appear in the Dāmodarpur Plates, and Ayuktas, also connected with provincial administration, are mentioned in the Pābārpur and Mallāsrul grants. Cf. Parikara-sanniyuktaka-Viniyuktakas, or simply Viniyuktakas in Chamba grants (Antiquities, pp. 120, 130); Tan-niyukta in the Alina copper-plate of the year 766-67 A.D., sanniyukta in the Junāgarh inscription of Skandagupta of the year 458 A.D., Ayuktaka-Viniyuktaka-drāṅgika-mahattara-Chāṭa-Bhaṭa.....Kumārāmāyāśāhin (Fleet, CII, p. 166) in the Māliya copper-plate of the year 572 A.D. In the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, the Ayuktaka is mentioned along with the grāmādhipati and the halotthya-vṛttiputra, son of a peasant, Benares, ed., p. 282.

after the date of this grant. It may not be without significance that fuller information regarding local government is furnished by the Khālimpur grant than by any other inscription of the period. The grant recorded in this inscription had to be communicated among others to the *Chāṭas*, the *Bhaṭas*, the *Jyeshṭha-Kāyasthas*, the *Mahā-Mahattaras*, the *Dāśagrāmikas*, the *Vishaya-vyavahārins*, the *Pratirāsins* with the *Karaṇas*, the *Kshetrakāras* (cultivators) and the Brahmins. *Mahattaras* are mentioned in the Nālandā grant of Dharmapāla as well as the grants of the reign of Devapāla, his successor, but never again. In the subsequent records there is definitely a process of attenuation of the portion dealing with local people and other authorities who had to be apprised of the issue of a grant made by a king. In later times it seems to have become a practice to communicate the matter of a grant to the different sections or castes of the village-population concerned. Thus from a grant of Nārāyaṇapāla it appears that amongst others who were to be informed of a royal gift were Brahmins, Medas, Andhras and all including the Chāṇḍālas. In the records of the Chandras, the Varmans and the Senas (from the tenth to the twelfth century) only the Brahmins and the *Kshetrakāras* are mentioned in place of the Medas, the Andhras and the Chāṇḍālas, those others mentioned sometimes include the Brahmins and *Kuṭumbins* (of the highest class *Mahattama* and those of the next best class—*Uttama*). It is possible to suggest that in these different inscriptions belonging to different regimes or dynasties three distinct stages are indicated in regard to the position of villagers as recognised by the State in the system of rural economy. The evidence of the Khālimpur grant shows that the village-constitution of the earlier period continued in a similar form at least up to the 26th year of Dharmapāla's reign, as is evidenced by the use of such terms as *Jyeshṭha-Kāyastha*, *Mahattara*, and *Vishayavyavahārī*. The Irdā copper-plate of the Kāmbojas (10th century)¹ is the only

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p 150ff.

other inscription of the period which mentions the *Vyavahārins* with their *Karaṇas*, the *Krishakas* (cf. *Kshetrakāras*) in addition to the Brahmins. The institution or institutions represented by these terms occurring in the Khālimpur grant in particular, probably declined as they are not referred to in the later inscriptions, and a village came to be regarded as the abode of Brahmins and men of other castes, including the Chāṇḍālas. It appears, therefore, that village-people in general acquired more importance, not their leaders or such other influential men who had hitherto managed internal affairs with the help of local officers. During this stage the *Grāmika* flourished throughout, he carried out the functions of the official headman of the village; official control not being shared by others but remaining concentrated in the hands of the *Grāmika* must have tightened up, while the lower castes received the same attention of the Government as the higher. In the third stage a new principle seems to have emerged, according to which official recognition for purposes of a grant was withdrawn from the lower social groups and accorded to the Brahmins and the cultivating classes, which probably absorbed all the non-Brahmin castes, implying the introduction of an economic basis in the distribution of the village-people. The Kāmboja inscription mentioning tradesmen with their staffs, together with cultivators and Brahmins seems to give a complete picture of the distribution of people on an occupational basis. The *Chattas* and the *Bhattas* who held posts of comparatively minor importance, not being apparently included in the lists of 'Gazetted officers' (of the rank of heads of departments or Superintendents—*Adhyakshas* in *Adhyaksha-Prachāra*) appear to have been connected with local administration. These are mentioned in some of the earlier inscriptions also. In Kashmīr, as Vogel¹ points out, "Chār is the title of the head of a pargana responsible for the management of his district, for the collection of revenue and the apprehension of revenue." It may be

¹ *Antiquities*, p. 132.

stated here that the *Chaṭṭa* or *Chāṭ* was not the head of such a wide area as a district, but it is most probably true that he had a right, if not otherwise provided, to seize agriculturists for the purpose of forced labour. The term *Bhaṭṭa* when joined with *Chaṭṭa*, may be taken in the sense of an official, subordinate to the *Chaṭṭa*.¹

Apart from the higher officers in the military department, to which references have already been made, the inscriptions seem to mention the rank and file of the Army also. The phrase *Gauḍa-Mālava-Khaśa-Hūṇa-Kulika-Karṇāṭa-Lāṭa-serakādīn* occurring in most of the grants of the Pālas cannot possibly be interpreted in any other way than that the different tribal elements indicated by these names were absorbed in the services of the State. The expression 'Serakādīn' shows beyond doubt that those who are given these designations were in the employ of the king, and they were his servants of inferior ranks, as distinguished from the *Adhyakshas*. It is highly probable that members of the different tribes whose names are given in the above-quoted passage had all one well-known function, so that it was thought unnecessary to refer to it in detail. The *Gauḍas* were those who belonged to the home-territory of the Pālas as the latter are described as *Gauḍeśvaras*. The *Khaśas* are mentioned in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* in combination with the peoples of the North-east.² According to Vogel³ the *Khaśas*, who played an important rôle in the history of Kashmīr, are at present represented by the Khakha tribe known in the Vitastā Valley below Kashmīr, and also in the neighbouring hill-districts. The term *Kulika*, which means the head of a guild, is most probably used here in a tribal sense like the other names in the passage. There is a proposal to connect it with 'Kunait' (ancient *Kulikagoshṭha*)⁴ in the upper Ravi Valley. The

¹ *Ibid.* p. 182.

² *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, pp. 172, 181.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Hūnas (descendants of those who overthrew the Gupta empire and possibly other allied hordes of barbarians), the *Karṇāṭas* (from the Deccan), the *Lāṭas* (from Kāṭhiāwar), along with the others mentioned above, viz., the *Khaśas*, *Kulikas* and the *Gauḍas*, may have been mostly employed in the Pāla Army. The State under the Pālas found enough occupation not only for its own nationals but many of those foreigners who either voluntarily settled in Bengal and Bihār, or were driven by pressure of circumstances inevitable in a situation created by the defeat or surrender of an invading army, to seek shelter in those territories. Another designation by which some local officer may have been meant is *Khaṇḍaraksha*, mentioned in the Pāla grants from the time of Devapāla. It is difficult to say whether this term was not somehow connected with the word '*khaṇḍala*,' occurring in some of the land grants of the period or with '*Khaṇḍa*,' mentioned in the Irdā grant (Bāḍakhāṇḍa). If such a connection can be established, the *Khaṇḍaraksha* will appear to have been an officer put in charge of a comparatively small area. Even in such a case it will be difficult to specify his functions and the limits of his authority. According to N. G. Majumdar, the *Khaṇḍaraksha* was the Superintendent of repairs (cf. *Khaṇḍa-phuṭṭa-samskāra*.....), but it may be stated here that the word '*raksha*' is not probably a suitable expression to denote such a function. It is noteworthy that in the Rāmganj inscription the designation *Khaṇḍapāla* is given in place of '*Khaṇḍaraksha*,' which may probably signify that he was the governor or administrator of a *khaṇḍa*, if this word can be taken in the sense of a unit of local government.

The well-known administrative units of the pre-Pāla period remained in vogue during the next few centuries. In regard to the use of the term '*bhukti*,' it may be noted that the name '*Puṇḍravardhana*' by which a considerable part of Northern Bengal was called in the earlier period, was altered to '*Paṇḍravardhana*,' the older form being found in the Khālimpur Plate only. The abbreviated form '*Paṇḍra*' is to be found in the

inscriptions of the Chandras and the Varmans. The name of the Paṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* appears frequently in the land-grants of the Pālas and the Senas, while its place is taken by the Paṇḍra-*bhukti* in the inscriptions of the Chandras and the Varmans. It appears, however, that the former name ceased to be used in the latter half of the period merely as denoting a certain limited area as required by the affixing of the term *bhukti* to it. The Paṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* gradually attained the position and dignity of by far the largest administrative division in the whole province including within its jurisdiction not only North Bengal, to which originally it must have largely corresponded, but South-East (Samatāṭa) and East Bengal (Vaṅga) as well. The meaning technically attached to '*bhukti*' became widened in respect of Paṇḍravardhana, practically embracing the whole of Bengal proper exclusive of its western districts. Other *bhuktis* existing in the period were Tīrā-*bhukti* (Bhāgalpur grant), Śrīnagara-*bhukti* (the Monghyr grant), Vardhamāna-*bhukti* (Naiḥāṭi grant), Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti* (Saktipur grant). The Vishayas flourishing within the limits of the same period were the Mahantaprakāśa-*vishaya* and the Sthālikkaṭa-*vishaya* (Khālimpur grant), the Koṭivarsha-*vishaya* (Bāngarh and Manabali grants), the Krimila-*vishaya* and the Kaksba-*vishaya* (Nālandā grant of Devapāla), the Gayā-*vishaya* (Nālandā grant of Dharmapāla), the Khāṭikā or Khāḍī-*vishaya* (Barrackpore grant of Vallālasena and the Sundarban copper-plate of the Śaka year 1118; cf. Khāḍī-*maṇḍala* of the Paṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*, noted in the the Sundarban copper-plate of Lakshmanasena), the Suvvunga-*vishaya* (Tippera grant of Lokanātha) and the Vāḍa-*vishaya* (Kamauli plate).¹ The term '*Maṇḍala*' does not appear to be used uniformly in its technical sense of an administrative unit. Thus when it is found in

¹ The Dhubia copper-plate of Brīhadrā places the Vallimūḍā-*maṇḍala* and Yalā-*maṇḍala* respectively under the Khediravallī-*vishaya* and Ikkaḍāṭī-*vishaya* of the Paṇḍra-*bhukti*. The Edilpur copper-plate of the same king shows that the Kamāratāḷaka-*maṇḍala* was comprised in the Satāṭa-Padmāvatī-*vishaya*. See IB, pp. 166-167.

combination with the name Vyāghrataṭi, it does not refer to a subdivision usually denoted by the term '*Maṇḍala*,' but means a much wider area in which *vishayas* were comprised. This is shown by the Khālimpur Plate's reference to the Vyāghrataṭi-Maṇḍala, which included the Mahantāprakāśa-Vishaya. It is probable that the word *maṇḍala* has been used in this extended sense in the Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla in which Balavarmā, the ruler (*adhipati*) of the Vyāghrataṭi-maṇḍala, the right-man of this king (*dakṣiṇa-bhuja iva rājñah*) is found acting in the capacity of a *dūtaka*. As he directly received orders from the king, he cannot be supposed to have served as a subordinate of some *Vishayapati*. The Kāmarūpa-maṇḍala, mentioned in the Kamauli Plate, also appears to have been a larger subdivision than a *Vishaya*, for it seems to have comprised the Vāḍā-Vishaya within its jurisdiction. The Bāngarh grant, however, gives an instance of the use of this term in its purely administrative sense by referring to the Gokalikā-Maṇḍala as being comprised in the Koṭivarsha-Vishaya. Similarly, the Manabali grant speaks of the Halāvaratta-Maṇḍala as part of the above-mentioned *Vishaya* and the Āmgāchhi grant of Vighrahapāla III of the Brāhmaṇi-grāma-maṇḍala included in the Koṭivarsha-rishaya.¹ The evidence of the Rāmpāl grant of the Chandra family is doubtful on this point; although it gives the name of Nānya-(or Nāvya-) maṇḍala, it does not place it under a *rishaya* but in the Paundrabhukti. The term *maṇḍala* when it means an area larger than a *rishaya* may be said to be used in the same sense as '*deśa*,' in the Gupta period.² The Naihāṭi grant refers to Uttara-Rāḍhā-Maṇḍala without assigning it to any *Vishaya*, as being directly situated in the Vardhamāna-bhukti. Similarly, the Kamauli Plate of Vaidyadeva shows that the Kāmarūpa-Maṇḍala was comprised in the Prāgjyotiṣa-bhukti but the former is not

¹ Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 295 ff. The copper-plate grant of Kāntideva supplies the name of Harikeli-maṇḍala (in East Bengal), which flourished in the eighth century, see above, p. 88, 372.

² On the relative meanings of the terms bhukti, maṇḍala, visaya, deśa, khaṇḍa, see Fleet, CII, III, pp. 32-33, n. 7.

attached to any *Vishaya*. The term *Vishaya* is less frequently used in the Sena inscriptions than in the Pāla, although the term *Maṇḍala* does not become correspondingly rarer. It may be surmised that the older system according to which the two terms were more or less interlinked was substantially modified. The Irdā grant of the Kāmbojas places the Daṇḍabhukti-*Maṇḍala* under the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*. It is necessary to add here that the name Daṇḍabhukti is found referred to in the Rāmacharita commentary and also in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Chola (Taṇḍabutti). The evidence of the Irdā grant and that of the Tirumalai inscription must belong nearly to the same period. If Daṇḍabhukti was the name of a *bhukti* according to the latter source, how is it that it is definitely called a *Maṇḍala* in the Irdā grant ?¹ Certainly the name is not that of a *bhukti* in this inscription as it is comprised in a *bhukti* itself. It may be either that the Kāmbojas had conquered a part of Daṇḍabhukti which was really the name of a *bhukti*, forming it into a *maṇḍala* for administrative purposes, or that the element 'bhukti' in this name did not bear its usual technical signification. It may have been constituted into a regular *bhukti* sometime before Rāmapāla. It should be noticed also that *Uttara-Rāḍha*, which is the name of a *Maṇḍala* in the Naihāṭi grant of Vallālasena, is not mentioned as such in the Śaktipur grant of Lakshmapasena. It may be presumed, therefore, that it was impossible to maintain throughout a rigid system requiring the retention and preservation at any cost of the older denominations of administrative units without any change in their original meaning. There was hardly a time when the country was completely free from military operations. If one of the contending parties gained a slice of territory, it had to be brought under and co-ordinated to the scheme of administration followed in the dominion of the victor, while the vanquished would be required to alter the arrangement existing prior to this loss.

¹ Compare the case of Khāḍi-maṇḍala and Khāḍi-vishaya, p. 862, above.

Besides, purely administrative reasons also must have sometimes dictated certain readjustments.

In addition to the broad divisions denoted by the terms, *Bhukti*, *Vishaya* and *Maṇḍala*, there were several other categories of units under the administrative system of the period. The most important among these is the unit represented by the term 'Vithi' which can be traced in some of the earlier inscriptions also. The Naihāti grant includes Svalpa-Dakṣiṇa-Vithi as a subdivision under the Uttara-Rādhā-Maṇḍala, which again is comprised in the Vardhamāna-bhukti. In the Saktipur inscription the largest division no doubt is the Kaṅkagrāma-bhukti, but it is difficult to say which of the two other subdivisions, the Madhugiri-maṇḍala or the Dakṣiṇa-Vithi was the larger one. But if it is assumed that the names of the different units are given in this record on an ascending scale in regard to their jurisdiction it will appear that the Madhugiri-Maṇḍala was smaller than the Dakṣiṇa-Vithi, thus showing that the inclusion of a rīthi in a maṇḍala as noticed in the Naihāti grant, was not an unchangeable principle. In regard to the relation between a rīthi and a vishaya where the latter existed, the Nālandā grant of Dharmapāla shows that it was a bigger area than the former, as in that inscription the Jambūnādī-rīthi is found placed under the Gayā-rishaya. This inscription does not give any of the other current denominations, but assigns a certain village (Nigūha-grāma) immediately to this Vithi. As in the Nālandā copper-plate of Dharmapāla, Devapāla's grant from the same place also shows the subordination of the Vithi to the Vishaya, by assigning the Kumuda-sūtrā-Vithi to the Gayā-Vishaya. Other terms which appear to be denominations of regional groupings are *Chaturaka*, *Vāṭikā* or *Khāṭikā*, *Vritti* (or *āṛṇitti*), and *Bhāga*. The Govindapur grant of Lakshmaṇasena refers to the Vetaḍḍa-Chaturaka as situated in the Paśchimakhāṭikā of the Vardhamāna-bhukti, from which it will appear that a Khāṭikā was a larger area than a Chaturaka. The Sāhitya Parishat

grant mentions three *Chaturakas*, viz., the *Nava-Saṅgraha-Chaturaka*, the *La-uha-Chaturaka* and the *Ura-Chaturaka*. The term *ṛitti* is found annexed to *Kāntapurā* in the *Mādhāinagar* grant of *Lakshmapasena* which locates it in *Varendrī* in *Paundravardhana-bhukti*.¹ Thus this grant does not show what the extent of a *ṛitti* was in relation to the other units prevalent at the time. The *Sāhitya Parishat* grant refers to *Madhu-Kshīrakā-Vṛitti* placed under *Nāvyā* or *Nānya* (*Maṇḍala*?), which again was situated in *Vaṅga*. This grant however, shows that a *Vṛitti* was larger than a *Chaturaka*, the latter containing a number of *Pāṭakas* (*Madhukshīrakāvṛittau Nava-Saṅgraha-Chaturaka Ajikulapāṭake*, etc). The *Śaktipur* grant does not use the term *Vṛitti*, but it does refer to a *Chaturaka*, the *Kumārapura-Chaturaka* which included the five *Pāṭakas* of *Rāghavahaṭṭa*, *Vārāhakoṇa*, *Vāllibitā*, *Vijahārapura* and *Dāmaravādā*, placing it under a *Vithī*. Besides these, there are two other terms occasionally used, viz., *Khaṇḍala* and *Ashta-gachchha* (an area containing eight small groups?). The term *Maṇḍala* is also sometimes used to denote a group (cf. the name *Udra-grāma-Maṇḍala* in the *Khālimpur* grant). Smaller than a *grāma* was a *grāmaka* noted in the *Nālandā* grant of *Dharmapāla* which refers to the *grāmaka* *Uttarāma* situated in the neighbourhood of the *Niguha-grāma*. The *Nālandā* copper-plate of *Devapāla* furnishes the name of another administrative division, which appears to have been current in *Bihār*. According to this inscription the *Rājagriha-rishaya* contained a number of *Nayas*, such as *Ajapura*, *Pilipinka* and *Achala*. It may be significant that the term *Vithī* is used in the case of apparently similar subdivisions of the *Gayā-Vishaya*, also situated in the Province of *Bihār*. Places assuming considerable strategic importance in the military annals of the period were *Pāṭaliputra*, *Mudgagiri* (*Munger*), *Rāmavati* (in North Bengal),

¹ The *Sunderban* copper-plate of *Lakshmapasena* mentions the *Kāntapurā Chaturaka* as belonging to the *Khāṇḍi-maṇḍala* of the *Paundravardhana-bhukti*.

Vikramapura¹ and Phalgugrāma where on different occasions camps of kings were pitched (*jayaskandhāvāra*).²

It may be observed that certain well-known terms like *visaya* and *maṇḍala* do not occur frequently in the later Sena inscriptions. This fact together with the occurrence of several new denominations may prove that the chain of administrative units was probably lengthened to accommodate further groupings, not so systematically unified before. It is also to be noted that certain geographical names became so prominent that administrative denominations were useless. Even in locating a village it was in the new circumstances found necessary to indicate its position in reference to some such important area. Thus the Mādhānagar grant shows that the Kāntapurāvṛitti was situated in Varendrī; the Edilpur grant similarly mentions Vaṅga, which is also referred to in the Sābitya Parishat grant. The term *bhāga* occurs in the Edilpur, Madanapāḍa and Sābitya Parishat grants, which attach this name to Vikramapura and place it in Vaṅga. It seems probable that in those days the continuance of the different grades of administrative units in their integral condition was constantly threatened by political upheavals; hence it was thought more practical to refer to the geographical position of a place rather than to its place in the scheme of any administrative distribution which was liable to changes and shiftings.

Land occupied an important place in the revenue-system of the period. Reference has already been made to the officer designated *Shashṭhādhipikṛita*, whose function was to levy a specified tax on the produce of the land. Other items of revenue (*pratyāya*) were *bhāga*, *bhoga*, *kara*, *hiraṇya*, *uparikara*, *Pinḍaka*. Whenever any plot of land or a village is given away, accurate details are furnished not merely with regard to boundaries but

¹ It seems that the royal family of the Senas had a residence at Vikramapura during the time of Vijayasena (*Upakṛitā* — I. 40, — Barrackpore grant of Vijayasena).

² The Mādhānagar grant was issued from a place the name of which is tentatively read as Dhāryā-grāma.

all matters relating to its economic value as well. The system of measurement shows an accuracy, which could have been possible under an administration that paid due attention to surveys of land for purposes of taxation, and also to the necessity of preserving all relevant documents bearing on the history of any assignment that might be contemplated. Every copper-plate grant was to be stamped with the Royal Seal, which must have been in the keeping of the *Mahāmudrādhikṛita*. As regards measurement, a uniform system was followed in the particular area where the grant may have been situated. Thus measurement on the basis of the standard represented by the *Samataṭīya Nala* was current in Samataṭa. The use of the *Vṛishabha-Saṅkara Nala* was current in the days of Vallālasena, as known from his *Naiḥāṭi* grant. In some grants, however, there is no mention of any specific standard of measurement, but it is clearly stated that the *Nala* system which seems to have been universally based on the accepted unit as current in a particular locality (*tad-deśīya-saṁvyatahāra-shatpañchāśat-hasta-parimita-Nalena*; *tatratya deśa-vyarahāra-nalena*). The unit, in every case must have been the *hasta* or cubit. But two points are to be specially noticed in connexion with this system of measurement. First, a standard *hasta* must have determined the unit of this measurement. The name *Vṛishabha-Saṅkara-Nala* shows that the *hasta* of the king Vallālasena was the unit followed, while in those cases where no such definite indication is given, it is to be understood that some fixed standard must have been followed, although it may not be known whose *hasta* supplied the unit in those instances. Secondly, with regard to the measurement of a *Nala*, the Govindapur inscription of Lakshmanasena shows that it was equivalent to 56 cubits. Entire plots of lands or even villages were to be measured by the application of the *Nala* standard locally current. Thus the Barrackpur grant mentions that four *Pāṭakas* of land were given away as measured by the *Nala* used in Samataṭa. The *Naiḥāṭi* grant of Vallālasena mentions the gift of a village consisting of 7 *bhū-*

pāṭakas, 7 *droṇas*, 1 *āḍhaka*, 34 *unmānas* and 3 *kākas* including dwelling places, canals and wastelands, measured by the Vṛishabha-Saṅkara-Nala. It also records the grant of a plot measuring one *pāṭaka*, 9 *droṇas*, 27 *unmānas*, 1 *kākanikā*. The Govindapur inscription records the grant by Lakshmaṇasena of a land measuring 60 *bhū-droṇas* and 17 *unmānas* according to the standard of Nala current in the particular locality, measuring 56 cubits. The Tarpandīghī inscription records the grant by the same monarch of some village-land measuring 120 *āḍhāvāpas* and 5 *unmānas*. Similarly, the Mādhāinagar inscription contains a grant by Lakshmaṇasena of a certain *Pāṭaka* (village) covering an area of one hundred *bhū-khāḍis* and 91 *khāḍikas*. An earlier inscription, the Silimpur grant of the time of Jayapāla-deva of Kāmarūpa uses the two terms, *pāṭaka* and *droṇa* in giving the measurements of lands (ll. 33-50) and mentions that a certain landed property yielded an (annual) income of 1,000 coins (*daśa-śat-odaya-śāsanam cha*—Verse 22). Detailed measurements are not, however, always given but it appears that among all the rulers of this period, Vallālasena and his son Lakshmaṇasena are very particular in supplying details regarding the grants issued by them. The minute system of measurement being connected with the measure of capacity appears to have been based on full and comprehensive information relating to the volume of local agricultural products. An accurate survey of villages may have been completed during the reign of Vallālasena, tenure of lands and other similar matters consequently put on a sound basis, accounting for the unusual wealth of information contained in the grants of this king and those of his immediate successor. There were complete records preserved by the State as to the income derived from land, and every holding must have been shown clearly with the taxes paid by it in various forms noted in such records. Thus not only the measurement is given, but the income derivable from the particular land or village is also mentioned in full detail. The Barrackpur grant shows that the land given away fetched

an income of 200 *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas* (silver coins). In the Naibāṭi grant the village given away is stated to have yielded an income of 500 such coins. The Govindapur grant yielded annually 900 *Purāṇas* at the rate of 15 *Purāṇas* to a *drona*. The grant recorded in the Tarpaṇḍighi inscription gave an income of 150 *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas* annually; the Mādihāinagar grant 100 *Purāṇas* and 68 *Kaparddakas*. According to the Madanapāḍā grant village Piṇjokāshṭhī, divided into two parts, gave an annual income of 500 (*Purāṇas*). The Sāhitya Parishat grant refers to an income of 500 (*Purāṇas*?). The income per *Pāṭaka* was 50 *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas*, as stated in the Barrackpur grant; less than eight *bhū-pāṭakas* produced 500 *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas* in respect of the grant recorded in the Naibāṭi grant, which works out at the rate of some thing between 61 and 62 or 63 *Purāṇas* per *Pāṭaka*. A little over 1 *Pāṭaka* elsewhere gives an income of 100 *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas*, while the income shown in the Govindapur grant was 15 *Purāṇas* per *drona*. The Saktipur grant shows that the five *Pāṭakas* mentioned therein together with a part of the sixth yielded an income of 500 *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas*, but that one *Pāṭaka* alone, viz., Kshetrāpāṭaka gave an equal amount, thus indicating again that all *Pāṭakas* were not equally developed, or equal in size accounting for such differences in their economic value. The income set forth in each grant was derived from cultivators and others who paid taxes to the king in the shape of *kara*, *hiranya*, *bhāga*, *bhoga*, etc., (*bhāga-bhoga-kara-hiranyādi-sarva-pratyāyopapanayah*,²—Pāla inscriptions; *uparikara* Pāla inscriptions; *rājabhāga-kara-hiranyādi-pratyāyasaḥita*—Rāmpāl; *kara-piṇḍakādi-sarva-pratyāya*—Khālimpur). The grantee was to enjoy the income which formerly had gone to the king (paid by neighbours and cultivators). In addition to these, the right to forced labour (*pīḍā*), that of punishing thieves—*sa-chauroddharaṇa* (probably fines imposed were a source of income), of dealing with the commission of the ten

² See U. N. Ghoshal, *The Agrarian System in Ancient India* p. 60.

offences, are sometimes definitely mentioned as parts of the incidence transferred to the grantee. As regards the monetary system of the period, the existence of a type of silver coins, called by the name *Dramma*, is proved by a reference contained in the Mahābodhi inscription of the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla,¹ in which mention is made of the excavation of a tank at a cost of three thousand *Drammas* (cf. Greek *Drachma* weighing 66 grains).² The discovery of a number of silver coins with their weight varying approximately from 52 to 58 grains with the legend Śrī-Vigra[ha], Śrī-Vi or simply Śrī, including those found in 'Devapāla' temple at Ghoshrawa, show that silver coins of the weight fixed for a *Purāṇa* were in use in the Pāla period. It is quite probable that the name *Dramma* was given to this type of coinage. The restoration of the older name to the silver coins used in the dominion by the Senas who came from the Deccan is proved by the references to *Purāṇas* or *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas* to be found in their inscriptions. The Silīmpur stone-slab inscription which states that a certain Brāhmin named Prahāsa refused to accept 900 gold pieces (*hem-nān śatāni nava-*) and the gift of land with an income of 1,000, points to the use of some kind of gold currency in the eleventh century (Verse 22). The king practically had to abjure all kinds of benefit in respect of the land or village of which he made a gift. Within his fixed area the grantee was to have absolute possession of *trīṇayūti*, of low (*satalah*) and high lands (*soddeśa*), *haṭṭikā* (the market-place), *gochara* or *gorāṭa* (grazing ground), mango trees and liquor water, fish, coconuts and salts, etc.

¹ GLM, p. 32.

² Dr. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, 1921, pp. 207-210. The view that no reference to a *dramma* can be traced to a date earlier than 875 A.D. is not correct, as the Mahābodhi inscription referred to above shows. For the silver coins of the Pāla period, see V. A. Smith, CCIM, Vol. I, pp. 237-239; Cunningham, Reports, Vol. XI, pp. 174-81.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	Read	For
3	27	Kikaṭas	Kikaṭas
4	fn.	Gridhrakūṭa	Gridhrakūṭa
5	fn. 5	ÜB	ÜBB
"	"	BIL	HSL
"	"	on next page	next page
6	6	PL, p. 156	PL, XVII, 4
8	fn. 2	DLICT	DLICI
"	fn. 3	ATBT	ATBT
15	"	Put figure 8 before the last footnote beginning with 'B. C. Majumdar.'	...
19	fn. 3	Majjhima Desa	Majjhima Desa
21	fn. 3	authorship	authorship
27	fn. 5	Udayakesari	Udayata-Kesari
28	ll. 18-19	Suvarnagrāma	Suvarnagrāma
"	19	Suvarnapura	Suvarnapura
30	21	Māi Pahariyā	Māi Pahāria
32	fn. 7	Allen	Allen
"	"	Muroq	Muroq
"	"	Before Murupḍadevi insert : The Khoh copper-plates of the Uchebakalpa Maharaja Sarvanatha, Nos. 28, 29, 31, pp. 128, 132, 138,---CH, III, men- tion him to be the son of Mahādevi.	...
"	"	After Murupḍadevi insert : or Murupḍa- svāmīnī.	...
42	10	Devanāmpiya	Devanāmpiya
"	"	Uruxilva (or Uruxela)	Uruxelva
"	fn	Silaprabha	Silaprabha
"	fn.	Put figure 2 before the foot note beginning with "Sylvain Lévi....."	...
"	7	Baṇabhaṭṭa	Banabhaṭṭa
43	fn. 1	Phayre	Phyre
46	19	Iśāna	Iśāna
"	fn. 8	Karpūramanḍari	Karpūra-Manḍari
51	7	Shālabharṇi	Shabbazgarhi
56	l. 5	Audumvarika	Audumvarka
83	l. 6	is	was
"	l. 18	(9th century)	(8th century)

Page	Line	Read	For
83	fn. 1	Add : Vaṅgāstu Harikelīyā aṅgaśchampo- palekheṭāḥ.	
84	23	Delete : Comilla	
128	8	Koṭikargavadāna	Kotikargavadāna
"	29	Kāuśika-	Kāuśika-
131	9	Rāshtrakūṭa	Rashtrakūṭa
"	fn. 3	Chap. 93, v. 10, p. 863, Bib. Ind.	S. P. ed., Ch. 93
141	4	Vyāpara	Vyāpara
"	22	Dhruvilāṭi	Dhruvilāṭi
142	1	Koṭa	Kota
147	28	Nidhanpur	Nidhanpur
148	1. 8	tritiyā	tritiyā
149	7	Kosi	Kosi
156	10	Tamlukowed	Tamlukowed
164	fn. 1	JRAS., <i>ibid.</i> , April	JRAS., April
"	"	JRAS., <i>ibid.</i> , January	JRAS., January
166	fn. 3	The invasion of India, etc. (11A).	The Invasion of India, etc.
169	5	Insert : 'after' iye cha smita	
174	fn. 2	Luders'	Luders'
176	25	V. A. Smith	V. S. Smith
178	23 (and sub- sequently)	Aśvadhāsena	Aśvadhāsena
178	23	Adhicchbhatrā	Adhicchbhatra
179	1	Abichchbhatrā	Abichchbhatra
"	20	Bṛihaspatimitra	Bṛihaspatimitra
182	fn. 2	Ṛṇihaspatinitra	Bṛihaspatimitra
183	fn. 1	Bloch	Bloch
"	"	ASR	ARASI
189	fn. 3	R. E. II	R. E. II
192	8	from the	from the
193	fn. 1	Sudasa	Sudasa
195	9	Sirkap	Sirkar
204	23	Kumārāgupta I	Kumārāgupta II
204	fn. 1	Vishvupada	Vishvupada
207	fn. (continua- tion of fn. 2 from p. 206)	McCrindle	McGrindle
217	fn. (continua- tion of fn. 6 from p. 216)	Kumārāgupta m.	Kumārāguptam
219	6	Bhānugupta	Bhānugupta,
226	fn. 3	Skandagupta	Skandagupt
228	15	Skandagupta	Skandagupta,
232	3	Chhatramaha	Chhatramaha
"	6	Khaṭapūrasa	Khaṭapūrasa

Page	Line	Read	For
233	15	Mahāpilupati	Mahāpilupati
"	33	Guṇekāgrahāra	Guṇikāgrahāra
235	fn. 2	Toramāṇe	Toramāṇe
"	fn. 3	Goparāja	Goparāja
236	3	S. E	S. E.
339	10	H. Krishna Sastri	H. Krishna Sastri
242	ll. 1, 20 (and subsequently)	Sarvavarman	Sarvavarman
244	fn. 4	Jayasvaminī	Jayasvaminī
249	fn. 1	Bhattasali	Bhattasali
252	4	Navyāvakāśikā	Navyāvakāśikā
253	fn. 1	Hoernle	Hoernle
256	fn.	meanest	meanest
267	fn. 4	Fuhrer	Fuhrer
270	fn. 3	Srinivasa	Srinivasa
270	2	Kalyanavarman	Kalyanavarman
280	fn. 3	Add: (Rajanya-k.) after Vaṅger Jatiya Itihāsa, p. 147 n.	...
282	6	Paramabhaṭṭāraka	Paramabhaṭṭāraka
"	13	Insert a comma after: 'in the Gayā district'	
286	5	Mahendrapāla	Mahendrapāla
"	16	Kāthiawār	Kāthiawār
307	fn. 1	Pāṭaliputra	Pāṭaliputra
310	28	Add after 'later date.': An inscription from Bodhi-Gaya mentioning a king of the same name is also to be attributed to a later member of the Pala dynasty. ⁵ Also add a new footnote to be marked 5, containing the following: Con., Mahabodhi, p. 63; JASB, 1908, pp. 102-103; <i>ibid.</i> , 1909, 103-104; G.I.M. p. 86.	
"	fn. 4	Add after MASB, Vol. V, p. 65: JASB, 1908, pp. 103-106; GLM, pp. 86-87.	
314	15	Sāmanta	Sāmanta
331	fn. 1	Delete the sign) after 'himself.'	
342	fn. 1	Lüders's	Lüders's
345	13	Oḍraka	Oḍraka
354	7	Śūrapāla	Śūrapāla I
356	Genealogical Delete Śūrapāla (II?)		
	Table		
357	fn. 3	Maha-Śraddha	Maha-Śraddha
358	7	Śūrapāla	Śūrapāla
361	8	Rājabāhi	Rājabāhi
368	fn. 1	See <i>supra</i> , p. 381	See <i>supra</i>

Page	Line	Read	For
364	fn. 5	See <i>supra</i> , p. 310 with footnotes 3, 4	See <i>infra</i>
366	30	Varaparvatika	Baṣaparvatika
369	8	Dhulla	Dhulia
371	3	grant	gratn
372	ll. 14-15	Paupdra-bhukti	Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti
„	18	Dhulla	Dhulia
375	fn. 1	CCIM	CCIMC
379	10	to be	tobe
382	3	Bhugyadevi	Bhugayadevi
387	fn. 7	7 JRAS., 1909, p. 275	RAS., 1909, p. 275
395	13	(1025 A.D.)	(1028 A.D.)
400	15	Sārṇāth	Sarnāth
404	10	lekhanā	lekana
404	21	Paikore	Paikora
412	27	Bhishma	Bhisbma
418	fn. 1	Varaparvatikā	Baraparvvatikā
423	fn. 2	Rāmpāloh bhavat	Rāmpaloh bhavat
425	Heading	Mahipāla I	Mahipala I
431	23	Gāhaḍavala	Gāhaḍavula
433	13	Tailakampa	Tailakaniṇṇa
434	4	Chakravarti	Chakrararti
„	fn. 1	north	onrth
438	18	1144 A.D.	1114 A.D.
451	29	Add the following footnote on the Bhowal grant: This inscription has been edited by Dr. H. N. Randle in the Ep. Ind., XXVI, Part I, pp. 1-13 (with plates), and Dr. N. K. Bhattasali in the JRASB Letters, Vol. VIII, 1912, pp. 1-39 (with plates). 'A certain amount of corrosion' renders part of the writing on the reverse more or less illegible. Place-names as well as names of estates are mostly conjectural. First 13 verses contained in ll. 1-23 are identical with those of the Mādhāinagar grant (but V. 11 mentions Prāgisotisha instead of Kāmarūpa as in the latter grant). The plate records gift of lands in the Chatu-raka Vaṣṭumvī situated in the ārpitti Vācchāśa (?) of the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, yielding an annual income of 400 Kapardaka-purāṇas, (a pala of 22 cubits was used for the purpose of measurement—Cf. p. 564, Text) together with four separate Kṣhanda-kahetras issued from Dhāryya-grāma by the Gauḍarāja Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa on the 6th day of Kārttika in the year 27, to the Pāṭhaka Padmanābha-devaśarmaṇ of the Kautbana branch of the Śāmasvada. (For different readings of place-names, etc. see JRASB Letters, 1942, pp. 35-36). Dr. N. P. Chakravarti reads the name of a river—Vānahoranadāḥ in l. 39 (Valeha-	

Page	Line	Read	For
		<p>vanadaḥ, according to Dr. Randle) which he identifies with the Bānār, N. N. E. of Jayadevpur (Ep. Ind., XXVI, p. 8, n. 16). The evidence of the Sans inscriptions (<i>ibid.</i> p. 9, foot notes 3 and 4) seems to him to show that Lakshmapasena had at least four queens whose names are suggested to be Śrīyādevī, Kalyāṇadevī (Bhowa Plate), Alhaṇadevī (a new reading, see Sāhitya Pariśat Plate), Tāḍādevī (Edilpur Plate of Kṛṣṇasena and the Madanapādā Plate of Viśvarūpasena) respectively.</p>	
466	15	<i>Dākṣhiṇītya</i>	Dākṣhiṇītyā
463	fn. 2	Aśokachalla	Asokachalla
470	6	1160 A.D. ³	1160 A.D.
„	9	Saduktikarṇāmpita	Saduktikarṇāmpita ¹
„	12	1205 A.D.	1206 A.D.
473	fn.	Aśokachalla	Asokachalla
480	28	Kṛāṭikā	Khaṭikā
485	26	or his resources	or in his resources

